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Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

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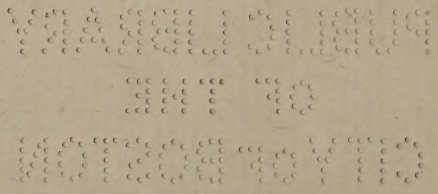

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

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JANUARY, 1899.

AMERICANISM *VERSUS* IMPERIALISM.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

FOR several grave reasons I regard possessions in the Far East as fraught with nothing but disaster to the Republic. Only one of these, however, can now be considered—the dangers of war and of the almost constant rumors and threats of war to which all nations interested in the Far East are subject. There is seldom a week which does not bring alarming reports of threatened hostilities, or of new alliances, or of changes of alliances, between the powers arming for the coming struggle. It is chiefly this Far Eastern question which keeps every shipyard, gunyard, and armor yard in the world busy night and day, Sunday and Saturday, forging engines of destruction. It is in that region the thunderbolt is expected; it is there the storm is to burst.

It is only four years since Japan defeated China and had ceded to it a portion of Chinese territory, the fruits of victory. Then appeared upon the scene a combination of France, Russia and Germany, which drove Japan out of China. Russia took part of the spoils for herself, and Germany later took territory near by. Japan got nothing. Britain, the most powerful of all, stood by neutral. Had she decided to defend Japan, the greatest war ever known would have been the probable result; the thunderbolt would have fallen. Were the question to be

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decided to-day, it is now considered probable that Britain would support Japan.

Germany obtained a concession in China, and Britain promptly appeared, demanding that Germany should maintain the "open door" in all her Chinese territory; the same demand was made on Russia. Both perforce consented. The Far East is a mine of dynamite, always liable to explode.

Into this magazine the United States proposes to enter and take a hand in the coming contest. It is obvious that what was done with Japan in regard to Chinese territory may be done with the United States in regard to her territory, the Philippines, and for the same reason, that the dictator is overwhelmingly strong and the victim helplessly weak.

The relative strength of the powers contending for Empire in the Far East is as follows: Great Britain has 80 first class ships of war, 581 warships in all; France has 50 first class warships, and a total of 403; Russia has 40 first class warships, 286 in all; Germany has 28 first class warships, a total of 216. Japan will soon rank with Germany, and be stronger there because close to the scene of action.

The United States proposes to enter into the zone of danger with 18 first class, and a total of 81 ships. These would hardly count as half that number, however, owing to her greater distance from the battle ground. Russia is 8,000 miles, the other Europeans about 9,000 miles from it. The United States is from 15,000 to 17,000 miles distant *via* the Cape and *via* the Straits; the route *via* Europe is about 12,000 miles, but that would be impracticable during war time, as the American ships going *via* Europe would pass right into the trap of their European enemies.

The armies of the European nations are as follows: Germany's army on a peace footing numbers 562,352 men, on a war footing 3,000,000 (and a large addition ordered); France's army on a peace footing, 615,413, on a war footing, 2,500,000; Russia's, on a peace footing, 750,944, on a war footing, 2,512,143. All Frenchmen and Germans over 20, and all Russians over 21 years of age, are subject to military service. They are, in fact, first soldiers, then citizens.

It is obvious that the United States cannot contest any question or oppose any demand of any one of its rivals which secures

the neutrality of the other powers, as France, Germany and Russia did that of Britain. She cannot stand alone. What the *Saturday Review* says here is true:

"Let us be frank and say outright that we expect mutual gain in material interests from this *rapprochement*. The American Commissioners at Paris are making their bargains, whether they realize it or not, under the protecting naval strength of England, and we shall expect a material *quid pro quo* for this assistance. We expect the United States to deal generously with Canada in the matter of tariffs, and we expect to be remembered when the United States comes into possession of the Philippine Islands, and above all we expect her assistance on the day, which is quickly approaching, when the future of China comes up for settlement, for the young imperialist has entered upon a path where it will require a strong friend, and a lasting friendship between the two nations can be secured not by frothy sentimentality on public platforms, but by reciprocal advantages in solid material interests."

Bishop Potter has recently stated that we must become the "catspaw of Britain," if we venture into the arena, and that is true. By Britain's neutrality, and by that alone, were we permitted to take the Philippines at all from Spain. But for that, France, Germany and Russia never would have stood aloof, and the price demanded President McKinley has had to pay—the "open door," which secures the trade of our possessions for Britain. Nothing more significant has occurred than the statement of Senator Davis, Chairman of the Senate Committee upon Foreign Relations, whose ability, influence and position are alike commanding. He says:

"I favor a treaty of alliance including the United States, Great Britain and Japan, for the protection of all their interests north of the equator. The rest of the world would have a wholesome fear, synonymous with respect, for us."

We may assume after this that it is true, that, just as we were allowed by Britain to take the Philippines from Spain, so our position in the East depends upon her continued support or alliance—rather a humiliating position, I should say, for the Republic. But let us see about alliances. Can we depend upon an alliance? National combinations change with alarming rapidity in Europe. France and Britain allied, fought the Crimean War; they took Sebastopol as we took Manila. Their flags waved together there, but they did not consider that that fact gave them the right to demand territory. To-day Russia and France are in firm alliance against Britain and other nations. Germany fought Austria; to-day they are in the Triple Alliance together. Italy

allied with France fought the Battle of Solferino; to-day Italy is a member of the Triple Alliance against France. Europe is a kaleidoscope, where alliances change, dissolve, recombine and take other forms with passing events. During the past week the bitter enmity which recently existed between Germany and Britain, owing to German interference in the Transvaal, is changed, and it is announced that "they see together upon many points and expect to co-operate more and more in the future." This morning the question is: Shall France and Germany combine for some common ends? This would have been considered remarkable a short time ago, but statesmen will remember that Germany and France did combine with Russia to drive Japan out of China. There is no alliance, not even the most apparently incongruous, that cannot be made, and that will not be made, to meet the immediate interests or ambitions of nations. Senator Davis seems to rest satisfied with an alliance for his country with Britain and Japan. If he had an alliance today, it might not be worth the paper it was written upon tomorrow.

I say, therefore, that no American statesman should place his country in any position which it could not defend, relying only upon its own strong right arm. Its arm at present is not much to depend upon; its 81 ships of war are too trifling to be taken into account; and as for its army—what are its 56,000 regulars? Its volunteers are being disbanded. Both its Navy and its Army are good for one thing only—for easy capture or destruction by either one of the stronger powers. It is the protection of Britain, and that alone, upon which we have to rely—in the Far East—a slender thread indeed. Upon the shifting sands of alliances we are to have our only foundation.

The writer is not of those who believe that the Republic cannot make herself strong enough to walk alone, and to hold her own, and to be an imperial power of herself, and by herself, and not the weak *protegé* of a real imperial power. But, in order to make herself an imperial power she must do as imperial powers do—she must create a navy equal to the navy of any other power. She must have hundreds of thousands of regular troops to cooperate with the navy.

If she devoted herself exclusively and unceasingly to creating a navy equal to that of Britain, for instance, which is what she

will need, if she is not to be at the mercy of stronger powers, that will be the work of more than twenty years, building twenty warships per year; hitherto our navy has added only six per year. In order to get the men to man these ships, she must take the means to educate them. That she can do this there is no question; that the American either on sea or land is at least equal to the man of any other nation cannot be gainsaid. More than this, I know the American workman, especially the mechanic, to be the most skillful, most versatile, in the world—and victories at sea depend as much upon the mechanic below as upon the gunner on deck, and American gunners have no equals. It was no surprise to me that the American warships sunk those of Spain without loss. I spent last winter abroad in the society of distinguished men of European nations who congregate at Cannes. The opinion was universally held by them that for a time the Spanish Navy would be master over us, although it was admitted the superior resources of the United States must eventually ensure victory. I said then that, whenever any warships in the world met those of the American Navy, the other worships would go to the bottom—for two reasons; first, our ships were the latest and their equipment was the best, and, second, I knew the kind of men who were behind the guns. If ever the Republic falls from her industrial ideals and descends to the level of the war ideals of Europe she will be supreme. I have no doubt of that. The man whom this stimulating climate produces is the wiriest, quickest, most versatile of all men, and the power of organization exists in the American in greater perfection than in any other. But what I submit is that at present the Republic is an industrial hive, without an adequate navy and without soldiers; that she therefore must have a protector; and that if she is to figure in the East she cannot be in any sense an imperial power at all. Imperialism implies naval and military force behind; moral force, education, civilization, are not the backbone of Imperialism; these are the moral forces which make for the higher civilization, for Americanism—the foundation for Imperialism is brutal physical strength, fighting men with material forces, warships and artillery.

The author of "A Look Ahead," which first appeared in this REVIEW, is not likely to be suspected of hostility to the coming together of the English-speaking race. It has been my dream,

and it is one of the movements that lie closest to my heart. For many years the United flag has floated from my summer home in my native land, the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack sewn together—the first of that kind of flag ever seen. That flag will continue to fly there and the winds to blow the two from side to side in loving embrace. But I do not favor a formal alliance, such as that desired by Senator Davis. On the contrary, I rely upon the "alliance of hearts," which happily exists to-day. Alliances of fighting power form and dissolve with the questions which arise from time to time. The patriotism of race lies deeper and is not disturbed by waves upon the surface. The present era of good feeling between the old and the new lands means that the home of Shakespeare and Burns will never be invaded without other than native-born Britons being found in its defence. It means that the giant child, the Republic, is not to be set upon by a combination of other races and pushed to its destruction without a growl coming from the old lion which will shake the earth. But it should not mean that either the old land or the new binds itself to support the other in all its designs, either at home or abroad, but that the Republic shall remain the friend of all nations and the ally of none; that, being free to-day of all foreign entanglements, she shall not undertake to support Britain, who has these to deal with. Take Russia for instance. Only last year leading statesmen were pushing Britain into a crusade against that country. They proposed to prevent its legitimate expansion toward the Pacific—legitimate, because it is over coterminous territory, which Russia can absorb and Russianize, keeping her empire solid. She knows better than to have outlying possessions open to attack. Russia has always been the friend of the United States. When Lord Palmerston, Prime Minister of Great Britain, proposed to recognize the South, Russia sent her fleet to New York. Russia sold us Alaska; we have no opposing interests to those of Russia; the two nations are the only two great nations in the world, solid, compact, impregnable, because each has developed only coterminous territory, upon which its own race could grow. Even in the matter of trade with Russia, our exports are increasing with wonderful rapidity. Shiploads of American locomotives, American steel bridges and American electrical machinery for her leave our shores. Everything in which our country is either supreme or becoming supreme goes to Russia. Suppose

Britain and Russia clash in the Far East and we have an alliance with Britain, we are at war against one of our best friends.

The sister Republic of France and our own, from her very beginning, have been close friends. The services France rendered at the Revolution may be, but should never be, forgotten by the American. That some interests in France sympathized with Spain was only natural. The financial world in France held the Spanish debt. The religion of France is the religion of Spain. The enemies of the French Republic sided with the monarchy. But this can be said without fear of contradiction, that those who govern France stood the friends of our Republic, and that our enemies in France were also the enemies of the French Government. An alliance with Britain and Japan would make us a possible enemy of France. I would not make an alliance which involved that. I would make no alliance with any power under any circumstances that can be imagined; I would have the Republic remain the friend of all powers. That has been her policy from the beginning, and so it should remain.

When "the world shall have a wholesome fear synonymous with respect for us," as Senator Davis desires, it will not be a good day for the Republic. Adherence to Washington's desire seems better to me—that we should be the "friends of all nations"—a wholesome friendship instead of a "wholesome fear."

Reference has been made to possible difference arising between the protector and its ward, but I do not wish to be understood as entertaining the belief that actual war is probable between them. Far from this, my opinion is that actual war will never exist again between the two branches of the English-speaking race. Should one have a grievance, the other would offer Arbitration, and no government of either could exist which refused that offer. The most powerful government ever known in Britain was that of Lord Salisbury, when President Cleveland rightfully demanded Arbitration in the Venezuelan case. As is well known, Mr. Gladstone's government had agreed to Arbitration. Lord Salisbury, upon coming into power, repudiated that agreement. Lord Salisbury denied President Cleveland's request, and what was the result? Some uninformed persons in the United States believe that he was compelled to withdraw his refusal and accede to President Cleveland's request by the attitude of the United States. That was only partially true. The forces in Britain supporting Lord

Salisbury compelled him to reverse his decision. This is an open secret. Those nearest and next to him in power who sided with President Cleveland could be named; but the published cables are sufficient. The heir and the next heir to the throne cabled "that they hoped and *believed* the question would be peacefully settled." That behind this cable was the Queen herself, always the friend of the Republic, need not be doubted.

The idea of actual war between Great Britain and the Republic can be dismissed as something which need not be taken into account; but what is to be feared is this: the neutrality of Britain —even to-day desired by other powers—in case her ward gave her offence, or was as she supposed, ungrateful, and did not make full return for the protection accorded to the weakling, as we have said. It did not require the active hostility of Great Britain to thwart Japan and push her out of her possessions, but simply her decision not to interfere on Japan's behalf. Had Japan had satisfactory advantages to offer to Britain, she might have had Britain's support. It is the satisfactory bargain that alliances are founded upon in Europe; every European nation has its price, and every one of them has something which the other covets. France could give Britain a free hand in Egypt, Germany could concur in Britain's acquisition of Delagoa Bay and end her troubles in the Transvaal. This is something Britain dearly covets. Russia could give Britain a desired frontier in India. These nations have all co-related interests and desires, and no man can predict what alliances will be broken and what made—it is all a matter of self-interest. The United States has not this position. She has little desirable to offer in exchange for alliance, and in all probability she would be sacrificed for the aims of her strong rivals—at least she might be, being herself powerless.

When a statesman has in his keeping the position and interests of his country, all speculation as to the future fruition of ideas of what should be or what will one day rule the world, and of the "good day coming" when the pen shall supersede the sword, and of all the noble hopes and aspirations for a better future, must be resolutely dismissed. It is not with things as they are to be in the future, but with things as they are in the present, that it is his serious duty to deal. The dream, in which no one perhaps indulges more than the writer, of the union of the English-speaking race, even that entrancing dream must be recog-

nized as only a dream. The "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," we know is to come. The evolutionist has never any doubt about the realization of the highest ideals from the operation of that tendency within us, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness. But he is no statesman—he is only a dreamer—who allows his hopes to stand against facts, and he who proposes that the United States, as she stands to-day, shall enter into the coming struggle in the Far East, depending upon any alliance that can be made with any or all of the powers, seems unsuited to shape the policy or deal with the destinies of the Republic.

Just consider her position, solid, compact, impregnable; if all the naval forces were to combine to attack her what would be her reply? She would fill her ports with mines, she would draw her ships of war behind them, ready to rush out as favorable opportunities might offer to attack. But she would do more than this in extremity; she would close her ports—a few loaded scows would do the business—and all the powers in the world would be impotent to injure her seriously. The fringe only would be troubled; the great empire within would scarcely feel the attack.

The injury she would inflict upon the principal powers by closing her ports would be much more serious than could be inflicted upon her; because non-exportation of food-stuffs and cotton would mean famine and distress to Britain and injure her to a greater degree than loss in battle. Even in France and in Germany the results of non-exportation would be more serious than the effects of ordinary war. It would only be a matter of a short time until the powers recognized how futile was their attempt to injure seriously this self-contained Republic, whose estate here lies secure within a ring fence.

The national wealth would not grow as fast during the blockade, but that is all. Our foreign trade would suffer, but that is a trifle, not more than four per cent. of our domestic commerce. No expert estimates the annual domestic exchanges of the people at less than fifty thousand millions of dollars; those of exports and imports have never yet reached quite two thousand millions. The annual increase of domestic exchanges is estimated to be just about equal to the total of all our Foreign Trade, Imports and Exports combined. Labor would be displaced, but the new demand upon it caused by the new state of affairs would employ

it all. We should emerge from the embargo without serious injury. So much for the impregnability of the Republic. To-day Fortune rains upon her. For the first time in her history, she has become the greatest exporting nation in the world, even the exports of Britain being less than hers. Her manufactures are invading all lands, commercial expansion proceeds by leaps and bounds; New York has become the financial centre of the world. It is London no more, but New York, which is to-day the financial centre. This, however, is not yet to be claimed as permanent, but it promises to become so ere long, unless the Republic becomes involved in European wars through Imperialism. Labor is in demand at the highest wages paid in the world; the Industrial supremacy of the world lies at our feet. Two questions are submitted to the decision of the American people: First—Shall we remain as we are, solid, compact, impregnable, republican, American; or, Second—Shall we creep under the protection, and become, as Bishop Potter says, "the catspaw," of Britain, in order that we may grasp the phantom of Imperialism ?

If the latter be the choice, then it is submitted that we must first begin quietly to prepare ourselves for the new work which Imperialism imposes.

We need a large regular army of trained soldiers. There is no use trying to encounter regular armies with volunteers—we have found that out. Not that volunteers would not be superior to the class of men we shall get to enlist simply for pay in the regular army, if they would enlist there and be trained, but because they are not trained. Thirty-eight thousand more men are to be called for the regular army; but it is easy "to call spirits from the vasty deep"—they may not come. The present force of the army is 62,000 men by law; we have only 56,000, as the President tells us in his message. Why do we not first fill up the gap, instead of asking for legislation to enlist more? Because Labor is well employed and men are scarce in some States to-day; because men who now enlist know for what they are wanted, and that kind of work is not what American soldiers have been asked to perform hitherto. They have never had to leave their own country, much less to shoot down men whose only crime against the Republic was that they too, like ourselves, desired their country's independence and believed in the Declaration of Independence—in

Americanism. The President may not get the soldiers he desires, and whom he must have if he is not to make shipwreck of his Imperialism. There is very grave reason to doubt whether the army can be raised even to one hundred thousand men without a great advance in pay, perhaps not without conscription.

But surely before we appear in the arena in the Far East we must have a large regular army.

The second indispensable requirement is a navy corresponding, at least in some degree, to the navies of the other powers interested in the East. We can get this in twenty years, perhaps, if we push matters, but this means building twenty ships a year. The securing of men trained to man them will be as difficult a task as the building of the ships.

When we have armed ourselves thus, but not till then, shall we be in a position to take and hold territory in the Far East "by the sole power of our unlorded will," as we should hold it, or not hold it at all. To rush in now, without army or navy, trusting to the treacherous shifting foundation of anybody's "protection," or "neutrality," or "alliance," is to court defeat, and such humiliation as has rarely fallen to the lot of any nation, even the poorest and most madly or most foolishly governed. It is not good sense.

This ends the subject upon which I undertook to write, but there remains the practical question: What shall we do with the Philippines? These are not ours, unless the Senate approves the Treaty; but, assuming that it will, that question arises.

The question can best be answered by asking another: What have we promised to do with Cuba? The cases are as nearly parallel as similar cases usually are. We drove Spain out of both Cuba and the Philippines. Our ships lie in the harbors of both. Our flag waves over both. To Cuba the President in his message renews the pledge given by Congress—she is to be aided to form a "Free and Independent Government, at the earliest possible moment."

The magic words "Free and Independent" will be accepted by the people of Cuba and our soldiers hailed as deliverers. So well assured of this is our government, that only one-half the number of troops intended for Cuba are now to be sent there.

Even if we were tempted to play false to our pledge, as the enemies of the Republic in Europe predict we shall, the aspirations of a people for Independence are seldom quenched. There

are a great number of Americans, and these of the best, who would soon revolt at our soldiers being used against the Cubans fighting for what they had been promised. The latest advices I have from Cuba are from a good source. This necessity is not likely to arise. Cuba will soon form a government, and, mark my prediction, she will ask for annexation. The proprietors of Cuba who will control the new government, and many Americans who are becoming interested with them in estates there, will see to this. "Free sugar" means fortune to all. Will the United States admit Cuba? Doubtful. But Cuba need not trouble us very much. There is no "Imperialism" here—no danger of foreign wars.

Now why is the policy adopted for the Island of Cuba not the right policy for the Philippine Islands? General Schofield states that 30,000 troops will be required there, as we may have to "lick them." What work this for Americans! General Miles thinks 25,000 will do. If we promised them what we have promised Cuba, half the number would suffice, as with Cuba—probably less—and we should be spared the uncongenial task of shooting down people who were guiltless of offence against us.

If we insist "the slaves are ours because we bought them," and fail to tell them we come not as slave drivers, but as friends to assist them to Independence, we may have to "lick them" no doubt. It will say much for the Filipinos if they do rebel against "being bought and sold like cattle." It would be difficult to give a better proof of their fitness for self government.

Cuba is under the shield of the Monroe doctrine; no foreign interference is possible there. Place the Philippines under similar conditions until they have a stable government, when eight millions of people can be trusted to protect themselves. The truth is that none of the powers would risk the hostility of eight millions of people, who had tasted the hope of Independence. "Free and Independent" are magical words, never forgotten, and rarely unrealized.

Only one objection can be made to this policy. They are not fit to govern themselves. First, this has not been proved. This was said of every one of the sixteen Spanish Republics as they broke away from Spain; it was said even of Mexico within this generation; it was the belief of the British about ourselves. There is in the writer's opinion little force in the objection. In the Far East I have visited the village communities in India, to

find even there a system of self-government dating back for two thousand years. In no country, not even the most backward, are not to be found government and "orders and degrees" of men.

The head men of tribes and others of lesser authority are often selected by the members. In the wild lands of the Afridis—a tribe in India which has just baffled seventy thousand soldiers, native and British, the largest army ever assembled there—there is a system of self-government, and a rigid one. Human societies cannot exist without establishing, as a rule, peace and order in greater or less perfection.

The Filipinos are by no means in the lowest scale—far from it—nor are they much lower than the Cubans. If left to themselves they will make mistakes, but what nation does not? Riot and bloodshed may break out—in which nation are these absent? certainly not in our own; but the inevitable result will be a government better suited to the people than any that our soldiers and their officers could ever give.

Thus only can the Republic stand true to its pledges, that the sword was drawn only in the cause of humanity and not for territorial aggrandizement, and true to the fundamental principles upon which she rests: "that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed;" that the flag, wherever it floats, shall proclaim "the equality of the citizen," "one man's privilege every man's right"—"that all men are created equal," not that under its sway part only shall be citizens with rights and part only subjects without rights—freemen and serfs, not all freemen. Such is the issue between Americanism and Imperialism.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE LITERATURE OF ACTION.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

At the moment when I write these lines there is noticeable through the British Empire a very strange alertness of concentrated attention. Sir George Robertson tells us that when Chitral was being besieged, the garrison, in the midst of its patient labors, was suddenly transfixed in silence by a subterranean sound, the muffled, vibrating thud of a pick. The enemy were mining the gun-tower. Something of that sudden silence lies upon England as I write. It has dawned upon us that we may find it absolutely necessary to rebuff and chastise an intolerable intrusion upon our rights; we hate the idea of war, but our very existence as a nation may require us to entertain it. That is the attitude, the feeling in the air; everybody is listening to the sound of the pick axe. In this tension, home politics are forgotten. The nation has but a single thought, the possibility of the need of one great act of self-preservation. My own memories go back, faintly, so far as to the Crimean War; never, in all those variegated years, have I seen anything approaching the attentive silence of to-day. The lion has straightened his front paws, and rises, and listens.

All may—and we are humane enough and sensible enough to hope that all will—pass by, and the lion sink again into his fur. But this attitude of undaunted expectancy is very remarkable, especially in a people little given to a display of the emotions. And the absolute unanimity of it is more than curious. In this solemn pose there are no parties, no dissensions; the nation watches, gravely, with a single heart. It has struck me, in this taut moment of time, when a man can hardly plunge himself into the delectable waters of poetry and the fine shades, that it might

be interesting to note how literature is affected by this movement, or rather what is the relation of literature to this readiness for action. It is proper, in the first instance, to realize that the condition which has enabled Great Britain to thrill so suddenly with a defensive patriotism, is not entirely new. Our memories are so short that we take each surprise for something unprecedented. I borrowed, therefore, at the opening of this article, my little illustration from the siege of Chitral, because, although a new, a more critical, danger has abruptly attracted our attention now, for years past we have been in the position of a beleaguered town, which no one has quite liked to be the first to attack.

Without intruding an inch further into politics, but keeping to our own province of literature, it appears to me to be of interest to note that this besieged attitude of Great Britain among the European nations, which has almost insensibly become accentuated, has been accompanied by a certain literary movement. If we look back to the years before the first Egyptian campaign, we shall be surprised to see how pacific our tastes were, how little encouragement was given to the literature of action. There was a distinct dislike, early in the eighties, to any narrative which exalted the boisterous part of man. Fiction, poetry and drama were expected to be idyllic or reflective. Even history, amusingly enough, had its romantic coloring washed off it, and its exciting incidents reduced. It was said that if young people studied history they should concentrate their attention, not on battles, but on the Constitution; and Dr. Stubbs supplied the learned want.

The revival of active romance may be roughly dated from the publication of Stevenson's "Treasure Island," a book which it was my privilege to watch through all its stages of creation. "Treasure Island" was so completely foreign to the spirit of the time, that it was only a very third-rate boys' newspaper that would consent to publish it at all, and it is a curious circumstance (of which I could give documentary proof) that it was found too romantic a tale of action for the boy subscribers to this silly print. If the editor could have broken off his contract, the end of "Treasure Island" would never have appeared. It was reprinted as a volume, with the overwhelming vogue which all the world is aware of; for a new taste was germinating in the public, and this graceful story of adventure was exactly the thing to foster it.

In "Treasure Island" the British public became habituated to

violent death and breathless incident in a romance ; but it was in "King Solomon's Mines" that these condiments first began to be used with a free hand. Mr. Rider Haggard had been writing for two or three years when, in 1886, he suddenly took the public by storm. In the very ingenious story I have just mentioned, English readers were given a rougher and fierier liquor than had been offered to them since the Crimean War, and Stevenson's romances, which became more serious and more adult than "Treasure Island," never equalled those of Mr. Rider Haggard in bloodthirstiness. The latter writer discovered that he supplied a demand which he seemed to have created; in some of his later African romances, which are little more than colonial butcheries, he distinctly oversupplied it. "Nada, The Lily," with its innocent name, is unquestionably the bloodiest book in the world. This was extravagant, and Mr. Rider Haggard's vogue for this class of romance declined. It is improbable that this very clever novelist—whose powers of invention are most unfairly depreciated at the present moment—will ever return to that sort of work. But his influence in awakening a taste for violent and sanguinary action is not to be underestimated.

Then came a period of materialistic awakening. Everywhere in the Empire the natural elements—the barbarian elements, if we will—found expression. Our incessant "little wars" were followed with a sympathy which had constantly been denied to them in the Middle Victorian period ; and each little war increased our appetite for another. At the same time there began, and flowed over the country like a wave, an unexampled enthusiasm for every kind of athletics. A fresh interest in the navy was awakened, and as the peace party subsided and disappeared throughout the country, greater and greater sacrifices were cheerfully made for the support of our ships. If nowadays we read Matthew Arnold's old diatribes against our upper classes, we may smile; there is no question now of upper, middle or lower, for the Barbarian holds the field undisturbed. We have become, in a dozen years, a nation but faintly interested in any subject which does not bear upon the training and development of the muscles, individual or politic. England has gone to school under a colossal Sandow and has no time, for the moment, to think of anything else.

However much the philosopher and the dreamer may regret the necessity of this strange obsession in physical strength—and

the present writer, himself a useless dreamer, sighs beneath it—no one with a grain of sense can doubt that circumstances point to its being an unavoidable preparation for a crisis in national history by no means far ahead. That being the position, it seems obvious that all that can in any wise direction be done, is to try with all the feeble force at our disposition to point readers—who insist, by a healthy instinct, on the literature of action—to books of adventure that encourage the best sides of the Anglo-Saxon temperament. In the feverish demand for entertaining narratives of the adventurous class, two distinct tendencies may be seen. One is towards the entirely monstrous and fantastic, in which real life and the genuine spirit of man are subordinated to a mere dram-drinking of foolish horrors. This autumn, we have seen in London the most preposterous example of this ever foisted on a gaping public, the fabulous exploits of a Swiss courier, masquerading as a man of science, and taking thousands of foolish readers captive with tales of wombats soaring in the sunset sky, and faithful colored wives who eat their children that they may nurse their husbands with a more devoted freedom. It is plain that the craving for monstrosities of this sort, and the easy credulity which will swallow such traveller's tales, are unwholesome symptoms of the public love of the literature of action.

Fortunately, there is a reverse to the medal. We have had the signal good fortune to see, at this opportune hour, the development of perhaps the most purely patriotic talent that ever flourished in England. The most powerful and distinguished British author, under thirty-five years of age, is unquestionably Mr. Rudyard Kipling, and his whole literary career is one unflagging appeal to the fighting instincts of the race. We see nothing in the general trend of his genius, if we do not see that it makes directly for the preparedness of the English people in an eventual crisis. Mr. Kipling is not correctly styled a Jingo or a Chauvinist. He does not provoke war, or underestimate its afflictions, but he preaches forever in our ears "Be ready!" He marshals us by land and sea, he brings outlying kinsfolk up into line with us, he questions us incessantly as to the state of our sinews and of our guns. The influence of this one young civilian, without external prestige of any kind to help him, has been simply prodigious. His breath has stirred the veins, not of hundreds of men, nor of thousands, but of a cluster of nations.

The peculiar gravity of Mr. Kipling's appeal to the English speaking races—for even America is surely not unaffected by his voice—has been met in Great Britain by the inevitable chorus of imitators. Every song writer, every leader writer, every story teller has a little touch of his magic to-day, a little strain of what the Germans might call *Kiplingismus*. His appearance in our literature at this crisis, with its sweeping away of the graceful, but slightly effeminate, cult of beauty and harmony which preceded it, is one of those extraordinary coincidences which occur in the history of the mind. For who shall say whether athleticism created Mr. Kipling, or whether Mr. Kipling has encouraged athleticism ? The two grow side by side, and to what harvest who can tell ?

We have said that with the growth of a wholesome literary patriotism an unhealthy love of horrors for their own sakes has grown up among us. But happily the antidote grows side by side with the poison; and the very month which disposed of M. Grien has seen the publication of one of the sanest and the most invigorating books of adventure which the English language contains. It is not by a mere accident that Sir George Robertson's "Chitral; The Story of a Minor Siege," appears at the very moment when the national tension is at its highest. We find that Englishmen are face to face with a problem of the greatest delicacy and gravity. Is it not natural that we should look about us to see how Englishmen may be expected to behave at crises of the most violent kind ? Is it not salutary that we should ask how the young men trained upon football and cricket, who have tried to shoot and climb and ride, can use their physical fitness when they are called to act in the face of destiny? With a peculiar poignancy, therefore, as a man watching the starry heavens reflected in a little pool, we look to a narrative like that of Sir George Robertson to discover what qualities we may expect to see widely developed in facing a solemn national decision.

Four years ago very few people in England or America knew where Chitral was. It is a little fortified town planted on a steep river bank in the centre of Asia. The vast snow peaks of the Hindu-Kush divide it, like a rampart, from the most mysterious country in the world, Kafiristan. Round this fort, in its grim, cold isolation, lies the principality of Chitral, with an area about equal to that of Wales. Cabul is so near to it on the west that it has been naturally to the terrible Amir of Afghanistan, and not to the

vague and distant government of India, that its hill tribes looked. If you examine a map of six or seven years ago, you find Chitral in a white no-man's land, far to north and west of the red frontier of British supremacy. It was ruled in those days by a family of treacherous princes, each of whom successively waded to the throne through the blood of his uncles and his brothers.

The Government of India, in its infinite wisdom, determined that the moment had come to interfere with the little tyrants who stabbed and squabbled among the picturesque population above the glacier-fed torrents of Chitral. In January, 1893, it sent Dr. (now Sir) George Robertson on a mission thither from his residency in Gilgit. It was a highly adventurous expedition, for the tribes were violently prejudiced against Europeans, and their unbridled treachery was a notorious matter. He took with him three English officers and a little escort of 50 Sikh soldiers. They arrived at Chitral to find the hereditary prince, or Mehtar, palpitating with fear, not of the English, but of his own family. Presently, after the English mission had left Chitral about a year, this Mehtar had the usual accident out hunting; he was shot dead in the back by his own half brother. This sinister news reached Gilgit on January 6, 1895.

The Chitralis had by this time come to recognize the might of the Government of India, and they were very anxious to have their new ruler's little escapade commuted. But the position was a very serious one, and extremely difficult to understand at a distance. Dr. Robertson, therefore, was ordered once more to go over to Chitral, and examine its perilous politics on the spot. The journey, made in conditions of Arctic cold through some of the roughest country in the world, was not at first embarrassed by any unfriendliness of the natives; but Dr. Robertson was presently galvanized by news that Umra Khan, a very formidable mountain character, had proclaimed a holy war, was marching into Chitral territory with from 3,000 to 4,000 men, and had called upon the new Mehtar to join him. Moreover, a dangerous pretendant, Sher Afzul, this Mehtar's uncle, was also moving upon Chitral with unknown designs. Dr. Robertson received, meanwhile, orders from India to hold Chitral and drive Umra Khan out of its territories.

Here, in a moment, full and almost imperial responsibility fell upon Dr. Robertson. The first thing he did was to depose the Mehtar who had murdered his predecessor, and who was hated in

Chitral, and to recognize as prince a still younger brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, a nice little boy, henceforth familiarly known as "Sugar-and-Milk." This act was decided upon during the race for the fort, which ended on the 31st of January, 1895, by Robertson and his soldiers dashing into Chitral ahead of all their competitors. For a month they held the enemy at large, waiting for reinforcements which never came, but contriving to keep up communication with India. On the 1st of March the last letter from Chitral was passed along the river to Mastuj, and then Robertson and his gallant company, a mere speck in that huge wilderness of rocks and snows, faded out of sight for fifty days, while the eyes of all England hung, distracted with anxiety, on the shrouded glens of the Hindu-Kush.

This is the necessary prelude to Sir George Robertson's story, which I am not proposing to re-tell tamely here. I am addressing American readers, who, of course, take a very limited interest in our "little wars." With a whole new system of savage archipelagoes of their own, the American nation will soon find themselves provided with quite as many little wars as they need for their private entertainment. But Sir George Robertson's book does not address Englishmen alone. It is a very attractive piece of literature, excellently composed, excellently narrated, with touches of beauty here and there which we might expect a soldier to disdain. It is as a specimen of our new literature of action, to which we may be proud to point our friendliest neighbors, that I am here recommending Sir George Robertson's book. Read "Chitral; The Story of a Minor Siege," I say to those who, being not of us, are yet indulgent to us, for you will never see the virtues of our nation reflected in a more agreeable mirror.

In the first place, to praise a man's modesty is to affront that very merit in him, and yet it is impossible to touch this book, and to escape from the sense of the author's self-abnegation. He has words of praise, congratulation, gratitude, for everybody, for the officers who fought with him, for those who struggled to reach him in vain, for those who, after (it must be said) an unconscionable delay, managed to relieve him at last. All their deeds are glorified, all their names made prominent; but, of himself, scarcely a word. If this were all the history we possessed and if we could not read between the lines, we should think that Robertson played a very third-rate part in this spirited drama. But Lord Roberts knows,

and the Government of India knows, and all who fought beside him and for him know, that Sir George Robertson was the central force of the whole incident, that it was his gallantry and diplomacy and resource that pulled us safely out of that very tight place.

The man of ability who is not eaten up with self-complacency has eyes to observe his surroundings. While the little English garrison were shut up in Chitral, with the murderous hill tribes humming outside, their spirits rose and fell. It was part of the commander's task to watch these fluctuations and to guard against them. Of each of the young officers who were with him, he has a genial portrait. Here is a sketch of one of them:

"He was a melodious person of gregarious instincts. Looking back, one reflects how churlishly his songs and shuffling accompaniments were sometimes received, and how badly we should have missed them. I think that Harley, even after an all-night's watch, always lay down to sleep with reluctance, and would never have rested at all had there been anyone equally companionable to talk to. His unquenchable good spirits stimulated us greatly without our knowing it."

How characteristic this is! and not less so the little touches about dogs which come here and there. "On the Gilgit frontier a subaltern's equipment can hardly be considered complete without a banjo and a fox terrier." The banjo Mr. Kipling has celebrated in one of the most thrilling of his lyrics; the fox terrier figures in every frontier battle. The wounding of "Edwardes' nice little dog" is most gravely recorded among the incidents of the defence of Reshun. It is connected with the tender sentiment about home, and all things home-like, which the smart young soldiers carry with them in every contingency. I must quote from Sir George Robertson again a passage of rare beauty; the moment described is that at which their hopes seemed at their lowest, and nothing seemed before the little English garrison but cruel and humiliating death. The Commander stood on the ramparts, and he looked out over the closely beleaguering forces of the enemy:

"Any attempt on us would have been out of the question on this date, so light was the sky with its young crescent moon. To the north, that wonderful mass of snow mountain looked as lovely and as unsympathetic as ever. Its beauty always made me melancholy, nor could it be looked upon without a long sigh and sad thoughts of those far away at home, who were, we knew, suffering much more for us than we suffered ourselves. We could only repay their anxious thoughts with others as tender. If we could but have sent them a single line of love, a weight would have been lifted from our hearts."

The siege of Chitral was a return to a primitive condition of

things. The methods of the besiegers and of the besieged were mediæval, and the old value of individual bravery, each man in some degree cast upon his own resources, was strangely revived. It might have been reasonably supposed that this would prove a great disadvantage to English officers, trained to depend on all the mechanical aids of our elaborate civilization. It was a disadvantage, of course; it added to the difficulties, but they humorously accepted and surmounted it. The essential interest of this book, apart, of course, from its merits as a narrative superlatively told, lies in the evidence it supplies of the rapidity with which the well-bred and disciplined young Anglo-Saxon accepts responsibility and turns it to good account. Mr. Rudyard Kipling has a story of the veteran writer who meets in London a group of polite, well-groomed, modest youths, who turn out to have been actually doing, in the wild places of the world, the work that he has been dreaming about. It is impossible to read Sir George Robertson's "Chitral" and not see that these are those very youths in action. These British officers of his, with their irresistible pluck and energy merely dormant, ready to break out into a blaze at a moment's notice, are what Mr. Kipling gazes at fondly, and murmurs "Mine own people!"

If this is the temper and these the abilities which our recent national predilection for the literature of action fosters, we need hardly regret that "bower of roses in Bendameer's stream" in which the Middle Victorian poets lay at full length, discussing the subtleties of the passion of love. If it were going to last forever, if there were to be no reaction from this materialism, I should deeply deplore it. A man should not, and a nation should not, spend its whole life with a musket in its hand, behind a barricade. But there are times and seasons in the life of a nation, as in the life of a man, when self-respect and all the dearest emotions of the heart compel the strictest attention to practical defence. The American people, with whose thoughts and instincts we are more closely in sympathy than with those of any other race, have lately proved this necessity. They have passed through a crisis which many of their most contemplative spirits regretted, but which was inevitable. Their honor, their place in civilization, called imperiously upon them for an action which they deplored, but which they did not dream of evading.

We, too, in England to-day hear something very like the same

call, but pronounced with even intenser gravity. All I have attempted to do here is to sketch very roughly the history and character of the literature which has prepared us to receive the order with serenity and firmness. We, in our beleaguered island, hear, or believe we hear, the muffled sound of the pick-axe mining our prosperity and our rights. An hysterical excitement would be out of place, and there is no sign among us of its being felt. We believe, humbly, gravely, that we are ready. And there is evidence in our literature of the last twelve years to show that we have been preparing ourselves for a great international struggle by the games we have loved best to play, the stories which have entertained us most, and the narratives of historical adventures which we have been most eager to read.

EDMUND GOSSE.

THE UNITED STATES AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION IN 1900.

BY FERDINAND W. PECK, COMMISSIONER-GENERAL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO THE PARIS EXPOSITION OF 1900.

By their efforts to surpass each other in the magnificence of their displays, foreign countries will obtain for the French the realization of their prophecy that the Paris Exposition of 1900 will be the climax of exposition achievements.

The nineteenth century has been notable for its unparalleled progress, and to secure the greatest credit for assisting in this upward sweep, and to obtain the emoluments which will come from a fine display, more than fifty nations will be present at the exposition, arrayed in the best they can produce. They will not spare money to secure the best effects, and will follow the French in adopting "quality, not quantity," as the motto by which they will select their exhibits. It is therefore assured that the best crystallized ideals of all nations will be displayed in the exhibits and their installation, and that the exposition in every particular will be of unsurpassed grandeur and perfection.

The spot chosen for the exposition is in the heart of Paris, on the site already made historical by four international expositions. The beautiful Seine winds its way through it, and magnificent boulevards with stately edifices and monuments surround and traverse it. The entire city of Paris is to be greatly beautified by additional parks and gardens, so that in 1900 it will have still a greater charm than now, and serve as an appropriate setting to the brilliant exposition.

The passing of the old century and the greeting of the new will take to Paris the people of leisure and the pleasure seekers of every clime. The wealthy, the purchasing agents, the scientists

and experts, representing at least five hundred million people, will be present. This large attendance and the superb exhibits which our chief commercial competitors will present at the exposition, render it obligatory on the United States to use every endeavor to make a display of every natural and manufactured product that will equal that from any other land. It will be the opportunity of the age to show the peoples of every country, through their thousands of representatives present, the actual superiority of American goods, of which even Americans do not know, and of which foreigners have not learned, and cannot learn, unless it is demonstrated to them by placing the goods before their eyes in competition with those of other countries.

Whatever is done to extend American trade is certain to exert a beneficial influence on the general prosperity of the country. Prosaic as trade may be, it is to-day the keynote of international politics. The armies and navies of the world exist but for the purpose of aiding the merchants and manufacturers in their struggle for this extension. Behind the pioneers who blazon their way through hitherto unconquered territory, go the merchants who buy and sell. The victory of Dewey at Manila is recognized as the presage of trade with the Philippines, which will mean dollars and cents in the pockets of the American people. European nations are now armed to the teeth facing each other in Asia, merely to seize trade advantages. The markets of the world are the prizes for which they are constantly contending.

The United States, however, is not compelled to resort to force to obtain trade extensions; it has the advantage of being able to meet and vanquish its competitors in their own home markets, while in many cases they are forced to find colonies whose markets they can only hold by establishing a monopoly. This country is the leading nation of the world in industry, but it has not won for itself the place it should hold in commerce. The eminent statistician, Mulhall, says:

"The United States leads in agriculture, with products greater than Russia and the United Kingdom combined; in manufactures with a product greater than the aggregate output of the factories of the United Kingdom, France, Austria-Hungary and Belgium combined; in machinery with a steam power greater than the United Kingdom, Austria-Hungary and Italy combined; in mining, with a product greater than the United Kingdom and France combined (or nearly one-third that of the entire world); in railway transportation, with a mileage forty per cent. greater than that of all

Europe; in forestry, with products greater than that of all Europe and nearly one-half of the total products of the world; in fisheries, with a greater product than the United Kingdom, Russia and Germany combined."

From the same authority we learn that the United States is $20,000,000,000 richer than Great Britain; yet that kingdom, with one-thirtieth the area and a little more than one-half the population of the United States, enjoys double our foreign trade. Even Germany, which is scarcely to be compared with the United States in any branch of industry, in 1895 had a greater foreign trade. These facts are positively discreditable to the United States and challenge the attention of our statesmen. Commerce is the one thing that has made Great Britain great, and it is the important factor of public wealth.

The growth of the United States during recent years has clearly proven that its commerce is capable of material increase. The exports *per capita* have grown from $11.37 in 1895 to $12.11 in 1896, and $14.17 in 1897. The exports of manufactured products have been quite as striking in their growth. In proportion to the percentage of total exports, the exports of manufactures have been 15.61 in 1892, 19.02 in 1893, 21.14 in 1894, 23.14 in 1895, 26.48 in 1896 and 26.87 in 1897.

These figures are gratifying, yet they by no means represent the full possibilities of American enterprise. In the exports of the other great commercial nations finished products represent a far greater proportion as compared with raw materials, and the United States should be able to keep pace with them without any diminution in agricultural exports. While the United States produces fifty per cent. more hardware than Great Britain, we export less than one-third as much. Instances of the same sort might be multiplied.

The United States has secured only one-seventh of the exports that go to the countries of Australasia and Asia, with a population of 852,000,000—a little more than one-half of the population of the world—while this country should have one-third of the commerce that goes to this immense field. This is but one illustration to show our trade relations to the rest of the world.

The extensive foreign trade it does enjoy has come almost wholly unsolicited, the producers of the United States having been occupied in filling the wants of home demands. But its production is beginning to vastly exceed its consumption, and it

must go abroad for commerce and take advantage of every agency to secure it.

Mr. Worthington C. Ford, Chief of the Bureau of Statistics in the Treasury Department, has compiled tables which prove conclusively that the international expositions in which the United States has been interested have had an important and direct effect in increasing its exports. Prior to 1876, the year of the Centennial Exposition, the balance of trade had been against the United States to the amount of $2,236,406,610. In the preceding eighty-seven years the United States witnessed but sixteen annual balances of trade in its favor. After the exposition the tide turned in favor of this country, and in the twenty-three years since then it has witnessed but three occasions when the annual balance of trade has been against it. Prior to 1876 the exports amounted to $12,309,653,384, an average of about $141,000,000 per annum, while the imports amounted to $14,546,994,000, an average of about $167,000,000 per annum. Since 1876 the exports have amounted to $18,662,344,445, an average of about $811,000,000 per annum, and the imports amounted to $15,570,903,493, an average of about $677,000,000 per annum. It will be seen that in this period our exports have been more than fifty per cent. in excess of the entire eighty-seven years before the exposition, and that the average annual exportation has been nearly six times the annual exportation prior to that time.

Not only was the continuance of this increase aided by the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, but American participation at the Paris Expositions of 1878 and 1889 was followed by a material increase of exports.

It is a well-known fact that more American firms have been able to form connections abroad and extend their foreign trade since 1893 than ever before, and to the Columbian Exposition might easily be traced the beginning of negotiations which have led to the closing of many recent large orders for American goods.

The Consular Reports compiled by Frederick B. Emory, Director of the Bureau of American Commerce, contain many letters that are almost pathetic in their appeals to American merchants to take advantage of the rich trade opportunities which they permit to pass neglected, and which other more enterprising nations have improved.

Carl Bailey Hurst, United States Consul-General at Vienna, in a letter to the State Department says:

"Everywhere in Europe there is a constantly increasing demand for what are termed "American Goods;" that is, goods made in the United States. In the first place, everything manufactured in the United States is so neatly and trimly made that it at once catches the eye of a foreigner. In the next place the American article is honestly made, and therefore it can stand the closest scrutiny and the test of use.

"It is noticeable that, if Europeans come into possession of an article of American manufacture, they are always proud of it and quick to exhibit it on all occasions, and they are not slow to let the fact be known that it was made in America. They acknowledge the superiority of the American goods every time."

In another report he shows how American glass wins recognition even in Austria, a country noted for its glassware.

"It is frankly admitted here that the American cut-glass is finer, and more elegantly cut than any manufactured on the continent of Europe, or even in England. This matter, it is said, is being taken seriously by the manufacturers here, who are already beginning to look elsewhere for a market for their goods. The same is true of plate glass, looking-glass plates etc. Heretofore manufacturers and exporters in Central Europe have done a large and lucrative business in this line with the United States, that country affording them their best market, but many of the factories are now closed, or are running on half or quarter time and the plants can be bought for fifty per cent. of the amount they would have brought six or seven years ago."

Reports of a similar nature come from France. Walter P. Griffin, Commercial Agent at Limoges, says that there is a great demand for American agricultural machinery of every kind, as well as for sewing machines. He further says:

"There is probably no tool employed by the American artisans, carpenters, masons, plumbers, lock-smiths, woodworkers, etc., that could not find a ready and profitable sale in France. As these goods are less bulky than, and different in shape from, the French ones, they must be shown, and their excellence proven to the workmen before their superiority is realized.

"There is also an undoubted demand for good cooking stoves and ranges."

Continuing, Mr. Griffin tells of many other American manufactured articles which the French would buy, if the opportunity were offered them.

Frank H. Mason, United States Consul-General at Frankfort, tells of the demand for American leather goods, particularly shoes. He writes:

"The statement is here reiterated, upon the judgment of competent experts, that in every important German city, or large town, there could be established, with practical certainty of success, an American shoe-store. American shoes are offered here as a costly luxury, while it is a fact that

good factory-made boots and shoes are cheaper, quality considered, in the United States, than anywhere else in the world. American lumber and furniture is reported as in good demand, and there should be in Germany a far more extensive market for American mechanics' tools that has yet been developed."

The same story is told everywhere of the demand for American-made goods, but these goods must be shown, and their points of excellence made evident, in order to awaken the natives to a proper appreciation of their advantages. The Consuls, almost without exception, urge that commercial travellers be sent abroad and samples exhibited. It would be futile to expect the natives to buy unless this is done.

"If our manufacturers and business men are desirous of extending their foreign trade, it is indispensable that they deal with it in a proper way," writes Herbert de Castro, United States Consul-General at Rome. "They must do preliminary or missionary work. The merchants and importers of this country will not come to us unless we go to them first, and educate them to the use of our products. Some of our intelligent commercial travelers, supplied with adequate samples, would accomplish more in one month than letters and circulars could in years. The method may be somewhat expensive in the beginning, but the final results could not fail to be gratifying.

"Should our business men pay as much attention to this part of Europe as they have, for instance, to Mexico and some of the South American countries, they would soon reap the benefit of their enterprise. By following in the footsteps of the European exporters, they would soon learn to compete successfully with them. When American products are once introduced on these markets, and are well known and appreciated, they will not fail to command the preference on account of their superiority."

Such methods as are urged by the Consuls are expensive, but the Paris Exposition will offer a cheaper way to achieve the same results, as American goods will be placed side by side with those of European manufacture, for comparison. It will thus be unnecessary to establish warehouses, or salesrooms so extensively in the different countries, and this enormous expense will be entirely avoided. Although American goods will be exhibited only in Paris, and not in the many important cities of the various countries, the thousands of visitors and experts present from those countries will, upon their return home, disseminate the information there obtained of the superiority of our productions. The quality will thus receive the greatest publicity among the people of the different nations in the shortest possible space of time, and at the least possible expense. Besides the millions of Frenchmen, it is estimated that over two million foreigners will visit the exposition, and if the United States is well represented

in the exhibits, this army of visitors will be an army of commercial travellers who will go forth into every land and, in the language of that land, praise American goods. The advantages to accrue will be, not to the individual exhibitors only; other Americans engaged in the same industry will be benefited. It is not one particular make of shoes, or one particular manufacturer's furniture, that is demanded, but American-made shoes, and American-made furniture. It is the purpose of the Commissioner-General so to install this country's display that the benefits will accrue to the whole country.

While the prime motive of America's display will be the extension and expansion of her trade with foreign countries—and to accomplish that a creditable exhibit is necessary—it must be borne in mind that other nations are working to the same end, and will likewise use every effort to increase their individual trade, even at the expense of other countries, including the United States. They, too, will make magnificent displays, and to counteract their influence it is necessary that the United States should get together an exhibit that will truly represent the progress of this country, and the excellence of its products, as compared with the exhibits of other countries which will be placed side by side with them.

In the manufacture of agricultural implements alone, there is invested in the United States over $500,000,000, and this industry gives employment to over 500,000 of America's best mechanics and brightest laboring men. Other branches of industry have proportionate capital invested, and employ a proportionate number of the men who form the sinew of this country as a nation. A loss of any of the foreign trade would mean a loss to this invested capital; it would throw many of these mechanics and workmen out of employment, and inflict a corresponding injury upon the prosperity of the country.

The President, in his recent annual message to Congress, with reference to the importance of the participation of the United States in the Paris Exposition of 1900, says:

"Where our artisans have the admitted capacity to excel, where our inventive genius has initiated many of the grandest discoveries of these later days of the century, and where the native resources of our land are as limitless as they are valuable to supply the world's needs, it is our province, as it should be our earnest care, to lead in the march of human progress and not rest content with any secondary place. Moreover, if this be due to our-

selves, it is no less due to the great French nation, whose guests we become, and which has in so many ways testified its wishes and hope that our participation shall befit the place the two peoples have won in the field of universal development."

The Paris Exposition of 1900 will occupy only about half as much ground as the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. France will occupy 55 per cent. of the covered area, and the United States will have no more than its proportion of the remaining 45 per cent. At Chicago the United States had 45 per cent. of the covered space in grounds extending over 720 acres.

Space equal to that obtained by any other country has been allotted to the United States in each of the twenty pavilions which will form the exposition proper; a site for a national building and areas for other buildings have also been granted. An opportunity will therefore be offered to show the diversity of the products of this country, and from the anxiety shown by manufacturers and producers to exhibit, it must be inferred that the character of the exhibits in every department will be inferior to none. The difficult problem will be to install them so as to produce the best effect, and obtain the best results.

Estimating his needs by what he had at the World's Columbian Exposition, nearly every manufacturer has asked for a reservation of space, which, if granted, would prevent his competitors from exhibiting. It is desired, however, that the greatest possible number of producers and manufacturers show their goods, so that the benefit from exhibiting may be most generally distributed, and that the United States may carry away the largest number of awards; by which European countries judge largely of the qualities of a nation's products.

That this may be done, it may be necessary for exhibitors to unite in collective exhibits which will bear a national character, preserving, at the same time, the individuality of the exhibitors. The collective national exhibits made by foreign countries at Chicago in 1893 were the most effective, as is well known, and as their Commissioners declare in their reports on the exposition.

The various national manufacturing associations realize the advantages to the whole trade and the country, which would follow such a policy, and have expressed their approval and desire to have it carried out as regards their respective industries.

The expense to the government of such exhibits will, however, be much greater than if everything were left to the judgment of individuals; the cost of the plans and installations must be more extensively borne, and additional experts must be employed. It is on account of this, the expense necessary to erect the national building, that the present appropriation of $650,000 is inadequate, and that the expenditure of at least a million dollars will be necessary to enable the United States to make a display that will be in keeping with its rank as a commercial nation. A million dollars will not be an extravagant sum; it is the amount which Special Commissioner Handy deemed necessary, and is much less than the amount which other nations have arranged to expend in exploiting their industries at the exposition.

The classification of the exposition contains eighteen groups, which the French officials have united into eleven departments, so-called, a director being placed in charge of each to superintend personally the installation of exhibits. The Commissioner-General for the United States has selected a like number of chiefs who will act in similar capacity for this country. The men chosen are experts of national reputation in their respective lines; men whose names assure success in whatever they undertake.

Unlike past expositions, the coming one will have the raw material, the process of manufacture, and the finished products exhibited side by side, thereby giving to the different sections an added attractiveness by showing machinery in motion.

In every building and group it is expected that the United States will have some new invention or device so especially attractive that the American sections will prove the "*clou*" of the exposition, to provide which the officials are taxing themselves; and also be a revelation even to Americans.

The National Building will be an oasis where Americans may find Americans, and rest from the weariness of the sight of strangers.

The unveiling of the Lafayette monument, on July 4, will make United States Day the most conspicuously resplendent of national days.

The outlook for the United States at the exposition is excellent. The co-operation of manufacturers and producers, which is already assured, and the assistance of Congress through an addi-

tional appropriation, will enable us to make an exhibit in all lines that will be not only creditable, but conducive to still further prosperity.

The eyes of the world are now upon America, marvelling at its recent prowess upon the sea, and wondering what this Child of the West will do next. While this is so, every effort should be made to prove that, in the arts of peace, America is no less supreme than in the science of war. But this can no more be done without the expenditure of money than can victories of war be won. The increase of the present appropriation to one-half the sum that would be necessary to build one second-rate battleship, would be sufficient to assure a victory that would prove of vastly more benefit to the people of the United States than did the recent success of their arms.

FERDINAND W. PECK.

STUDIES IN CHEERFULNESS—II.

BY MAX O'RELL.

THINGS are going to change. The time is soon coming, coming indeed at giant's strides, when babies will cease to be born with silver spoons in their mouths. No man need be afraid to be called a Utopian, a Socialist, or an Anarchist, who says that the time is coming when the legislatures of all the civilized nations in the world will be busy settling social questions; that the time is coming when every man will have to work, and when no one will be allowed to enjoy the privileges of wealth without returning some equivalent for it to the community.

That will not be the reign of Socialism, much less of Anarchism, for both systems are utterly and wretchedly wrong in that they suppress competition. Society will never be so organized that the lazy, the drunkard, the improvident, the dissolute, will have as much chance of success in life as the intelligent, the industrious, the frugal, the saving, and the generally well-behaved. No, no; the fittest will always survive, but everyone shall be offered a chance. All I say is this: A society in which the workers live in poverty, often in a state bordering on starvation, while the idlers live in unbridled luxury, I say that society is wrongly organized. All my sympathies are for those who do the work. The men who build our houses, often at the risk of their lives; the men who make the railways; the men who bury themselves in the earth, and, lying on their backs for hours in the mines, procure coal for our comfort; those men draw my sympathies much more than those who yawn in their clubs all day long, attend races, and remember their days by their utter uselessness only.

I believe that people will not be really cheerful, contented and happy so long as they know that thousands and thousands of their fellow-creatures are wringing their hands in despair.

The really cheerful and happy people in the world are those who are satisfied to be little, to do little and to know little. The only really rich people are those who are rich, not in what they actually possess, but in what they know how to do without. If you doubt it, go to a theatre, and look at the bored faces that occupy the boxes and the orchestra stalls, and at the cheerful, eager, happy ones that occupy the upper circle and the gallery. Look at the occupants of those gorgeous carriages who "do" Rotten Row or the Avenue des Acacias as in duty bound, and the happy, cheerful, orderly crowds who enjoy a Sunday afternoon in the Versailles Gardens.

I feel much more happy, comfortable and cheerful after my good, simple, every-day dinner, quietly enjoyed with my family, with my dog begging by my side, my cat perched on the top of an armchair blinking and waiting for a chance to be noticed, and my parrot suggesting a "thank you, so good for Polly"—yes, yes, much more happy than I do after a banquet or a huge *table d'hôte* dinner.

I remember one evening, at a dinner in America, I was sitting at table by the side of a minister of the Gospel. The *menu* was in length what an American *menu* is on such occasions. The swallowing and digesting of it explains the miracle of the loaves and fishes, according to a well-known negro who had been told that fifteen thousand loaves and fishes had been eaten by five people: "De miracle was dey didn't bust." In the midst of that *menu*, just before the roast viands and the famous canvas-back duck, was written "*Rum Sherbet*," which most of us had with a cigarette and a ten minutes' rest. Now, in France, we have no sherbet at such a time; but I don't say this to suggest that the Americans are wrong. Not at all; *chacum à son gôut*. Full of my stupid French notions and prejudices, however, I could not help remarking to my neighbor: "How strange! an alcoholic water ice between meat dishes! What is the object?" "Well," replied the minister of the Gospel, "it cools you and it enables you to go on." I sat aghast, and said to him: "I see, it enables you to go on, and," I added, "perhaps, in the street next to this, there is some poor desolate mother with only milkless breasts to offer to a starving babe!" "Ah," he quickly retorted, "if we knew where she was, we should go to her and help her." "But," I said, "if careful enquiries were made, we should know where

she is, for she is close by and, alas, everywhere." There is enough good food wasted at the public dinners and hotel *tables d'hôte* of every large American city to feed all the hungry. Well, all I say is this: When, in thirty or forty years, we tell our grand or great-grandchildren that, at the end of the nineteenth century we took a sherbet "in order to cool ourselves so as to be able to go on," when, a few yards off, the most abject poverty was rampant, they will not believe us; at any rate, they will not believe that we were Christians. But, by that time, maybe, they will have started a new religion: the religion of Christ.

* * *

One of the causes of French cheerfulness is to be found in the settling of the land question by the French Revolution, not in the way I should like it to be, for I hold that the Earth was meant for the human race, and not for a few privileged ones, even if these few were many. Yet, for a hundred years the land in France has been marketable, with the result that we have a contented peasantry, who own their bit of land, live in it and on it, and work it themselves. If the land is not to be nationalized, at any rate it should not be meant to keep three kinds of people, landlords who do nothing for it, tenants who improve it for landlords, and laborers who starve on it. However, as it is, we have a landed proprietary, happy and contented.

Before the French Revolution the land belonged, as it does in England now, to a few dukes, marquises and earls, who, to possess it, only took the trouble to be born. Their ancestors had been given that land as a reward, some for great services rendered to King and country, others for some bellicose exploits that would probably be rewarded to-day with twenty years of penal servitude. But those worthy ancestors of our dukes, marquises and earls were not given that land for nothing; they had some duties to perform in return. In time of war they had to levy troops at their own expense for the defence of the land against a foreign invader. That was the price for their tenure of the land. Their descendants went on keeping the land, but ceased to pay for its defence, and the people found that they had to do this themselves at the price of their own starvation. The difference between the merits of those ancestors and of their descendants is well illustrated by an interesting and amusing incident in Voltaire's life.

Voltaire had taken a box at the Opera and was installed in it

with ladies, when the Duke of Lauzun, one of the worst libertines in the time of Louis XV., arrived and asked for a box. He was respectfully informed that all the boxes were taken. "That may be," he said, "but I see Voltaire in one, turn him out." In those times those things could happen, and Voltaire had to be turned out. No doubt he preferred that to being turned in-side the Bastille. He brought an action against the duke to recover the price he had paid for the box. "What!" exclaimed the advocate for the duke, "is it M. de Voltaire who dares to plead against the Duke of Lauzun, whose great-grandfather was the first to get on the walls of La Rochelle against the Protestants, whose grandfather took twelve cannons from the Dutch at Utrecht, whose father captured two standards from the English at Fontenoy, who——" "Oh, but excuse me," interrupted Voltaire in the court, "I am not pleading against the Duke of Lauzun who was first on the walls of La Rochelle, nor against the duke who took twelve cannons from the Dutch at Utrecht, nor against the duke who captured two standards from the English at Fontenoy; I am pleading against the Duke of Lauzun who never captured anything in his life except my box at the Opera." It seems to me that this is the whole thing in a nutshell. In spite of warnings coming from all sides, the aristocracy would not see what was going on around them and what was slowly, but surely, coming. The great preacher Massillon, ninety years before the Revolution, predicted the downfall of the nobles, but they took no heed. Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau, seventy years later, wrote books. The latter wrote one that was called "*The Social Contract.*" The aristocracy laughed at it and called it a mere theory; but, as Carlyle once said in his own brutal way: "Their skins went to bind the second edition of that book," their land was put up to auction and the people acquired it. The aristocracy ceased to be a power in the country.

Before the Revolution, the French peasant was a sort of wild animal, dark, livid, burnt with the sun, bound to the soil, which he dug and stirred with an unflagging patience. At night he retired to his den, and fed on black bread, water and roots. No wonder that Mme. de Sévigné was able to exclaim: "These people save other men the trouble of sowing, digging and reaping, and deserve not to lack of that bread which they have grown." To-day the French peasant lives in his own cottage and cultivates

his own field. His ideal of life is the independence which is the fruit of labor and economy. He is satisfied with very little in the days of his strength, because the prospect of eating his own bread near the door of his own cottage when his strength is gone makes him happy. So he works steadily, with a cheerful wife who is a true helpmate. She knows that her husband is not a gentleman, and she does not try to play the lady. She is not "at home" once a week, and does not indulge in the high handshake. She gets up at five in the morning to feed the pigs herself, and that is why the pigs in France look cheerful, too.

* * *

France has been fortunate in possessing a writer, the greatest and most influential French prose writer of the century, Ernest Renan, who made himself the apostle of the Gospel of Cheerfulness.

Ernest Renan has often been compared to Voltaire. Like him, he was trained under ecclesiastical influence and intended for the vocation of a priest. Like him, he was vaccinated, but, somehow, it did not take. Like Voltaire, he wrote the most easy, clear, limpid, logic prose, but there the resemblance ends. Voltaire enlightened the world by his profound learning, and entertained it by his marvellous cutting wit; but Renan improved it. The sneers and sarcasms of Voltaire often excited hatred; the kind and healthy writings of Renan excited love, and made people more happy and cheerful. Both are still called atheists by the bigots, as they were in their own times, but neither of them was. It was Voltaire who uttered the famous saying that "if God did not already exist, we should have to invent Him." As for Ernest Renan, certainly his God is not the small, petty, revengeful God that some narrow-minded pigmies have created in their own image, that God who spends His time in counting the hairs on the heads of the human race, but a great, good, merciful God, the God who commands us to love one another, the God of love, mercy and charity. Ernest Renan loved humanity with all its weaknesses, even *because* of its weaknesses. He held that people are often lovable on account of a hundred little failings and weaknesses. He sometimes pitied the world, but never scolded it. He was a great, gentle, lofty spirit, the greatest thinker and scholar of his time, who thought like a man, felt like a woman, sometimes acted like a child, and always wrote like an angel. Through his

genius the world has been made better and happier. He loved man, and improved the feelings of man toward man. He taught the world to be happy by tolerance and cheerful by moderation.

Ernest Renan had no patience with the idea, prevalent among self-made men, that their accumulation of wealth confers a benefit upon the community. Being convinced that money gained must be money lost by some one else, he despised greed. A like idea of political economy is very old-fashioned, but it is still prevalent among the inhabitants of Brittany, the birthplace of Renan, and, who knows ? human opinion will perhaps come back to it one day. In the meantime, Renan claims immunity for the Bretons, those survivors of an old world, in which this harmless error has kept alive the tradition of self-sacrifice, a race perfectly unfit for commerce, and whom we find in all the professions, doctors, sailors, soldiers, writers, a happy and cheerful race.

Renan dreaded for men the idea of a luxurious life. The cost of enjoyment in age is in abstemiousness in youth. Mr. John Ruskin says that it was the paucity of toys which made him enjoy pleasures late in life. His palate is now unimpaired because, as a child, he never had more than a taste of sweets. "I am cheerful," once wrote Renan, "because, having had few amusements when young, I have kept my illusions in all their freshness."

Cheerfulness depends upon illusions, upon not too rigorously determining to see all truths in life. Even superstition feeds cheerfulness, and should not be shunned like fanaticism, which kills it. Cheerfulness depends upon having beliefs, belief in friendship, belief in all that helps to make living beautiful, and the saddest experience in life is to be deceived and thereby lose a belief or an illusion. Children are happy and cheerful because they are full of illusions, of beliefs, and of confidence.

When we are told, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, that "except we become as little children, we shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven," I am disposed to thus interpret the verse: "Except we become as little children, confident, believing and unconscious of malice, we shall not be happy in this world." When I read: "Happy are the poor in spirit, because they shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven," I feel disposed to say: "Happy are those who are determined not to know all the truths in life, because they shall be happy in this world."

Ernest Renan would say to you: "Make money that you may

possess it; but do not aim at making too much, for fear it should possess you. Money cannot buy everything. It cannot buy health, life, or love. If you were a hundred times richer than you are, you could not multiply your wants and pleasures by one hundred. You could not eat or drink a hundred times more than you do now." There is truth and philosophy in that remark of the English drunkard staggering in the gutter: "If I was the blooming Dook of Westminster, I could—not—be—more—drunk—than —I—am." Renan would say to you, Don't take life too seriously, when you are old, you will remember life with pleasure only by the hundreds of little follies you have indulged in, by the hundreds of innocent little temptations you have succumbed to. Avoid perfect people and angels of all sorts—this side of the grave. Man will never be perfect; love him with all his imperfections. Never resist impulses of generosity, they will make you cheerful, nay, healthy. They will give color to your cheeks and prevent your flesh, in old age, from turning into yellow, dried-up parchment. Come home with pockets full of presents for the children. Let them put their little hands right to the bottom of those pockets. You will be repaid, amply repaid, by their holding out their little round faces, to thank you in anticipation of what they know you have done for them. That may be cupboard love —of course it is; every love, except a mother's, is cupboard love— never mind that: if you will make up your mind not to expect too much from man, you will be satisfied with getting what you can from children.

* * *

The most real, the sweetest pleasures in life are the pleasures of poverty.

There died, in Edinburgh, a few years ago, a cheerful, happy-looking old woman, who sold sweets to the children of the Cowgate, that wretched, squalid spot of the Scottish capital. Her whole stock was worth about a couple of shillings, and she once told me that when at the end of the day she had made six or eight pence profit she was quite satisfied. Alas, there are many children, in the Cowgate, who never felt in the hollow of their hands a half-penny or even a farthing, and who, on beholding the old woman's basket full of shiny white, pink and rose candies, would throw a side glance of envy and pass on, sad and dejected, or stop a few seconds, with their fingers in their mouths. Seldom

was a child, who could not afford to pay her, allowed to pass that basket without receiving one for love. One day, coming out of school, the children looked for the old woman in vain. She was dead. At her funeral, hundreds of barefooted little boys and girls in rags followed their departed friend down the Cowgate.

When that old woman arrived at the gates of Heaven, there were more angels to meet her and take her to the throne of the Almighty than there would be for the arrival of all the dukes in Christendom. If there are social sets in Heaven, I guess that old woman is a leader of fashion among the four-hundred there—or my idea of Heaven is altogether wrong.

MAX O'RELL.

RECENT PHASES OF LITERARY CRITICISM.

BY JOHN BURROUGHS.

I.

THE criticism of criticism is one of the marked literary characteristics of the last ten or fifteen years, both in this country and in Europe. It is seen in France in Brunetière's essays and in Hennequin's "Scientific Criticism;" in England, in the recent work of Wm. B. Worsfold on the "Principles of Criticism" and in Mr. John M. Robertson's two volumes of "Essays Toward a Critical Method;" in this country, in Mr. Howells's "Criticism and Fiction," in Prof. Johnson's "Elements of Criticism" and in the still more recent work of Prof. Sears on "Methods and Principles of Criticism," besides the numerous discussions of the subject in the magazines and literary journals.

One of the latest phases of the subject was recently discussed by Professor Oscar L. Triggs, of Chicago University, under the head of "Democratic Criticism." When Professor Triggs first broached this subject, a year or two ago, in a western literary journal, several voices of protest—mostly those of college professors—were heard. One of them asked, ironically, Why not have a democratic botany and zoölogy and geology and astronomy, etc. ? I think it may be said in reply that, so far as democracy is based upon natural law and means free inquiry, a fair field and no favor, we have these things already. All science is democratic, in the sense that it is no respecter of persons, has no partialities, stops at no arbitrary boundaries, and places all things on an equal footing before natural law. No doubt, also, science directly makes for democracy. When it has shown us the celestial laws working here under foot as well as in the heavens, and that all things are made of one stuff, it is making smooth the way for democratic ideas and ideals.

Still, pure science is outside the domain of literature, and does not reflect a people's life and character as literature does. It does not hold the mirror of man's imagination up to nature, but resolves nature in the alembic of his understanding. It is not an exponent of personality, as art is, but an index of the development and progress of the impersonal reason. But when we enter the region of the sentiments and the emotions—the subjective world of criticism, literature, art—the case is different. Here we find reflected social and arbitrary distinctions; here we find mirrored the spirit and temper of men as they are acted upon and modified by the social organism and the ideals of different times and races. A democratic community will have standards of excellence in art and criticism differing from those of an aristocratic community, and will be drawn by different qualities. It seems to me that Dr. Triggs was quite right in saying that a criticism that estimates literary features according to absolute standards, that clings to the past, that cultivates the academic spirit, that is exclusive and unsympathetic, may justly be called aristocratic; and that a criticism that follows more the comparative method, that adheres to principles instead of to standards, and lays the stress upon the vital and the characteristic in a man's work, rather than upon its form and extrinsic beauty, is essentially democratic.

No doubt the ideal of the monumental works of antiquity is essentially anti-democratic. It was fostered by an exclusive culture. It goes with the idea of the divine right of kings, of a privileged class, and is at war with the spirit of our times. The Catholic tradition in religion and the classical tradition in literature are as foreign to the spirit of democracy as is the monarchial tradition in politics. They are all branches from the same root. The classical tradition begat Milton, but it did not beget Shakspere, the most marvelous genius of the modern world. To the classic tradition, as it spoke through Voltaire, Shakspere was a barbarian. Indeed, Shakspere's art was essentially democratic, how much soever it may have occupied itself with royal and aristocratic personages. It is as free as an uncaged bird, and pays no tribute to classic models. Its aim is inward movement, fusion and vitality, rather than outward harmony and proportion. A Greek play is like a Greek temple—chaste, severe, symmetrical, beautiful. A play of Shakspere is,

as Dr. Johnson long ago suggested, more like a wood or a piece of free nature.

II.

Democratic and aristocratic may not be the best terms to apply to the two opposing types of critics—men like Matthew Arnold or the French critic, Ferdinand Brunetière, on the one hand, both the spokesmen of authority in letters; and men like Sainte-Beuve and Anatole France, and the younger generation of English and American critics on the other, men who are more tolerant of individual differences and more inclined to seek the reason of each work within itself. Yet these terms indicate fairly well two profoundly different types.

Brunetière is a militant and dogmatic critic, as we saw by his severe denunciation of Zola while lecturing in this country last year. One of his eulogists speaks of him as the "autocrat of triumphant convictions." Of democratic blood in his veins there is very little. He reflects the old orthodox and aristocratic spirit in his dictum that nature is not to be trusted; that both in taste and in morals what comes natural to us and gives us pleasure is, for that very reason, to be avoided. Nature is depraved. In morals, would we attain to virtue, we must go counter to her; and in art and literature, would we attain to wisdom, we must distrust what we like. This suspicion of nature was the keynote of the old theology, which found its authority in a miraculous revelation, and it is the keynote of the old Aristotelian criticism, which found its authority in a body of rules deduced from the masters. The new theology looks for a scientific basis for its morals, or seeks for the sanction of nature herself; and democratic criticism aims to stand upon the same basis, and cleaves to principles and not to standards, not by yielding to the caprices of uninformed taste, but by seeking the law and test of every work within itself. We no longer judge of the worth of a man by his creed, but by what he is in and of himself; by his natural virtues and aptitudes, and we no longer condemn a work of art because it breaks with the old traditions.

Arnold was of similar temper with Brunetière. His elements of style are "dignity and distinction," a part of the classic tradition, a survival from the feudal and aristocratic world, from a literature of courts and courtiers, as distinguished from a literature of the people, a democratic literature. Distinction of

utterance, distinction of manners, distinction of dress and equipage—they are all of a piece, and adhere in the aristocratic and monarchical ideal. The special antipathy of this ideal is the common; all commonness is vulgar. When Arnold came to this country and became interested in the lives of Grant and Lincoln, he found them both wanting in distinction—there was no savor of the aristocratic in their words or manners. And the criticism is true. From all accounts, Grant presented a far less distinguished appearance at Appomattox than did Lee; and Lincoln was easily outshone in aristocratic graces by some members of his cabinet. Indeed, the predominant quality of the two men was their immense commonness. Washington and Jefferson came much nearer the aristocratic ideal. Lincoln and Grant both had greatness of the first order, but their type was democratic and not aristocratic. The aristocratic ideal of excellence embraces different qualities; there is more pride, more exclusiveness in it; it holds more by traditions and special privileges. Lincoln had less distinction than Sumner or Chase, Grant less than Sherman or Lee, but each had an excellence the others had not. The choice, the refined, the cultured, belong to one class of excellencies; the qualities of Lincoln and Grant belong to another and more fundamental kind. Arnold himself had distinction; he had urbanity, lucidity, proportion, and many other classic virtues, but he had not breadth, sympathy, heartiness, commonness. The quality of distinction, an air of something choice, high-bred, superfine, will doubtless count for less and less in a country like ours. In literature and in character we are looking for other values, for the true, the vital, the characteristic. There is nothing in life or character more winsome than commonness wedded to great excellence; the ordinary crowned with the extraordinary, as in Lincoln the man, Socrates the philosopher, Burns or Wordsworth the poet. Distinction wins admiration, commonness wins love. The note of equality, the democratic note, is much more pronounced in Browning than in Tennyson, in Shelley than in Arnold, in Wordsworth than in Milton, and it is more pronounced in American poets than in English. In times and for a people like ours, the suggestion of something hearty and heroic in letters, is more needed than the suggestion of something fine and exquisite. Distinction is not to be confounded with dignity or elevation, which flourishes more or less in all great

peoples. A common laboring man may show great dignity, but never distinction. Dignity often shone in the speeches of the old Indian chiefs, but not distinction.

The more points at which a man touches his fellow man, the more democratic he is. The breadth of his relation to the rest of the world, that is the test. Sainte-Beuve was more truly a democratic critic than is Brunetière. The democratic producer in literature will differ from the aristocratic less in his standards of excellence than in the atmosphere of human equality and commonness which he effuses. We are too apt to associate the common with the vulgar. There is the commonness of a Lincoln or a Grant, and there is the commonness of the lower strata of society. There is the commonness of earth, air and water, and there is the commonness of dust and mud; the commonness of the basic and the universal, and the commonness of the cheap and tawdry. Grant's calmness, self-control, tenacity of purpose, modesty, comprehensiveness of mind, etc., were uncommon in degree, not in kind. He was the common soldier with extraordinary powers added, but the common soldier was always visible. So with Lincoln, his greatness was inclusive, not exclusive.

III.

With some of Dr. Triggs' dicta I do not find myself in full accord. "With the standard of good taste," he says, "democracy has little to do." Yet one feels that democratic principles and usages must in some way be made to square with good taste and right reason. If they do not, then are not these principles discredited? Good taste, right reason, are grounded in the fitness of things. Democracy is also supposed to be grounded in the fitness of things. Can the two then be at war? The quiet, the decorous, the proper, the happy mean—are these things foreign to an ideal democracy? Are the loud, the bizarre, the tawdry, the "cheap and nasty," to be desired or looked for? Are not these last the accidents rather than the essentials of democratic conditions? Make prominent the people and you make prominent their vices and vulgarisms also. Cultivate the people, keep principles of good taste and right reason before them, and their vices and vulgarisms diminish. We cannot rise to excellence in anything if we lose sight of the "best." Standards must be kept high, or our achievements will fall low. If all cannot have the best, all can have the

good. In a world where everybody is educated and reads books, much poor literature will circulate, but will not the good, the best circulate also ? Will there not be the few good judges, the saving remnant ? Is there not as much good taste and right reason now in England or France as during more rigidly monarchical times ?

The ideal democracy is not the triumph of barbarism, or the riot of vulgarity, but it is the triumph of right reason and natural equality and inequality. Some things are better than others, better from the point of view of the whole of life. These better things we must cling to and make much of in a democracy, as in an aristocracy. We must aspire to the best that is known and thought in the world. This best a privileged class seeks to appropriate to itself; a democracy seeks to share it with all. All are not capable of receiving it, but all may try. They will be better able to-morrow if they have the chance to-day. We must not ignore the vulgarity, the bad taste incident to democratic conditions. If we do, we never get rid of them. Political equality brings to the foreground many unhandsome human traits, the loud, the mediocre, the insolent, etc. All the more must we fix attention upon the true, the noble, the heroic, the disinterested. The rule of temperance, of good taste, of right reason, antedates any and every social condition. Democracy cannot abrogate fundamental principles. The essential conditions of life are not changed, but arbitrary, accidental conditions are modified. One still needs food and raiment and shelter and transportation; he is still subject to the old hindrances and discouragements within himself.

We must give the terms good taste, right reason, a broader scope, that is all. The principles of good taste when applied to art are not fixed and absolute, like those of mathematics or the exact sciences. They are vital and elastic. They imply a certain fitness and consistency. Shakspere shocked the classic taste of the French critics. He violated the unities and mixed prose and poetry. But what was good taste in Shakspere—that is, in keeping with his spirit and aim—might be bad taste in Racine. What is permissible to an elemental poet like Whitman would jar in a refined poet like Longfellow. But bad taste in Whitman; that is, things not in keeping with the ideal he has before him, jar the same as in any other poet. He has many lines and passages and whole poems that set the teeth of many readers on edge, that are yet in perfect keeping with his plan and spirit. They go with the

poet of the Cosmos, but not with the poet of the drawing room or library. My taste is not shocked, but my courage is challenged. When, in one of the earlier editions of his poems, he said of the Brooklyn hills, "Bully for you!" he was guilty of bad taste, he used vulgar slang that had no meaning, as he himself saw later. I count him guilty of bad taste when he applies the word "meat" to the flesh of the human body, or when he said, "I cock my hat as I please, indoors and out," or when he addressed the earth as "old top knot," but not when he discarded the rules of prosody in his poetry. Here he was appealing to a more free, robust and open air taste. It was in keeping with the whole scheme of his work. Good taste is not in keeping the rule, but in being true to the life, in observing the true relativity of things. I count Dr. Holmes guilty of bad taste when, in a serious biographical work, he spoke of Emerson's mouth as a port of entry. I count Lowell guilty of bad taste when he said that Milton was about the only poet who ever got much poetry out of a cataract, and that was a cataract of the eye. Such things jar because they are incongruous. They are jokes out of season and out of place. To have good taste, in my meaning of the term, is to be able to perceive that which is æsthetically sound and true.

In Whitman's case the appeal is not so directly and exclusively to our æsthetic perceptions as it is by most other poets; he is elemental where they are cultured and artificial; at the same time he can no more escape æsthetic principles than they can. Because a flower, a gem, a well-kept lawn, etc., are beautiful, we are not compelled to deny beauty to rocks, trees and mountains. If Whitman does not, in his total effects, attain to something like this kind of beauty he is not a poet.

IV.

I have said that Sainte-Beuve was more truly a democratic critic than is M. Brunetière. He is more tolerant of individualism in letters. He called himself a naturalist of minds. His main interest in each work was in what was most individual and characteristic in it. He was inclusive rather than exclusive, less given to positive judgments, but more to sympathetic interpretation. He united the method of Darwin to the sensibility of the artist. Critics like Arnold and Brunetière uphold the classic and academic traditions. They are aristocratic because they are the spokesmen of an exclusive culture. They derive from Catholi-

cism more than from Protestantism; they uphold authority rather than encourage individuality in life and letters. In criticism they aim at that intellectual disinterestedness which is indeed admirable, and which has given the world such noble results, but which seems unsuited to the genius of our time. Ours is a democratic century, a Protestant century. Individualism has been the dominant note in literature. The men of power, for the most part, have not been the disinterested, but the interested men, the men of conviction and more or less practical views, who have not so much aimed to see the thing as it is in itself as they have aimed to make others see it as they saw it. In other words, they have been preachers, doctrinaires, men bent upon the dissemination of particular ideas.

One has only to run over the list of the foremost names in literature for the past seventy-five years. There is Tolstoi, in Russia, clearly one of the great world writers, but a doctrinaire through and through. There is Renan, Victor Hugo, Taine, Thiers, Guizot, in France; Wordsworth, Coleridge, Carlyle, Ruskin, Newman, Huxley, George Eliot, Mrs. Ward, in English literature, and in American literature Emerson, Whitman and Thoreau. All these men had aims ulterior to those of pure literature. They were not disinterested observers and recorders. They obtruded their personal opinions and convictions. They are the men with a message. Their thoughts spring from some special bent or experience, and address themselves to some special mood or want. They wrote the books that help us, that often come to us as a revelation; works of art, it may be, but of art in subjection to moral conviction and directed to other than purely æsthetic ends. They gave expression to their individual tastes and predilections; they were more or less tethered to their own ego, they may be called the personal authors, as their predecessors may be called the impersonal. They are not of the pure breed of men of letters, but represent crosses of various kinds, as the cross of the artist with the thinker, the savan, the theologian, the man of science, the reformer, the preacher, etc. These personal authors belong to the modern world more than to the ancient—to a time of individualism more than to a time of institutionalism; to an industrial and democratic age, more than to an imperial and military age.

Modern life is undoubtedly becoming more and more im-

personal in the sense that it favors less and less the growth and preservation of great personalities, yet its utilitarian spirit, its tendency to specialization, its right of private judgment and its religious doubts and unrest, find their outcome in individualism in literature. The disinterested critics and recorders are still among us, but power has departed from them. The age is too serious, the questions are too pressing. The man of genius is no longer at ease in Zion. If he rises at all above the masses, he must share the burden of thought and conscience of his times. This burden may hinder the free artistic play of his powers, as it probably has in most of the names I have mentioned, yet it will greatly deepen the impression his words will make. The saying, "art for art's sake," cannot be impeached, even by Tolstoi. When rightly understood, it is true. Art would live in the whole, and not in the part called morals or religion, or even beauty. But its exponents in our day have been, with few exceptions, of a feeble type, men of words and fancies like Swinburne or Poe. In Tennyson we have as pure a specimen of artistic genius as in Shakspere, but a far less potent one. His power comes when he thrills and vibrates with some special thought or cry of his time. With the great swarms of our minor poets the complaint is, not that the type is not pure, but that the inspiration is feeble. They have more art than nature. It is the same with the novelists. Since Hawthorne and Thackeray the pure artistic gift has no longer been the endowment of great or profound personalities. George Eliot, Mrs. Ward, Tolstoi, all interested writers, all with aims foreign to pure art, are the names of power in our half of the century. Henry James is a much finer artist, but he has nothing like their hold upon the great common elements of human life. The disinterested writer gives us a higher, more unselfish pleasure than the type I am considering; we are compelled to rise more completely out of ourselves to meet him. I am only insisting that in our day he has little penetration, and that the men of power have been of the other class.

I have placed Taine among the interested critics; he was interested in putting through certain ideas; he had a thesis to uphold; he will not value all truths equally, he will take what suits him. Like all men with preconceived ideas, his mind was more like a searchlight than like a lamp. This makes him stimulating as a critic, but not always satisfying.

The same is true of our own Emerson, probably our most stimulating and fertilizing mind thus far. Lowell, as a man of letters, is of a much purer strain; he is in the direct line of succession of the great literary names, yet the value of his contribution undoubtedly falls far short of that of Emerson. As a poet, Emerson was a poor singer with wonderfully penetrating tones, almost unequaled in this respect. The same may be said of him as a critic; he was a poor critic with a wonderfully penetrating glance. He had the hawk's eye for the game he was looking for; he could see it amid any tangle of woods or thicket of the commonplace. His special limitation is that he was looking for a particular kind of prey. His sympathies were narrow but intense. The elective affinities were very active in his criticism. He loved Emersonian poetry, he loved the Emersonian paradoxes, he valued the wild aeolian tones; he delighted in the word that gave the prick and sting of the electric spark; abruptness, surprise, the sudden, intense, forked sentence—these took him, these he dealt in. His survey of any man or matter is never a complete one, never a disinterested one, never done in the scientific spirit. He writes about representative men, and exploits Plato, Goethe, Montaigne, etc., in relation to his thought. He is always on quests for particular ideas, in search for Emersonian values. He will not do justice to such poets as Poe and Shelley, but he will do more than justice to Donne and Herbert; he finds in them what he sets out to find; it is a partial view, but it is penetrating and valuable; it is not criticism, and does not set out to be; it is a suggestive study of kindred souls. Emerson's work is kindling and inspiring; it unsettles rather than settles; it is not a lamp to guide your feet, it is a star to give you your bearings.

Carlyle and Ruskin fall into the same category. They sin against the classic virtues of repose, proportion, serenity, but this makes their penetrating power all the greater. Carlyle cannot rank with the great impartial historians, yet as a painter of historical characters and scenes the vividness and reality of his pictures are almost unequalled. Carlyle lacked the disinterestedness of the true artist. He had great power of description and characterization, but he could not as a historian stand apart from his subject as the great Greek and Roman historians do. He is a portion of all he sees and describes. He is bent upon persuasion quite as much as upon portrayal. He could not succeed as a

novelist or a poet because of his vehement, intolerant nature. He succeeds as an historian only in portraying men in whom he sees the lineaments of his own character, as in Cromwell. He did not or could not live in the whole, as did his master, Goethe. His mind was a steep incline. His opinions were like mountain torrents. Arnold, in one of his letters, complained that in his criticism of Goethe there was too much of *engouement*—too much I suppose, of the fondness of the gourmand for a particular dish, or of the toper for his favorite tipple. His enthusiasm was intemperate, and therefore unsound. Doubtless some such objection as this may be urged against most of Carlyle's criticisms. He was ruled by his character more than by his intellect; his feeling guided his vision. If he is not always a light to the reason, he is certainly an electric excitant to the imagination and the moral sense. In his essays, pamphlets, histories, we hardly get judicial estimates of things; rather do we get our estimates, or underestimates. Yet always is there something that kindles and brings the blood to the surface. Carlyle will beget a stronger race than Arnold, but it will not be so cool and clear headed. Emerson will fertilize more minds with new thought than Lowell, but there will be many more cranks and fanatics and hobbyists among them.

Prof. Dowden says Landor falls below Shelley and Wordsworth because he had no divine message or oracle to deliver to the men of his generation; no authentic word of the Lord to utter. Landor had great thoughts, but they were not of first-rate importance with reference to his times. He was more thoroughly imbued with the classic spirit than either Shelley or Wordsworth, and the classic spirit is at ease in Zion. The modern world differs from the ancient in its moral stress and fervor. This moral stress and fervor both Shelley and Wordsworth shared, but Landor did not. Where would the world be in thought, in words, in civilization, had there been no one-sided, overloaded, fanatical men, men of partial views, half-truths, one idea? Where would Christianity have been, under the play of disinterested intellect, without disciples, without devotees, without saints and martyrs, without its Paul and its Luther, without prejudice, without superstition, without inflexibility?

We might fitly contrast these two types of mind under the heads of Protestant and Catholic, the one personal, the other impersonal. With the Protestant type, goes individualism, which, as I

have said, is so marked a feature of the modern world. With the Catholic type goes institutionalism, which was so marked a feature of the ancient world. With the former goes the right of private judgment, innovation, progress, new forms of art; with the latter goes authority, obedience, the power of the past. The Protestant type is more capricious and willful; it is restless, agitated, impatient of rules and precedents; the older type is more serene, composed, conservative, orderly. In criticism it is more objective; it upholds the standards, it lays down the law; it cherishes the academic spirit. The French mind is the more Catholic; the English the more Protestant. In literature the Protestant type is the more subjective and creative; it makes new discoveries, it founds new orders. Catholicism is exterior, formal, imposing; it takes little account of personal needs and peculiarities, while Protestantism is almost entirely concerned with the private interior world. Individualism in religion begat Protestantism, and upon Protestantism it begat the numerous progeny of the sects, the thousand and one isms that now divide the religious world. To this spirit religion is something personal and private to every man, and in no sense a matter of forms and rituals. In fact, individualism fairly confronts institutionalism. This spirit carried into the region of æsthetics or literature gives rise to like results, to a freer play of personal taste and preferences, to more intense individual utterances, to new and unique types of artistic genius, and to new lines of activity in the æsthetic field.

Another name for it is the democratic spirit. Its special dangers are the crude, the odd, the capricious, just as the danger of institutionalism is the coldly formal, the lifeless, exact. In English literature the former begat Shakspere, as it did Tupper; the latter begat Milton, as it did Young and Pollock. With institutionalism goes the divine right of kings, the sacredness of priests, the authority of forms and ceremonies, and the slavery of the masses; with individualism goes the divinity of man, the sacredness of life; the right of private judgment, the decay of traditions and forms and the birth of the modern spirit. With one goes stateliness, impressiveness, distinction, as well as the empty, the moribund, the despotic; with the other goes vigor, seriousness, originality, as well as the loud, the amorphous, the fanatical.

JOHN BURROUGHS.

FREEDOM FROM CAPTURE OF PRIVATE PROPERTY AT SEA.

BY CHARLES HENRY BUTLER.

"SHALL we go forward or backward, or in what direction?" So asked John Bright of the House of Commons in 1862, during a great debate in regard to the freedom of private commerce on the sea from capture during war.

In England the question has never been definitely answered; but in this country the answer has come in clear and undisguised tones from President McKinley in his last annual message to Congress, in which he said:

"The experiences of the last year bring forcibly home to us a sense of the burdens and waste of war. We desire, in common with most civilized nations, to reduce to the lowest possible point the damage sustained in time of war by peaceful trade and commerce. It is true we may suffer in such cases less than other communities, but all nations are damaged more or less by the state of uneasiness and apprehension into which an outbreak of hostilities throws the entire commercial world.

"It should be our object, therefore, to minimize so far as practicable this inevitable loss and disturbance. This purpose can probably be accomplished by an international agreement to regard all private property at sea as exempt from capture or destruction by the forces of belligerent powers. The United States government has for many years advocated this humane and beneficent principle, and is now in position to recommend it to other powers without the imputation of selfish motives. I therefore suggest for your consideration that the Executive be authorized to correspond with the governments of the principal maritime powers, with a view of incorporating into the permanent law of civilized nations the principle of the exemption of all private property at sea, not contraband of war, from capture or destruction by belligerent powers."

By these few words, so aptly and so forcibly spoken at the most opportune time, the policy of the United States has been pledged by the Administration, so far as it is possible for the Chief Executive to do so, and the reply to the question put by Mr. Bright thirty-six years ago is that the world not only must move, but

that it shall move in the right direction—forward, and not backward.

Mr. McKinley has exhibited on more than one occasion the faculty of expressing great principles, and the motives underlying them, in the fewest possible words, and these terse sentences have in no wise diminished his reputation in this respect. In analyzing them we find that the subject matter has been disposed of in all of its many aspects. "The experiences of the last year bring forcibly home to us a sense of the burdens and the waste of war." "We" are the victorious nation; how, therefore, could "we" have felt this burden and waste? Did he not mean that those burdens have been felt by our conquered enemies instead of ourselves? Not at all. He meant exactly what he said.

We felt them because, as our commerce is far greater than that of Spain, we had to bear the risk of capture and pay for it, notwithstanding the remote chance of loss, and notwithstanding, as the result proved, the inability of our enemy even to capture merchantmen. Notwithstanding the remoteness of the risk, however, one well-known shipping firm in New York City paid during the brief period of war over sixty thousand dollars in war premiums, and the aggregate amount of such premiums, according to shippers well informed as to the actual facts, far exceeded the value of all the Spanish merchantmen captured by our Navy under the general rules of maritime warfare.

But, it may be said, this was simply a payment by one class of our citizens to another class; what was one man's loss was another's gain; therefore no real or permanent loss resulted to the country at large. This argument, however, will not hold, for in this case nearly all risks were carried by foreign companies, and by far the largest part of the enormous aggregate amount was paid by American shippers, in American money, to foreign corporations, and therefore was a complete loss to our national wealth. Thus, even though victorious in the war, and strangely fortunate in not losing a single vessel, either merchant or naval, by capture or destruction, the burdens and waste of war were daily brought home to us in the most forcible manner.

The desires of this country in this respect are linked, as the message well expresses it, with those of other civilized nations, in order to reduce this damage to the lowest possible point; this can only be done by relieving commerce of the state of uneasiness and

apprehension into which an outbreak of hostilities necessarily throws the entire commercial world.

Why should the commercial world still be hampered by rules of warfare, as to maritime property, while the similar rules as to property on land became obsolete years ago, and were superseded by those more humane and sensible provisions which have been incorporated into the rules of war on land, of our own country, in fact, of almost every country which claims to rank among the really civilized nations of the world?

The only reason is that, up to this time, no nation has had the courage and tenacity not only to express the desire that the existing right should be modified, but also to insist upon such modification as a part of the law of nations, and not of particular conventions between individual states; and to effectively maintain that the time has at last come when civilization and humanity demand that a lawful (for it is lawful, even though barbarous) rule of war should be abrogated, although it may be apparently advantageous, from a naval and military point of view, to some of the nations which unselfishly offer to forego it, and which ask that all the other civilized nations of the world will join with them in an act that is bound to mark an epoch in the advance of civilization.

The statement that the desired object of minimizing, as far as possible, the inevitable loss and disturbance caused by war, can best be accomplished by an international agreement to regard all private property at sea as exempt from capture, is the practical, and, in fact, the only practicable, solution of the difficulty, and in a few concise words the President has not only diagnosed the trouble, but he has prescribed the remedy, and urged the immediate application thereof by the only power that can administer it, so far as this country is concerned—Congress.

Already resolutions have been introduced in both branches of the Legislature, authorizing correspondence on this subject by the Executive, through the regular and proper channels, with the representatives of foreign powers, and providing for the necessary expense of an International Congress. The only possible means of properly and speedily arriving at an agreement which will effect the desired reform is by formulating a universal treaty, which, when ratified by the various governments participating, will equally bind every one, so that any violation of the rule by a bel-

ligerent will be an offense, not against the other warring power only, but against all the nations uniting in the convention.

It is earnestly hoped that these resolutions will be speedily adopted, so that the proposed congress can be held at an early date this year, if possible.

The attitude of the United States, which has been thus expressed by the Executive, is in exact accord with its position as expressed during the Confederation, in the treaty concluded in 1785 with Prussia by Benjamin Franklin; during the administration of President Monroe, three-quarters of a century ago, through John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State; by President Pierce and Secretary Marcy in 1854 and 1856; during Lincoln's administration by Secretary Seward in 1862. With such a clear record, there is every reason why this Government should now take the initiative in urging upon the world at large the adoption of a rule which it has always desired, but which, manifestly, it could not single-handed adopt or enforce.

We could not accede to the Declaration of Paris in 1856 because it abolished privateering at a period when we necessarily depended upon that form of naval protection for our very large merchant marine, and when our navy was abnormally small. President Pierce concisely and correctly formulated our position in this respect in his message of 1854, as follows:

> "The proposal to surrender the right to employ privateers is professedly founded upon the principle that private property of unoffending non-combatants, though enemies, should be exempt from ravages of war. . . . Should the leading powers of Europe concur in proposing as a rule of international law to exempt private property upon the ocean from seizure by public armed cruisers as well as by privateers, the United States will readily meet them upon that broad ground."

In the recent war with Spain we necessarily enforced the rule of capture, as there was no response to our proclamation that we would not resort to privateering; and, as the implied retention of that right by Spain rendered our commerce subject to capture, we were bound to reserve and exercise every right of war as against our enemies.

Grave questions also exist as to the propriety of the Government's abolishing this class of captures, and the resulting increase of pay of naval officers and seamen by the prize money resulting therefrom, without some proper arrangement in that respect in advance of a declaration of war. It is to the credit of our Navy,

however, that there seems to be an almost unanimous willingness to abolish prize money, and to stand upon a pay table arranged on a proper scale, relative to that in the Army; and, unquestionably, so far as the element of prize money is concerned, no voice of opposition will be heard from our Navy against the abolition of the capture of unoffending merchantmen. Officers and men alike are on the outlook for something better to capture or destroy than unarmed trading vessels, incapable of defense against even gunboats of the smallest class.

Notwithstanding the acknowledged right of capture, however, the United States Government, as an act of graciousness, has offered to restore to their owners those merchant vessels which were taken in the harbor of Santiago by the Army, and in regard to which there was no claim for prize money, thus treating maritime property, belonging to the residents of that city, in the same manner as property on land.

To the average mind the proposition that private property on sea should be treated on the same basis as private property on land seems almost self-evident, and the failure to adopt the rule seems inexplicable. The reason, however, lies in the hitherto persistent refusal of England to accede to the much desired reform. In 1825, France, Russia and the United States were ready to enter into an agreement abrogating the right of capture, but England declined to consider it, and it was not deemed advisable to conclude any general or individual convention without the accession of that power.

From that time to this there has been constant division in England, among her greatest statesmen, as to the advisability of the rule; the weight of authority has been sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other; in fact, in some instances, the same men have appeared on both sides of the controversy. Professor Hall, in the earlier edition of his valuable treatise on International Law, expressed himself as doubtful of the expediency of reforming the rule, but he was apparently a zealous convert to it in 1875, as appears by his article in the October number of the "Contemporary Review" for that year. The most noticeable instance of a changing heart, however, was when Viscount Palmerston asserted before the Liverpool Board of Trade, in 1856, that the honor and glory of having secured the Declaration of Paris belonged to the Ministry of which he was a member, and pledged

himself to obtain, if possible, the exemption from capture of all non-offending private property. Six years later, however, in Parliament, during the debate on Mr. Horsfall's motion to so extend the rule, he declared that the policy of the exemption from capture would be suicidal. He gave no reason, except that he had changed his mind. Such an opportunity could not be lost by Mr. Disraeli, who, thereupon, although himself opposed to the proposed reform, made this announcement the subject of a characteristically sarcastic speech, in which he asked the "noble lord" if all of his plans of government, so enthusiastically delivered and received at public meetings, were to be stigmatized by himself as "suicidal policies" when made the subject of motions in Parliament. Doubtless, Lord Palmerston felt towards his Parliamentary antagonist exactly as Browning did when he dashed off his famous parody on the music hall song, "By Jingo," at Mr. Gladstone's breakfast:

> "We don't want to fight,
> But 'by jingo' if we do,
> The man whose head I want to punch
> Is Beaconsfield the Jew."

Lord Palmerston stuck to his new views, however, throughout the entire debate, in which Mr. Bright took part and asked the pertinent question already quoted, and owing to his opposition the movement did not result in any parliamentary reform at that time. The subject was not revived in Parliament again until Sir John Lubbock brought it up in 1878, when, after a prolonged debate lasting three evenings, he finally consented to withdraw his motion without action.

To-day, however, sentiment is changing in England, and recently articles and pamphlets have appeared from authoritative sources, adopting the view announced by Professor Hall—that the greater the commerce of any nation, the greater its actual loss, and still greater its risks, and that the benefits of the rule of exemption are greater than those of the right of capture, when the longer periods of peace are contrasted with the shorter periods of war. This is most apparent in the case of wars between nations which have great merchant marines and those which have a smaller number of vessels to be exposed.

The proposition is a simple one. A great nation is bound to win eventually in a war against a smaller one. Meanwhile, how-

ever, the commerce destroyers of the smaller nation may capture or destroy many merchant vessels of the larger power, and will necessarily have far more opportunities to do so, on account of the great number of vessels scattered all over the world, while the more powerful nation will not be able to retaliate in the same manner, not from any weakness of its own, but on account of the fewness of its adversary's vessels.

Under existing rules, a great mercantile nation will also have to spread its navy around the whole world to protect its peaceful commerce, thus weakening it for coast defense, blockades and attacks upon the enemy's strongholds and navy. If private commerce were exempted, although the enemy's merchantmen could not be captured, the navy could concentrate its forces upon the other points of attack and defense much more effectually, and ultimately be of greater benefit than if it were partly employed in protecting its own citizens from individual losses, and hunting for spoils, with the hope of weakening the adversary's financial resources. The other European nations are generally in favor of the rule of exemption, with the possible, although by no means certain, exception of France, to whom, however, belongs the credit of having in 1823, during the then existing war with Spain, made the earliest recorded announcement, during war, that the right of capture of merchantmen would be waived (although the principle had been first adopted in theory by the United States and Prussia in 1785). Since then, however, her course has varied, and during the war of 1871 she refused to reciprocate the exemption offered by Germany as to private property, thus forcing the abrogation of the rule, as announced by Germany at the commencement of the war.

Germany is apparently in favor of reforming the rule, and local efforts are now being made to have the government take the matter up; but it is trusted that this country will have the credit at the present time of taking the lead in this step, not only as to the suggestions already made, but as to the complete consummation so earnestly desired.

Italy is already bound to accede, as the rule is part of her civil and military law, and has also been embodied in treaties with several powers, including the United States. Austria has within the last thirty-five years, at least twice, exempted private property, once in a war with Italy and once in a war with Germany.

Russia is to some extent committed to the rule, as it is a step toward that universal peace which the Czar has asked all of his fellow sovereigns to assist him in obtaining by reducing the armaments of Europe.

All of the South American states will doubtless be eager for the adoption of the rule, and will gladly enter the conference. Bolivia, although hardly a maritime power, has already, in a treaty with the United States, provided for the adoption of this rule.

The nations of the East, China and Japan, are in such positions, both as to their navies and their commerce, that the rule of exemption will have far greater advantages than the right of capture, and they will doubtless gladly favor any measure which will definitely establish the rule.

Under all the existing circumstances, therefore, this is the most opportune time for the assembling of an international convention to consider the subject, and it is eminently proper that it should be held in this country, and at the seat of our Government.

Congress should not hesitate either to clothe the Executive with authority to enter into correspondence with the governments of the principal maritime nations, as suggested by the President, or to appropriate the necessary funds to defray the expenses of the International Congress as soon as the invitations are accepted, and the preliminaries arranged. It is of the utmost importance that there should be no delay, for the subject might be taken up and carried out by some other government, as soon as the consummation appears inevitable, and we should then be deprived of the honor and credit to which we are rightfully entitled, as the first nation to suggest the reform after the matter had lain dormant for a quarter of a century.

CHARLES HENRY BUTLER.

THE POWERS OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

BY MILTON H. SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE LOUISVILLE & NASHVILLE RAILROAD.

IN an article in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for November, Mr. Charles A. Prouty, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, presents an ingenious argument in favor of certain demands which the Commission has assiduously pressed upon Congress for the last year or two.

Mr. Prouty strives to show that the rate-making power desired by the Commission is not a rate-making power; but he admits that the power "certainly is great." The best way to ascertain just what this power is, is to take the precise language of the Cullom Bill, which represents exactly what the Interstate Commerce Commission proposes. After providing for a hearing, this proposed amendment reads as follows:

"If the Commission is of the opinion that the rates, fares, or charges, as filed and published, or the classification, or the privileges, facilities and regulations published in connection therewith are unreasonable or otherwise in violation of law, it shall determine what are and will be reasonable and otherwise lawful rates, fares, charges, classification, privileges, facilities or regulations, *and shall prescribe the same, and shall order the carrier or carriers to file and publish, on or before a certain day, to take effect on a certain day, schedules in accordance with the decision of the Commission.* . . .

"A rate, fare, or charge established by the order of the Commission shall not be increased, nor shall a classification, privilege, facility or regulation so established be departed from, without the consent of the Commission, granted upon application of the carrier after due notice and upon full hearing."

This language certainly speaks for itself and leaves nothing to implication. Mr. Prouty argues upon the assumption that the Commission can take action only upon a sworn complaint, but

the act permits the Commission to originate these proceedings without any complaint whatever. The Commission may thus proceed on its own motion and bring before it in one proceeding as many carriers as it may choose, and change as many rates, fares, charges, classifications, privileges, facilities and regulations as it may wish, and prescribe the same, and order the carriers to file and publish on or before a certain day, to take effect on a certain day, schedules in accordance with the decision of the Commission. This is tremendous power, and there is no ground for believing that it would be sparingly or cautiously exercised, for, in the Cincinnati and Chicago Freight Bureau cases, the Commission made orders directly affecting about thirty carriers, requiring very material changes in rates on several thousand commodities from Chicago and Cincinnati to eight important commercial centres in the Southern States, thereby radically changing the entire rate situation as to all south-bound traffic in the territory between the Atlantic and Mississippi, and even further West.

Under the most drastic State Commission laws, the Commissions are authorized to make schedules of charges and reasonable rates of transportation. If the Interstate Commerce Act is amended, as desired by the Commission, that Commission will have precisely the same power. The carrier will have to file all of its interstate rates with the Commission; the Commission will inspect those rates; if it believes them reasonable it will not change them; otherwise it will. A hearing and an investigation are provided for, but that does not affect the power. The most sovereign State Commission is presumed to act only upon investigation, and would not refuse to give the carrier a hearing. Under the plan of the Interstate Commerce Commission, its orders can go into effect without any resort to any judicial tribunal for their enforcement, and the rates made by the most thorough-going rate-making State Commission can have no greater effect than that. Under the Federal Constitution, the rates made by the most powerful Commission, or even by the Legislatures themselves, are susceptible of review if they are confiscatory in character, and under the powers of review proposed by the Interstate Commerce Commission it seems quite clear that the railroads can expect no relief from the courts upon a review of the rates made by the Commission, unless they show substantially that the rates are confiscatory in character. In its Eleventh Annual Report, the Commission

admits that the right of review which it proposed "would not probably embarrass the practical operation of the law;" in other words, it would not embarrass the Commission in the extensive rate-making in which it will engage if this power is conferred upon it.

Railroad commissions can be of but two sorts: First, those which are designed to enforce the law, by instituting prosecutions and by assisting complainants against the railways both in the courts and out; and, second, those which, in fact, are empowered to take charge of the traffic departments of the railroads and make rates for them. No one can read the debates in Congress without being convinced that the Interstate Commerce Commission was intended to be simply of the first-named class. The proposition now is to change the Commission entirely by putting it into the second class, and to constitute it thereby the virtual traffic manager of all the railways in the United States.

The amendments sought by the Commission involve a radical change in the policy of the law. The purpose of the present Interstate Commerce Act was summed up by the Select Committee of the Senate in its report submitted with the bill, which, with some modifications, was finally enacted, as follows:

"The provisions of the bill are based upon the theory that the paramount evil chargeable against the operation of the transportation system of the United States as now conducted is unjust discrimination between persons, places, commodities or particular descriptions of traffic. The underlying purpose and aim of the measure is the prevention of these discriminations, both by declaring them unlawful and adding to the remedies now available for securing redress and enforcing punishment, and also by requiring the greatest practicable degree of publicity as to the rates, financial operations and methods of management of the carriers."

In speaking of discriminations between persons similarly situated, the Committee said:

"This is the most flagrant and reprehensible form of arbitrary discrimination. Individual favoritism is the greatest evil chargeable agains the management of the transportation system of the United States."

Traffic evils are of three kinds: First, discrimination between individuals at the same locality; second, discriminations between different localities; third, excessive rates. The Interstate Commerce Act was evidently designed to correct the first and second classes of these evils, and especially the first class. The third class of evils could hardly have been said to exist as an independent class. Rates in general were extremely low when the Interstate Com-

merce Act was passed. If any particular rates were too high they were out of line with the general adjustment, and, therefore, constituted unjust discriminations. The Commission now proposes to reverse the plan of the Act, and to make of paramount importance the correction of excessive rates, an object which was considered of very slight moment at the time of the passage of the act, and which is still less important now.

Congress prohibited charging more for a short haul than for a long haul under substantially similar circumstances and conditions, but gave the Commission power to afford relief from the operation of the law in special cases. Even that qualifying power of relief was strenuously resisted in Congress, as giving too much power to the Commission. But now the Commission proposes to repeal the long and short haul law, and enact in its stead a provision that the Commission may, when it thinks proper, order carriers not to charge more for short than for long hauls; in other words, instead of a qualified power of relief from the long and short haul law, the Commission is to be allowed to make long and short haul laws at will, varying such laws in different sections to suit its views.

The same idea of completely reversing the whole policy of the act is exhibited in many other respects, and especially in the proposed change in the method of procedure, whereby the Commission's orders are to be made self-executing.

Such far-reaching powers ought never to be granted without grave necessity, and there is, in fact, no necessity for granting them. They are not needed to correct the only real evil of the traffic situation at present, which is discrimination between individuals in the same locality.

The only branch of the powers demanded which would affect unjust discriminations between localities is the power to prescribe a minimum rate. But this power is not needed, and it would be an extremely dangerous power to confer upon the Commission. Whenever railroads, either separately or through any joint arrangements, so adjust their rates as to discriminate against one place upon their lines in favor of another, the law as it is affords ample opportunity for correcting that discrimination. This is illustrated by the recent decision of Judge Severens in the Chattanooga case, wherein the court decreed the enforcement of an order of the Commission prohibiting what the Commission

considered to be an unjust discrimination against Chattanooga and in favor of Nashville. The case has been appealed, indeed; but it proves that, whenever an unjust discrimination in fact exists, the courts will correct it by enforcing the orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The trouble up to this time has been that the Commission has persisted in treating as unjust discriminations perfectly proper and just discriminations, resulting from the necessary recognition by carriers of unavoidable and controlling competition, and the courts have almost without exception in such cases held that the discriminations were not unjust, and, therefore, they have declined to enforce the orders of the Commission.

The class of cases to which the Commission intends especially to apply the power to prescribe minimum rates, is illustrated by a case stated in the Commission's last annual report. Eau Claire, Winona and La Crosse are rival lumber markets, on navigable streams down which the logs are brought from the forests. Eau Claire is considerably nearer the forests, and, therefore, gets its logs more cheaply than Winona and La Crosse. Certain railroads, which do not reach Eau Claire, extend westward from Winona and La Crosse. In order to develop the lumber trade at the two latter places, these railroads so reduced their rates on lumber as to compensate Winona and La Crosse for the disadvantage of their location, and to enable them to compete with Eau Claire. The Commission pronounced this principle of rate adjustment as radically unsound, and insists that Eau Claire must be given the benefit of its natural advantages. Consequently, if the Commission had the power to establish minimum rates, it would proceed to compel the railroads from Winona and La Crosse to increase their rates on lumber from those places, so that they would no longer be able to compete with Eau Claire. The inevitable tendency of this would be to centralize the lumber trade of that region at Eau Claire. That this is a most dangerous power is obvious, and the effect of its exercise would be to interfere with one of the most salutary forms of competition existing in this country, which tends to keep down rates, and to prevent the centralization of industry in a few places enjoying exceptional natural advantages.

Mr. Prouty points out that the rate on petroleum from Chicago to New Orleans is lower than the rate on linseed oil, while the

rate on petroleum from Cleveland to New Orleans is higher than the rate on linseed oil, and intimates that the Commission wants this power so as to raise the rate on petroleum from Chicago to New Orleans, to the end that Cleveland may be put on the same footing. The law, as it stands at present, affords ample opportunity to remedy any injury which may result in any quarter from any improper adjustment of the rates referred to; it prohibits any undue or unreasonable preference or advantage to any particular description of traffic or the subjecting of any particular description of traffic to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage. Therefore, if the rate on petroleum from Chicago to New Orleans ought to be no lower than the rate on linseed oil and other articles of the same class from Chicago to New Orleans, the Commission can readily correct that inequality. On the other hand, if the rate on petroleum from Cleveland to New Orleans ought to be no higher than the rate on linseed oil and other similar commodities from Cleveland to New Orleans, then the Commission can correct that inequality. If, however, the Chicago-New Orleans railroads give Chicago a favorable rate, and do not thereby discriminate against any other place on their lines, or any other description of traffic, it would be an unwarranted interference for the Commission to increase that rate (with the result of a proportionate increase in the rate from other points on the same line to New Orleans), simply because some other railroad in some other part of the country charges a higher rate on the same commodity.

But are the powers asked by the Commission needed to prevent excessive rates ? It will be admitted that no radical and dangerous innovations should be made to correct an evil unless it is a serious evil. The fact is, however, that the evil of excessive rates in this country, considered in and of themselves, is not only not serious, but it has practically no existence whatever. Rates in general here are on an extremely low basis, and, if any rates are too high, they are out of line with the general rate adjustment, and, therefore, can be speedily corrected as unjust discriminations. Almost without exception, complaints as to rates are based on the idea, not that they are unjust and unreasonable in and of themselves, but that they are too high as compared with other rates on the same road. In a hearing before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, on March 18, 1898, Mr.

Martin H. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, stated that "the question of excessive rates, that is to say, railroad charges which in and of themselves are extortionate, is pretty nearly an obsolete question." It would certainly be an act of folly to revolutionize the Interstate Commerce Commission, and change it from a useful auxiliary tribunal into an institution with almost unlimited power over the railroads and over the commerce of the country, in order to remedy something which the Chairman of that Commission admits is practically obsolete.

Of course, it is possible to pick out particular instances of complaints as to excessive rates, but those complaints involve also the idea of an unjust discrimination between localities, and if there is really any foundation for them, they are susceptible of correction on that basis. The very complaint selected by Mr. Prouty as an illustration, the one as to grain rates from Sioux City to Chicago, charges that the rates in question are unjust discriminations in favor of other localities, and in favor of other descriptions of traffic; being so, they can be corrected under the law as it stands. Moreover, the mere possibility of such complaints, or even occasional instances, cannot be any excuse for a radical innovation in the Interstate Commerce Act. Such instances existed when the Interstate Commerce Act was passed certainly to as great an extent as now, but that fact was not deemed sufficient to justify making the machinery for their correction the great central feature of the law.

Mr. Prouty himself emphasizes the fact that if excessive rates exist they amount to unjust discriminations; for he says that while many rates are too low, others are too high, and that one individual is making good the loss incurred by the railway in the service of some other individual. Such a case is a clear case of unjust discrimination or undue preference, and the present law affords ample opportunity for its correction. Mr. Prouty, however, falls into the very peculiar error of supposing that railways engage in transportation to or from competitive points at an actual loss. Railways never engage in transportation which they know, or have reasonable ground to believe, entails loss. It is true they frequently transport competitive traffic at very much less than non-competitive traffic, but this is done simply on the ground that the railway has to be maintained, in any event, for the transportation of the non-competitive traffic; so that the ex-

pense will be virtually the same whether the competitive traffic is hauled or not, and, therefore, any earnings from competitive traffic will be so much additional help toward paying the expenses which must be incurred in any case. The competition which the railway cannot control merely compels the carriage of the competitive traffic to be done at the low rate, or not at all.

Mr. Prouty points out that some court has held that the published rate is presumptively a reasonable rate, and that the shipper cannot maintain an action to recover any part of that rate which he has paid, and hence he deduces the conclusion that as the law stands to-day there is absolutely no remedy for the exaction of an unreasonable freight charge. Theoretically, a right of action has always existed at common law in all the States of this Union to recover such portion of the carrier's rate as was in excess of a just and reasonable compensation for the service, and in none of those States has it been held that a recovery is precluded by the fact that the rate charged was duly published; yet, in all the reports of all the courts of this country, there can be found hardly a case seeking to enforce that common law right.

In answer to the argument that the power is a tremendous one, and, therefore, should not be vested in any tribunal, Mr. Prouty inquiries: "Shall a wrong be unrighted because it is a great wrong? When an individual or an industry or a locality finds itself in the tightening coils of a railway corporation, shall there be no relief?" The point is, however, that the wrong which alone this great rate-making power could be intended to correct, instead of being a great wrong, is, as a practical matter, no wrong at all, because excessive rates in and of themselves are practically obsolete at this day. If an individual, or an industry, or a locality should be so unfortunate as to find himself or itself in the tightening coils of a railway corporation, the present law affords ample relief for that distressing situation. Mr. Prouty seems to be under the impression that it is the business of railway companies to strangle industrial activity; in other words, that railways, whose very existence depends upon industrial prosperity, are constantly engaged in the suicidal act of destroying that prosperity.

The railroad system of transportation in the territory roughly described as south of the Ohio and Potomac, and east of the Mississippi rivers, may be said to have been created, so far as interstate traffic is concerned, since the close of the Civil War. It is

a territory surrounded and penetrated by water transportation lines. The difficulties in adjusting the rates of transportation, under the conditions that have existed, have been exceedingly great. Much time and labor have been devoted to the securing of a proper adjustment, with, it is believed, reasonable success. Manufacturing has been developed, and with great rapidity, during the last twelve or fifteen years. Manufactories of cotton fabrics are increasing rapidly and in successful operation. The production of coal and iron, also, has been largely increased. The manufacture of steel, on a large scale, is about to be inaugurated. That development could not have been secured if the Interstate Commerce Commission during all that period had enjoyed the position, which it now seeks to obtain, of Traffic Manager and Commercial Arbiter, and had acted on the principles which it has persistently tried to force on the carriers of that section.

It is pertinent to inquire whether the Interstate Commerce Commission, charged as it already is with multifarious duties, will be able to grasp all the countless details pertaining to the infinite variety of traffic passing over 180,000 miles of railroad in the United States.

In this connection, the oft-quoted opinion of the Commission, delivered soon after its formation by its then Chairman, Judge Cooley, in discussing the impracticability of determining in advance when railroads should and should not charge more for a short than for a long haul, becomes interesting:

"The Commission would, in effect, be required to act as rate-maker for all the roads, and compelled to adjust the tariffs so as to meet the exigencies of business, while at the same time endeavoring to protect the relative rights and equities of rival carriers and rival localities. This in any considerable State would be an enormous task. In a country so large as ours, and with so vast a mileage of roads, it would be superhuman. A construction of the statute which should require its performance would render the due administration of the law altogether impracticable; and that fact tends strongly to show that such a construction could not have been intended."

It is contended by Mr. Prouty that, in the popular apprehension, the Commission always possessed the power which it now demands. Although the Commission's demands have already resulted in widespread discussion in the journals of the day, and will undoubtedly create prolonged and interesting debates in Congress, one may read from one end to the other of the long debates upon the subject of the regulation of interstate commerce preceding the enactment of the Interstate Commerce Law, and find

scarcely a reference to this rate-making power which the Commission now insists it was always understood to have. The debates on the subject in the 48th and 49th Congresses cover over 2,000 pages. The portion of the debates reasonably relating to the subject of rate-making could all be put within the limits of 30 pages, and the scattering references to the subject in the debates show that, almost without exception, all the Senators and Representatives who referred to that point understood that the bill conferred no rate-making powers. Congress had no thought of conferring upon the Commission the power to fix rates, and no bill conferring that power could have been passed.

The Select Committee of the Senate declared the fixing of rates by legislation to be impracticable, and added:

"Those who have asked the adoption of this plan of regulation have suggested the establishing of rates by a commission; but it is questionable whether a commission or any similar body of men could successfully perform a work of such magnitude, involving, as it would, infinite labor and investigation, exact knowledge as to thousands of details, and the adjustment of a vast variety of conflicting interests."

The Commission, in 1887, declined in a certain case to fix rates, saying:

"It is, therefore, impossible to fix them in this case, even if the Commission had the power to make rates generally, which it has not. Its power, in respect to rates, is to determine whether those which the roads impose are, for any reason, in conflict with the statute."

Afterward, however, the Commission changed its mind, and, in the Chicago and Cincinnati Freight Bureau cases above referred to, it made an attempt "to make rates generally," and it now insists that it always claimed, and that practically everybody admitted, that it had the power which it sought to exercise in the latter cases.

In 1889, Judge Jackson declared that it was unnecessary to discuss the power of Congress over the subject of interstate rates, "because the existing law does not undertake to prescribe anything more upon the subject than that they shall be reasonable and just."

Mr. Prouty erroneously says that the carriers suggested no doubt as to the powers of the Commission in these respects for the first six years of its existence. In 1891, the Commission's right to make rates was distinctly challenged in an answer filed in court by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co., setting up expressly as a defense that the Commission had no power to make rates.

In the latter part of 1892, or early in 1893, the right of the Commission to make rates was raised in a case in the United States Circuit Court in Georgia. The point was made in the same case when it got to the Supreme Court, and was decided against the Commission. There was not, therefore, the prolonged and general acquiescence which the Commission would indicate in its assumption of power to make rates for the railroads.

Moreover, an acquiescence in a comparatively modest usurpation of authority can have no bearing when a much more glaring usurpation is made. Although at first the Commission's ventures in rate-making were what might be termed comparatively modest, the encroachment gradually but steadily increased. The Commission's first experiment in rate making was in 1887; the change of a single rate on a single commodity (the rate on wheat from Walla Walla, in Washington Territory, to Portland, Oregon), after an elaborate and painstaking investigation. It was a long step from this act to its act in 1891, when, admittedly without thorough investigation and upon the examination of a single witness, the Commission made a very material reduction in the rates on several hundred commodities from Cincinnati to Atlanta, and reduced those rates to a point even lower than that witness said was reasonable. The courts declined to enforce this ill-considered action of the Commission. It was still another long step to the Commission's action in 1894, whereby it made most material changes in rates on several thousands of commodities from Chicago and Cincinnati to eight important cities in four of the principal Southern States, thereby rendering imperative a complete readjustment in practically all the rates on south-bound traffic in all the territory east of, and in a portion of the territory west of, the Mississippi River. This action, likewise, the courts declined to enforce, holding that the Commission had no such power.

The mere fact, therefore, that the commerce of the country was not dried up nor its energies prostrated by the exercise of the rate-making power by the Commission during the first few years of its existence, is not, as Mr. Prouty seems to think, a guarantee that no evils will result from granting practically unlimited rate-making power to the Commission. From comparatively small beginnings, the Commission was just getting well started in indiscriminate rate-making when checked by the courts, and, consequently, serious evils were averted.

One of the powers now demanded, which is especially dangerous to the commerce of the country, is the power to prescribe minimum rates so as to carry out the Commission's views as to the comparative commercial and industrial advantages which places ought to enjoy. This plan of constituting the Commission the arbiter of commerce, so that it can decide what cities in this country are entitled to advantage over other cities, and enforce those decisions by increasing the rates to the cities now having the lowest rates, is something new.

Another power, which even now the Commission does not claim it ever had, or was ever thought to have, and which would be a complete revolution in the system devised by Congress, is the power to render decrees which can take effect without any resort to the courts. Mr. Prouty refrains from emphasizing this demand, although it has been as vigorously assailed as any other.

The Interstate Commerce act clearly shows that it was not intended to give to the Commission any independent power whatever. It was evidently designed as a tribunal to assist in the enforcement of the law, by conducting investigations and rendering findings which would constitute a *prima facie* case, upon which findings the complainant could go into court, or the Interstate Commerce Commission itself for the complainant could go into court, and seek the enforcement of the law.

The Select Committee of the Senate, in its report above referred to, said of the Commission:

"It is designed and believed to be a valuable auxiliary agency in facilitating and securing the enforcement of whatever regulations may be prescribed by Congress. . . . Unless the commission itself be constituted a court, which the Committee does not consider expedient, the final determination of all contested proceedings instituted under any laws that may be passed by Congress must rest with the courts of the United States."

The debates in Congress show that the Commission's advocates thus understood its functions.

In 1889 the United States Circuit Court, through Judge Jackson, said:

"Without reviewing in detail the provisions of the law, we are clearly of the opinion that the Commission is vested with only administrative powers of supervision and investigation, which fall far short of making the board a court, or its action judicial in the proper sense of the term. The Commission hears, investigates and reports upon complaints made before them involving violations of or omissions of duty under the act; but subsequent judicial proceedings are contemplated and provided for, as the remedy for the enforcement, either by itself or the party interested, of its order or re-

port in all cases where the party complained of or against whom its decision is rendered does not yield voluntary obedience thereto."

So, in this respect also, an absolute reversal of the system is now proposed. Instead of continuing as an auxiliary to the law and the courts, without any independent powers, the plan is to make the Commission the great central feature of traffic regulation, with vast original powers. The Commission is to make its orders, prescribing maximum and minimum rates, classifications, and so forth, and all those orders are to take effect without any resort to any judicial tribunal for their consideration and enforcement. The only qualification is that the carrier may within thirty days take the matter into court for relief; but even then, unless the court can say, upon an inspection of the record, that it plainly appears that the order proceeds upon some error of law, or is unjust or unreasonable on the facts, it cannot suspend the operation of the order pending the review. If the court wants further light on the facts, it can only obtain it by sending the case back to the Commission for further investigation. The power of review will likely prove to be of a very restricted character. The question, What is a reasonable rate ? is essentially a question of fact, depending on an infinite variety of details, from which different conclusions can be drawn. Since the Commission will be the tribunal set apart for the primary determination of these facts, the courts, upon well-settled principles, will be disinclined to overturn the findings of the Commission, unless they are palpably against the evidence, and in cases where the evidence is of such intangible character, it will be very difficult to convince the courts that the findings of the Commission are palpably against the evidence, and, therefore, the Commission's power will be practically unlimited, save by the constitutional limitation resting upon all railroad commissions, that their rates shall not be confiscatory in character.

It is especially inappropriate to allow the Commission to issue self-executing decrees, in view of the varied and incompatible functions which the Commission exercises. With such power given to its decrees, the Commission, with a jurisdiction extending over the entire area of this country, and with the unlimited power of interference in the most vital concerns, not only of the railroads, but of the commercial and industrial interests of the country, would have far greater powers than any court of original jur-

isdiction in this country, and it should, therefore, be as carefully constituted as any court. To exercise such powers, it should certainly be charged with no duties which would tend, even in the slightest degree, to impair the judicial temper of the tribunal. Yet the Commission supervises various details in railway operations and railway accounting. It has inquisitorial powers to detect violations of the law, and may cause prosecutions to be instituted to punish such violations. It may institute on its own motion, and in its own name, complaints before itself, and it may then proceed to hear and determine them. Thus, not only is the Commission in some respects a sort of railway superintendent and chief railway accountant, but it may in the same matter be detective, prosecutor, plaintiff and court. To ask that its determinations, made under such circumstances, shall take effect without the necessity of any resort to any really judicial tribunal for their enforcement, is nothing short of preposterous.

The conclusion is irresistibly forced upon the mind of any impartial student of the situation that the magnitude of the powers demanded cannot be exaggerated, that they are absolutely unwarranted, and that to grant them would give the Commission the most dangerous power of interference with the commerce of the country.

Mr. Prouty, in concluding his remarks, makes an unfair and misleading use of a portion of my testimony before the Commission. It is impracticable to set out in full all of the testimony bearing on the point in question. That testimony was delivered upon a hearing before the Commission on petitions by the railroads for extensions of time within which to comply with the provisions of the Act of March 2, 1893, requiring interstate carriers to equip their cars with automatic couplers and air brakes. Among the reasons in support of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad Company's petition, I had assigned the financial depression that had existed for several years, and also expressed apprehension as to future earnings on account of prospective legislation which might be detrimental. The Commission seized upon this as an opportunity to interrogate me at large upon the general traffic situation, and to elicit my views relative to giving the Commission the power to make rates. In response to these inquiries, I expressed the opinion that the people of the country and the carriers were getting along well, and could and did

adjust these matters to their mutual satisfaction. Commissioner Prouty submitted a supposed case of an unreasonable rate on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad. I insisted that there were no unreasonable rates on that road; that all of the rates were within the charter limits of the corporation and very much less, probably one-half, and in some instances not twenty-five per cent., of such charter rates, which the Legislature had fixed upon as reasonable and fair; that the fact that the rates were, perhaps, one-third of what they were originally, and one-tenth of what it would cost the shipper if he did not have the railroad, was evidence of the reasonableness of the rate, and it was necessarily to the interest of the company to keep rates reasonable, in order to retain and develop traffic. I admitted the propriety of the law prohibiting unjust discrimination, but reiterated that the rate-making power ought not to be invested in the Commission because, practically, there were no unreasonable rates, and that the mere possibility of the existence of an unreasonable rate was no reason for turning over to the Commission the making of rates for the railroads, unless governmental paternalism was to be extended over everybody for protection from possible injustice.

This very investigation emphasized in a striking way what seems to me to be the complete lack of judicial temper on the part of the Commission. The Commission was sitting for the purpose of discharging a highly important and responsible statutory duty relating to automatic couplers and air brakes; yet the minds of the Commission were so bent upon obtaining greater power, that they could not resist the temptation to branch off into a lengthy discussion on that topic, which had no possible relation to the subject upon which they were engaged. Four members of the Commission took part in this discussion, stating in the form of questions every argument which they could conceive to sustain the propriety of their demands. It may be doubted whether a tribunal, incapable under such circumstances of adhering to the serious work before it, and indulging instead in lengthy argument with a witness, on the policy of extensive legislation desired by the tribunal on an entirely different matter, can safely be made the repository of the almost unlimited powers which are now sought.

MILTON H. SMITH.

THEOLOGY AND INSANITY.

BY JOHN H. GIRDNER, M.D.

A SHORT time ago the Bishop of Rochester delivered a lecture to the students of St. Thomas' Hospital, London, on the subject of religion and insanity. The bishop was at great pains to combat and disprove the popular idea that religion is, or has been in the past, one of the principal exciting causes of insanity. He declared, among other things, that "religion is a force which makes for sanity."

Everyone who has had experience in the care and treatment of the insane, and who is familiar with the history of this branch of medical science, will agree with the bishop that the true religion of kindness, sympathy and love, as taught by Christ, is a powerful force, which makes always for mental peace and sanity. The beautiful and simple accounts in the New Testament of the so-called casting out of devils, illustrate the power by which Jesus of Nazareth soothed perturbed minds by His presence, and quelled outbursts of disordered brains by His words.

There is, however, as the bishop intimates, an opinion abroad that religion has in some way been an important factor in dethroning human reason; and the expressions, "religious mania" and "religious insanity" are met with sufficiently often throughout all literature to justify the prevalence of this idea. But a careful study of the history of mental diseases amply proves that not the religion of Christ, but the theologies of man, have caused so many minds to give way and develop settled delusions and hallucinations of a so-called religious type. The Christian religion has been charged with producing insanity, because of the very common mistake of confounding the two very dissimilar terms, viz., religion and theology.

The doctrine of diabolical agency in mental diseases is to be

found in all the sacred literatures of the Orient, especially in Persian theology, where the idea is most fully developed; and, as taught by the heathen nations around them, it had its full effect on the Jewish writers. Hence, we find it firmly established in the Old Testament. The same theory of direct Satanic influence or possession passed on into the New Testament.

The miracles of healing which were performed by the Master and His Apostles, seem to indicate that it was the custom to diagnose those cases of disease which presented no pathological changes in the body appreciable by the senses as cases of possession by one or more devils, or evil spirits or unclean spirits; and the act of restoring them to health was viewed as a casting out of these spirits. In this group was naturally included most diseases of the brain and of the nervous system; for these are either functional—that is, they have no morbid anatomy at all—or the changes are only to be detected after death and by microscopic examination.

On the other hand, those cases whose diseases could be diagnosed by the symptoms they presented, or by the pathological changes in some portion of the body that were apparent to the senses, were said to be sick, the diagnosis was given by simply naming the disease, and the act of restoration to health in such cases was called healing. Luke was a physician, and presumably knew more about the nature of the diseases of those who applied to the Master and His disciples than any of the twelve. The first miracle of healing recorded in the Gospel by Luke is the case of the leper.

"Behold a man full of leprosy; who, seeing Jesus, fell on his face, and besought Him, saying, 'Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean.'

"And He put forth His hand, and touched him, saying, 'I will: be thou clean.' And immediately the leprosy departed from him."*

Luke diagnoses this case as leprosy, a common disease in Palestine, and one with which we are familiar in these days. The account of this miracle emphasizes the influence which the doctrines and theories of the Old Testament had upon the New. Moses taught that leprosy was uncleanness, and, according to his law, lepers were unclean persons and had to reside outside the camp of Israel. The Mosaic classification of leprosy is accepted by the patient, in this case, for he asks to be made clean. And the

*Luke, v., 12-13.

Saviour Himself seems to fall into the custom, for He says: "I will; be thou clean." In other places in the New Testament leprosy is referred to as a spirit of uncleanness.

The second miracle of healing recorded by Luke is more directly applicable to our subject.

"And, behold, men brought in a bed a man which was taken with a palsy; and they sought means to bring him in, and to lay him before Him.

"And when they could not find by what way they might bring him in because of the multitude, they went upon the house top, and let him down through the tiling with his couch into the midst before Jesus."*

After some discussion with those present, Jesus said to the patient with palsy: "Arise, and take up thy couch, and go unto thine house." And the man did as he was told. Here we have the diagnosis of palsy. Now palsy is paralysis, complete or partial, of some portion of the muscular system, due always to disease or injury of the brain or nervous system. In this case the disease or injury to the brain or nervous system was of such a nature and location that it affected only the nerves of motion, and rendered it impossible for the man to walk. This was not a case of possession by a devil or evil spirit; it was a simple case of palsy, as all could see. Suppose the disease or injury to the brain or nervous system had been of such a character, or so located, as to have caused convulsions or mental derangement, without any physical signs which Luke could see with his naked eye; by all precedent, his case would have been regarded as one of possession by devils or evil spirits, and his restoration by the Master would have been recorded as the casting out of these devils.

Again, we read in the fourteenth chapter of Luke's Gospel of a man who came to Jesus, "who had the dropsy" "and he took him and healed him." To say a man has dropsy conveys little information of his condition, as dropsy is only a symptom and may be caused by a number of diseased conditions. And so we might continue accumulating facts showing how little accurate information is to be obtained from the Gospels of the ailments of those who were restored to mental and physical health by the Saviour while he dwelt among men in the flesh.

The Apostolic Church firmly believed that all forms of insanity, epilepsy, hysteria and catalepsy were not diseases at all,

* Luke, v., 18-19.

but cases in which the devil or his imps had taken possession of the individual, with or without the individual's consent. And their bodies having become a tabernacle for the devil, they were ostracised by society and the church. Not only were these unfortunates who suffered from mental and nervous diseases ostracised, but the church went further, and attempted to cast out the indwelling demon by all manner of physical punishment and tortures.

As theology became more firmly established and supported by governmental power, "the possessed" were more and more severely dealt with; and the doctrine that cruelty to madmen was punishment of the devil dwelling within, became more widely disseminated and believed. Nor did any relief come to these unfortunates as a result of the Reformation. Martin Luther, Calvin, and the other leaders of the new theology were, if anything, more pronounced in their persecution of these "devils incarnate" than the Church of Rome had been.

No effectual check was put to the theological doctrine of diabolical possession of the insane and those suffering from kindred diseases of the nervous system, until about the middle of the eighteenth century. A declaration was passed by the Parliament of Paris in 1768 that possessed persons were to be considered as simply diseased. And as the power of the governments of Christian nations was withdrawn from the support and enforcement of the theological doctrine of diabolical possession, medical science, enlightened by the spirit of truth, gradually demonstrated, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that insanity and all such affections were the result of natural diseases or injuries of the brain and nervous system, and that persons so afflicted were entitled to the same treatment as though they suffered from disease of the heart, lungs, or any other organ of the physical body.

But the battle for the insane was not yet won. It is true that theology retired from the field, tacitly at least admitting the error of its former position.

But mystery and superstition still surrounded the insane. They were no longer exorcised and punished as devils, but their misfortunes now took the form of neglect. An insane person was far from being considered a simply sick person by his friends and the public generally.

As time passed, public and private charities became more numerous and more lavish in their expenditures for the establishment of hospitals and infirmaries for the care and treatment of the poor suffering from every kind of disease, except those diseases of the brain known as insanity. From the time when the theory of diabolical possession ceased to hold sway, up to within the past few decades, the destitute insane were as a rule turned over to the tender mercies of the county jailer. They were imprisoned in filthy cells, often in chains, and in the matter of food and general attention treated far worse than if they had been wild beasts. This was not the universal custom, for very soon after insanity was admitted to be a disease some states and nations provided asylums for their pauper insane. But even these were far from what they should have been or what lunatic asylums are to-day. Indeed, the history of insanity during this period furnishes chapters of neglect and cruelty almost as shocking as are to be found in the annals of the period when the theological doctrine of diabolical possession prevailed.

Insanity is now recognized as a disease which is the result of some functional or organic disturbance of the brain, or of some injury or malformation of that organ. Be it said to the everlasting credit of medical science that it has rescued the whole subject of the diseases of the brain and nervous system from the region of myth and superstition, and placed it on a scientific plane along with the other diseases and injuries to which human flesh is heir. The old lunatic asylums, and the filthy cells of the county jails with all their horrors, where the victims of dethroned reason used to be confined and tortured, have been abolished, and in their place we now have the modern hospital for the insane. And it stands on the same footing in every respect as a hospital for diseases of the eye and ear, or any other medical specialty. It was not the churches, but medical science, inspired by a desire to benefit mankind, which taught the world that the insane are our brothers still, and that to them is due the same Christian charity and care as to any others in distress.

The evil effects of the doctrine of diabolical possession did not end in cruelty to those already insane. The horror and fear of becoming possessed which it roused in the minds of the sane, could not fail to make it a potent cause of insanity. Fear of disease always weakens the power of resisting it.

There were also other dogmas in the creeds of the various Christian denominations which were very far from tending toward mental serenity and to internal peace. In the centuries gone by, when men's minds were dominated by theological creeds, when such doctrines as predestination, eternal punishment, sins that were unpardonable, were preached and enforced, if need be, by fire and sword, it is no wonder that the prevailing form of insanity was of the spiritual type. The retreats and asylums for insane up to a comparatively recent date contained many inmates possessed of settled delusions which were the result of fear and of brooding over the welfare of their souls here and hereafter in the light of the theological doctrines then preached and enforced. Many imagined that they had committed the unpardonable sin, and that the Spirit had ceased to strive with them, and that they were thus hopelessly doomed to eternal damnation. Others imagined that they were predestined from birth to eternal punishment. Others again had hallucinations of sight and hearing, and could see Satan and his imps actually in the flesh, in daily attendance upon them, restraining each Christian act, and stifling each prayer for deliverance; and at night they were kept awake by the conversations of evil spirits. These are only a few specimens of the kind of imaginings which possessed the minds of those who were said to be "crazy on religion," but who were as a matter of fact insane as a result of theology. Let it be repeated; it was never the sweet Gospel of peace and forgiveness taught by the Saviour which dethroned reason, but the creeds and dogmas of men. William Cowper, the poet, is a signal example of so-called religious insanity. Under the tutelage of the Rev. John Newton, his life became an almost endless round of devotional exercises and brooding over theological questions which finally dethroned his reason. His delusion was that he had been rejected of heaven; he ceased to pray and discontinued all religious exercises as one hopelessly doomed. The eminent divine, Mr. Newton, with deplorable consistency treated Cowper's disease as a diabolical visitation and abstained from calling in a physician. If this impressionable poet could have accepted the Gospel of peace and love, taught by the Saviour, and discarded the theology of the Rev. John Newton, there is reason to believe that history would not have to record the name of this brilliant genius

in the list of those who fell victims to the so-called religious insanity of that time.

It is a mistake, however, to suppose that mental diseases have decreased as a result of comparative freedom from the theological thralldom of the past. Freedom of thought in matters of religion has changed the character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane. Insanity keeps pace with the changes in human development, and the character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane at any time is a reflex of the interests which are then uppermost in men's minds. We now seldom find the spiritual type of insanity among the inmates of hospitals for the insane. As doctrinal discussions have ceased to interest the masses, theology has ceased to be a cause of insanity. This is an age of material development, of making things and having things. Men are much concerned with the problem of amassing treasure here; that, with the long line of social questions which belong to it, is now uppermost in their minds, and these material problems are the ones pressing hardest for solution. Hence it is that the prevailing character of the delusions and hallucinations of the insane are now of a material type.

The struggle for existence, modern inventions, steam and electricity, and the mad rush for wealth, result in ever increasing demands upon the brain and nervous system. And under this strain, many who have congenital or acquired defective nervous organizations become insane, just as the same class formerly did as a result of fear and brooding over theological problems.

The insane are not now tormented by the devil and his imps, but telephones and phonographs are continually ringing in their ears. Others suppose they have steam engines in their heads, and many imagine they are persecuted by men of large fortunes or of great political power. Formerly those who were afflicted with delusions of grandeur were prone to imagine themselves to be the Saviour of the world, or the Virgin Mary or some eminent saint. Now they are more apt to think themselves to be great inventors or powerful politicians, or the possessors of untold wealth. As already intimated, the delusions of the insane always take their form and color from the questions and problems which are most absorbing at the time.

JOHN H. GIRDNER.

UNIFORMITY OF STATE LAWS.

BY LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

In 1856 the German "Bund" (Confederation) was a much looser aggregation of the German States than the American Union under the old Articles of Confederation. But the business men of all Germany felt the inconvenience of the great diversity of the laws among their thirty odd kingdoms, grand and small duchies, principalities and free cities, on all subjects of trade and business. Austria and Prussia were then the leading German powers; the former had most of its provinces outside, the latter over three-fourths of them inside, of the German Bund. Prussia, the strongest and wealthiest of the truly German States, was itself, as to its general and commercial laws, divided into three zones: the eastern being governed by a code adopted in 1792, known as the "Landrecht;" some small districts to the west thereof, acquired in 1815, had retained the "Gemeine Recht," that is, the imperial Roman law, as gradually adapted to modern use; while the lands along the Rhine adhered to the Code Napoleon, which had been introduced there during the French domination. Like conditions prevailed in some of the other States, in which the smaller districts, conglomerated at the recasting of boundaries in 1803, enjoyed each its own system of laws. Now, though such diversity may work tolerably when it affects the laws regarding the tenure, the conveyance or the descent of land, it soon becomes intolerable, in a commercial age, when it affects the laws of trade and commerce in communities bound to each other by railroads and telegraph wires, and depending on one another by the daily exchange of articles of food and wear, of machinery and raw material, and dealing together without regard to state lines, past or present.

And so, under a resolution of the Frankfort Diet, a mere gathering of ambassadors from the sovereign States of the "Bund," a board of commissioners appointed by most (not all) of the several kingdoms, duchies and cities, met at Nuremberg to elaborate a German Code of Commerce. The commissioners adjourned later on to Hamburg, to draw from its sea air the proper inspiration for the marine chapters of commercial law. After five years' labors, in 1861, the Code was completed; it was then laid before the legislative bodies of the different States. The Prussian Landtag adopted it by a unanimous vote in the House of Deputies, and with only one dissent in the House of Lords. Nearly all the law-making bodies of the other German States promptly followed in Prussia's lead. A uniform law on bills and notes had been framed by a conference and adopted by the separate States somewhat earlier, and with much less loss of time or friction.

It was thus shown that, where the need exists, communities almost wholly independent of each other, but connected by the bonds of trade and of a common race and speech, can be gotten to adopt uniform laws.

A need for a greater uniformity of law is felt among the people of the several American States, similar to the necessity which forty years ago led the governments and parliaments of the sovereign States in Germany first into conferences at which a common "Wechselrecht" (law of negotiable paper), and a common "Handelsrecht" (commercial law) were worked out, and lastly to the adoption by each State separately of the laws recommended by the conferences. It is true that the American Constitution intrusts Congress with power to legislate at its own will for the whole country upon everything that pertains to the high seas, to copyrights and patents, and to travel and transportation beween one State and another, or between our own country and foreign nations. It is highly proper, in the interest of human freedom, that the several States alone have the power to pass laws on other matters of private right; that each community can carry into effect its own views as to what is fair or humane, and what is against good manners and public policy; and there is no desire among right-minded men that the field of Congressional jurisdiction should be widened, or that the field of State legislation should be narrowed. But undoubtedly there are many

subjects on which the laws of the several States differ from each other, either broadly, or in some slight detail, to the great detriment and inconvenience of those whose business interests outrun their immediate State lines; and these differences are in most cases accidental; that is, they do not flow from a difference in sentiment or in policy. If New Hampshire permits the insolvent debtor to retain a homestead of only five hundred dollars in value, while Texas allows him to keep a homestead worth more than five thousand, not only as against ordinary creditors, but even against the man to whom he and his wife have freely and voluntarily mortgaged it, the difference springs from the diverging sentiments which an old and staid community, and those which a young and roving population entertains about the sacredness of contracts on the one hand, and about wide elbow room and freedom from care on the other. On such a subject it is not likely that either State would yield its policy even in part, so as to meet on common ground for the sake of uniformity. But if Georgia and six other States require the attestation of three witnesses to a will, while thirty-seven other States are satisfied with the signatures of two witnesses, and Pennsylvania requires no attestation at all; or again, if many of our States allow three days of grace on a matured bill of exchange, while in other States "grace" is done away with, and a bill or note must be paid on the day named, there is no sentiment at the bottom of all this, no question of good policy. One law on these subjects is pretty much as good as the other, but the co-existence of both laws often leads to a failure of justice. A testator owning lands in Georgia makes his will in Ohio, before two witnesses, and the devisee of the Georgia lands is thrown out. Again, in the matter of divorce, the policy of the several States as to causes for untying the knot differs greatly, varying from no full divorce from any cause whatever in South Carolina, to eight or more causes in the Northwest, providing for every conceivable case in which husband and wife cannot agree. This is all right; it is the very object of State independence that each community shall determine such questions for itself; but there is no reason why the plaintiff's "domicile" in the State in which suit is brought, without any named length of residence, should be deemed sufficient in Virginia, while a residence of six months is required, in a few other States, and of even two years elsewhere.

A movement similar to that which within a few years led to one common code on commercial paper, and another common code on commerce in all its branches, for the then disunited States of Germany, was begun in the United States in 1888, mainly upon the impulse given by F. Jesup Stimpson's painstaking compilation of "Constitutions and Statutes" of the American States, a book which set the needless divergence of their statutes forth in a glaring light. A bill was introduced in the New York Legislature in that year, again in 1889, and again in 1890, under which a board of three commissioners was appointed, together with a salaried secretary, the members of the board to meet in conference with commissioners from other States. Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Delaware, New Jersey and Georgia also appointed commissioners in the course of the following year and made small appropriations toward defraying the cost of the conferences. The movement has been kept up, eight meetings having been held in the seven years from 1892 to 1898, two of them in the first named year; and it has greatly widened, for as many as thirty-one States have been represented on these several occasions, though never all of them at the same time. The sessions of these conferences have always been held near the time when the American Bar Association met, generally on the two days preceding its assemblage. In one respect this has been a help, for commissioners who received neither mileage nor *per diem* thus found an incentive for traveling from their homes to the place of meeting, and the Bar Association used the great weight of its influence to further the cause. But in other respects this companionship in time and space has been unfortunate. In the first place, an effort is made to force all the business of the yearly meeting into the limits of scant two days, which is, of course, entirely too short a time, though the bills which are to be discussed have been prepared elsewhere. In the second place, the whole movement is overshadowed by its more widely known associate; the conference, though sitting under appointments from the several State governments, and thus an official body, appears to the general public, and even to the great body of American lawyers, as a branch or committee of the American Bar Association. The writer of these pages first learned about the movement in 1896, when five or six of the conferences had already met. Not only was Kentucky, his own State, unrepresented, but neither

her Governor nor her leading lawyers or politicians knew anything about it. The other two lawyers whom our Governor appointed, along with the writer, as commissioners from his State, though men in large practice, and of well-known public spirit, first heard of this movement, that had been in progress for over seven years, when the appointments were offered to them. When I came to Saratoga on the 15th of August, 1898, having mislaid my copy of the printed notice sent out to members, I had to ask more than a dozen lawyers, hotel clerks, public officers, etc., before I hit upon one man who could direct me to the place of meeting. In short, the whole work has thus far been carried on, so to say, in a dark corner.

Yet, even thus, there have been some notable results. The foremost among these is the elaboration of a bill "relating to negotiable instruments," covering the whole "law merchant" in all details in one hundred and ninety-eight sections. This was agreed upon at the meeting of the commissioners in 1896, and was transmitted by them to the governors of all the States that were represented or had made appointments, and when the conference met for the eighth time in the course of last summer, we heard the gratifying news that this bill had been enacted into law by the legislatures of seven States (among them New York and Massachusetts), and that it had been passed by the House of Representatives of the United States, as a law to govern commercial paper in the District of Columbia, awaiting only the concurrence of the Senate at the winter session. An important act was adopted at the seventh meeting on the execution and acknowledgment of written instruments. One adopted at the eighth and last meeting deals with the transfer of corporate stock, the latter having been enacted by some of the New England legislatures after it had been elaborated by a committee, but before it had been agreed upon in full conference. Misunderstandings will often occur when the citizens of two States, whose laws differ, either on the conveyance of land, or on the transfer of corporate shares, deal with each other, unless each knows the laws of both States. But this is most likely to happen when the law is the same in both.

To gain an idea of the work which the conferences have cut out for themselves, we need only look at the following list of standing committees, which were appointed in 1896:

On Commercial Laws, on Wills, on Marriage and Divorce, on Deeds and Other Conveyances, on Certificates to Depositions and Notarial Forms, on Weights and Measures, on State Action as to Presidential Electors, on Hours of Labor in Factories, on Insolvency, on Insurance, on Trading Corporations, on Descent and Distribution.

Some of these subjects, such as factory regulations, do perhaps fall outside of the true province of our organization, as they appeal to feelings, which differ greatly between section and section; if so, lengthened discussions would show a broad divergence even within the conference, and the impracticable subject would soon be dropped.

It might be objected that any labor bestowed on making our State laws more uniform than they now are, would be thrown away because the forty-eight State and Territorial legislatures, and Congress legislating for the Federal District, are constantly busy grinding out new statutes, and would undo our work of unification more quickly than we accomplish it. But just here, I believe, a system of laws made uniform at an expense of long efforts of many men would bear its finest fruits. As soon as the people begin to enjoy the benefits of uniform State laws, the sentiment that uniformity once attained must not be rashly disturbed upon a light motion, or to gratify the whim or the private interests of a State legislator, could be relied on to block the way of reckless, and still more of selfish, innovators.

The laws of all the American States, with the single exception of Louisiana, are derived from the common law of England, and from the acts of Parliament passed by way of amendment of the common law; the laws enacted in the several States since their separation from the mother country have generally been framed on the same lines. Thus, all the States in which the English law preferring the first born son in the descent of land ever prevailed, have enacted new laws establishing equality between the sons and daughters, the brothers and sisters of the decedent; all the States have provided for the recording of deeds and mortgages; all the States have given to the creditor the means of reaching the lands and effects of absent debtors by attachment; all the States have curtailed the power of the husband over the wife's property; nearly all the States have regulated the exercise of "testamentary powers;" nearly all of them have en-

acted general laws under which private corporations can be formed; all but one of the States allow the grant of absolute divorces, and thus we might go through all the lines along which the framers of new laws have given play to their energies. And what is more, the statutes on all these subjects have generally been moulded upon a very few patterns, either a British act of Parliament or an act first passed by the Legislature of New York, of Virginia, of Massachusetts or of Connecticut. Thus the chapter of the Revised Statutes of New York which deals with "testamentary powers," and the chapter on "Uses and Trusts," have been copied almost literally into the codes of Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota; the law marching westward in pretty close touch with the parallel of latitude. Thus the task of those aiming at uniformity is somewhat simplified; they have in many fields of legislation to deal only with four or five groups of States, not with forty-five separate units.

The late war has done much to strengthen the national pan-American feeling of our citizens, North and South, East and West; and thus to lessen the stubbornness with which heretofore the men of one or the other State would in former years cling to some outlandish or fanciful law, just because it was peculiar to that State. While heretofore the benefits of uniform laws might have appealed only to the practical sense of business men, while running counter to sentiments of local pride and of State rights, business reasons and patriotic sentiment may now be found arrayed on the same side. It is only necessary now to bring the importance of this movement home to the lawyers and law givers of the several States, to bring about its speedy success.

We need, first, the steady and active participation of at least thirty-six out of the forty-five States by commissioners appointed under authority of law in each of them. It is not necessary that more than one person should attend from each State.

Secondly, the commissioners, in order to expedite the work, should meet twice in each year, each time for at least three days, and a sufficient sum should be appropriated from some source to pay their travelling and hotel expenses, so as to insure a good attendance. Any greater compensation is unnecessary; it might even be of evil, as it would attract men animated rather by greed for gain than by pride in their profession and love for the public good.

Third, the conference should also have at its disposal a small fund, out of which to compensate some specialist for drawing up the more elaborate bills which must be drafted. Small appropriations have heretofore been made by some of the States; and it was found possible to set aside the sum of one thousand dollars out of these as an honorarium to the painstaking author of the conference bill on negotiable paper, a gentleman who was not himself one of the State Commissioners.

When we once have thirty-six States represented, we would not have long to wait for the remaining nine. When full meetings are held twice a year, the legislatures of the several States will hear of the proceedings and will heed them; and a very small amount will suffice for all the expenditure; that is, the travelling and hotel expenses of the members, the compensation of law drafters, and the printing of the yearly or half yearly reports.

The sum of fifteen thousand dollars a year would fully meet all these needs, and in about five or six years pretty much of the work which is really desirable could be accomplished. Of course, if the Congress of the United States is willing to take the matter in hand, this sum would be readily placed in the yearly "Sundry Civil Bill." But, if Congress is unwilling to do so much, it might at least, as the legislature for the District of Columbia, direct that three lawyers from that district be named every year by competent authority, that they be paid their expenses, and that a small sum be set aside toward the general fund; and, by doing so, Congress would most strongly recommend similar action to all the States and Territories.

LEWIS N. DEMBITZ.

CUBAN RECONSTRUCTION.

BY RICHARD J. HINTON.

No one will deny that the problems of Cuban reconstruction are of the most serious character. Nor can the American Government or its people push aside any responsibilities arising therefrom. These must be clearly understood, before we can begin to realize the large results that wait upon a humane and successful solution.

The island of Cuba will support in comfort ten million persons. It has never maintained one-fifth of that number. Its commercial possibilities are even greater, judged by the rules of wealth making only. It has an area of over 28,000,000 acres, estimating therein the islets that form part of its economic area. Not over 6,000,000 have even been scratched by the hands or tools of industry, as plantation, farm, cattle range, timber camp or mine. There are 16,000,000 acres of the finest of timber, holding at least forty varieties of the best of merchantable hardwoods. There are 3,000,000 acres of available rice lands. The timber area may also be used for cattle range purposes. Mineral resources are still virgin, but they are known to be of great value. In Santiago de Cuba $12,000,000 of American capital is invested in mining alone. In the production of all food crops of a marked commercial value, the possibilities of Cuba are limited only by its acreage. It has no capital at command, however. Its people are literally stripped to the bone, and many thousands remain in daily danger of death from very hunger. The Spanish oppressor retires, but his grim cruelties still desolate the island. This may be made clearer by the statement of facts and estimates relating to the present population and its conditions.

The recent loss in life and in the means of existence is

difficult to present in a few sentences. It has been assumed by pro-Spanish authorities that sixty per cent. of whites and fifteen per cent. of the colored population have died since the civil war began in 1895. This does not consider the losses in Spanish troops, estimated at 125,000. Taking the census of 1887 as a basis, this would involve, outside the troops, a loss of 444,522 white and of 77,050 colored persons. By this estimate, however, the Havanese editors leave the latter more numerous now than the whites. But the total of 521,572 deaths through the reconcentrado policy, within two years, is a terrible indictment. Adding the 200,000 loss on both sides, through the civil conflict, within four years, and the anti-Cuban estimate, reduces the total population by 721,000, at least. The estimates of Cuban authorities as given to the writer in October last, reduce this total to an average loss in the island of thirty-four per cent., or a total of about 640,000 persons.

This loss is much greater in the sugar and tobacco growing sections than in the small crop farm and cattle range areas. But for this fact the whites of Cuba would now be much less in number than the negro and mestizo classes. In Santiago, Puerto Principe, Eastern Santa Clara and Pinar del Rio, the colored inhabitants were, when insurgent operations began, 225,000 against 500,000 whites. In the central provinces the difference was as two whites to one colored. In the first division, the ratio is now about two to one, and in the second the colors and races are nearly equal; a small majority being still found on the side of the whites.

To this state of affairs as to population, add the fact that there is no island money to set business in motion; that food crops are not cultivated to anything like a necessary extent; that seeds, tools, machinery, cattle, and other essentials are lacking. Medical supplies are absent, and the service is therefore as scant. The people cannot get work until food shall give them strength. Women and children especially will perish by the thousands before relief shall alleviate their distress, and the restoration of industry fully rehabilitate Cuban life. This is work for statesmanship. Investment must be made beneficent also.

The difficulties of rehabilitating Cuba are unquestionably of an onerous character. Yet, on the other hand, the very steps we must take in preparing the way for Cuban self-government

will rapidly both lighten and simplify our own task, and at the same time greatly aid and encourage the Cuban people. That is a reward which comes inevitably when justice is maintained and equity established in politics and economics. It is hardly possible for the average American to comprehend the bleeding processes to which the Spaniards subjected their "ever faithful isle." The facts of history are no more derisive of that grandiloquent falsehood, than the criminal craft of administrative robbery with which the countrymen of Sancho Panza rewarded the alleged fidelity of their colonial victims. The story of the Philippines, when fully made known, will add a huge chapter of the same character, but it will not be so vile, governmentally considered, as that of Cuba. The Asiatic victims have been despoiled most largely by monastic plunderers, but the Cubans have been the open prey for four hundred years of the soldier and the civil official.

The taxation imposed on Cuba for the year 1897 reached a total of $26,359,650. The export and import duties were $14,705,000; the internal taxes were $9,683,150. The remainder was obtained from sales of material and other such sources. A liberal estimate of the cost of government—civil and military—on our part should not exceed $12,000,000 for one year, thus releasing about $15,000,000 of taxation. The return of such a sum to the ordinary channels of activity must greatly quicken all affairs; besides, the lowering and equalization of tariff rates will soon greatly accelerate business effort and enterprise. The estimated millions and more can unquestionably be raised readily by the tariff dues alone. They will not be harshly felt by the people, dealers or consumers, but the advantages gained will be immediately apprehended.

Under our system of local government, also, municipal communities will soon learn how to take care of their own needs and interests. The city of Santiago already illustrates this growth. The taxes that will disappear under our control will be, except for immediate use and improvement, all of the bonded and most of the floating debt. The annual interest laid on Cuba was given in the last budget at $10,435,183. The military and naval establishment, so far as directly laid on Cuba, with pension and retired army lists, and the two bodies of armed police that Spain kept, alone required $11,849,844. These two groups of

expenditures amounted then to $22,285,027. On the side of the maintenance of order, it is fair to believe that our entire costs will not exceed fifty per cent. of the latter. All sorts of oppressive and plundering taxes and imposts have been the rule in Cuba. Stamps, licenses, fees, real estate, lotteries, and, in fact, every form of fiscal oppression have been in vogue. These will disappear at an early date, and the effect in relief can hardly be imagined. Besides, the revenue we shall be obliged to collect will be more of a help in the subsequent disbursing of it than a burden in its collection. The enlistment and employment of 10,000 to 15,000 Cubans, as naval police, soldiers, constabulary in cities, and as laborers in the public works required by sanitary reform, road building, municipal and rural improvements, will more than offset the revenue required. The lessening of prices in things imported under our uniform and reduced temporary tariff rates will set money in motion. Employment for wages will multiply needs and create the means of payment also. Business men in Cuba all comprehend this, and have naturally grown impatient for the realization of so beneficial a change. The disaffected class will be very small, and altogether recruited from vanishing Spanish official circles.

Cuba is a land of beauty. It captures the senses even while they are shocked with desolation. Its fertility is equal to its beauty. The lush glory of its vegetation will soon cover the scars of death camp, pest hole, fields of fire and slaughter, but time is needed for the harvesting of crops and food. The general light-heartedness of its people is a guarantee of their rapid recovery from the sufferings that now make them still and sombre. Cubans "native and to the manner born" are sober, temperate, light-hearted naturally, and industrious. They are not American "hustlers," however. Many conditions have combined with climate to mould the character of this community. The whites are Spanish by race, but in all essentials they are a different stock from the Peninsuleros, or from the other Latin-American communities, which are everywhere modified by large admixture of Indian blood. The negroes are not the same as those of our Southern States, of Hayti, or other West Indian islands. In the eastern provinces of Cuba especially, they are largely the descendants of the earlier African importations, those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; while in the central provinces

the same people are chiefly descended from the slave importations that so systematically preceded our civil war. The Cuban negroes are industrious. Intelligent whites who are most directly in touch with them declare they are moderately aspiring also. They want education for their children and possess an ambition to secure a foothold on the land. And at this point, it will be desirable to call attention to the fact that there are still several millions of acres in Cuba that will come, in the readjustment, under the designation of public lands. Other large areas that are held under old grants, but never cultivated, will surely be placed on sale. Conditions make that inevitable.

The sugar plantations of Cuba are not inviting to laborers of any character. As they are conducted, they must be regarded as "relics of barbarism," debased by chattel and debt bondage, with the added brutality of a business based wholly on machinery and the cheapest possible labor. Cuban plantation hands will leave the "*ingenios*" just as swiftly as they can see their way to other chances. There are no homes around the sugar factories, for they are nothing else. Women and children are systematically discouraged. Schools are non-existent. The capitalist owners are conspicuous by their absence, and are represented by a few agents, storekeepers, engineers and artificers. American owned plantations are often and especially illustrative of this. The civil war and Weyler's policy have forcibly taken the plantation hands remaining and scattered them widely. They have done more; for they have almost destroyed the cane-growing farmer class. These, especially in Matanzas and Havana, were quite generally Spaniards from the Canary and Mediterranean islands, or of the hardy Pyrenean peasant stock. In slave-holding days, these people were the owners' agents and foremen. They and their descendants gradually came to be the "*tributeros*" in the sugar provinces, and in the leased "*vegas*" cultivators of the tobacco section. Land grants were generally twelve square leagues, or about 23,000 acres in extent. These lands in Cuba have been leased in "*cabelleros*" or "*vegas*" of thirty-three and one-third acres each, at a small amount per acre. Usually the lessee took from two to three such portions. The conditions were the planting of cane in such proportion to the acre as local facts suggested. This product had to be delivered at the "*ingenios*" at a price practically set by the owners of the latter.

Credit for seed and food were established. The result has been an effective form of peonage. Breaks have occurred. Men became independent. Small investors, too, have entered the field. The larger capitalists have found profit in a better centred tillage, but the fact remains that the *pacificos*. of the sugar districts especially and the tobacco region partially, were of the renting class, in debt to owners and exporters, and therefore under bonds to the old system.

Weyler's cruelty has practically destroyed this relic of Spanish rule. In so doing, it has made the future of republican Cuba far brighter than would otherwise have been the case. The Canary Island renters have been made over as Cubans, or have returned to their old homes. About one-third have left, an equal number have died, and the larger proportion of the remainder have become bitterly anti-Spanish. They are not likely to return in large numbers to cane planting, and, like the colored laborers, will probably seek new homes on the vacant lands, after working awhile for wages at the new enterprises which will bring the large development of Cuba's resources.

Sugar planting will not remain the foremost industry of the island. It will probably pass under a cloud, and wait for several years before a revival comes under new conditions of land control and wage payment. As in Jamaica and after emancipation, the small crops of squatters and farmers will soon assume a commercial value greater than that of the sugar industry, for the island lands are everywhere capable of productions valuable as exports. Coffee, cocoa, rice, fruits of all kinds, tropical and temperate, except those of the higher latitudes; fine vegetable roots and crops like cassava, ginger, arrowroot, medicinal plants, fibres of value, and tobacco of course, are native to the soil and readily cultivated.

The development of mining, cattle growing and its related occupations, and of the great timber resources of Cuba, will demand a large amount of labor. The island population is not over twenty to the square mile. The railroad mileage is but one in thirty-seven, and the telegraphic mileage only one in seventeen square miles. There are not 500 miles of decent highways in the whole island. In her days of commercial prosperity, the ports of Cuba received about 2,000 ships, having a tonnage of 2,500,000 tons. The traffic of 1898 would not exceed one-twentieth thereof.

The division of the population will usually be made by us on the basis of color, but that is entirely misleading as to results. There is no such thing there as a race issue. A very persistent effort has recently been made to make it appear as if there were one, just as there has been also an attempt to produce the impression that an hostility exists among the former Cuban soldiery against the United States and its people. We need not go far to find the genesis of these statements, but it is difficult to comprehend why so many in our midst should have given them persistent currency. Their origin was Spanish; their promulgation due to commercial and color prejudice combined. In so saying, I am guided by the fact, known to all students of Cuban matters, that one of the most unfair elements in the affairs of that island and our relations therewith has been for the past forty years the American money invested in Cuban sugar plantations. But recently, a Cuban of culture and education—a graduate, too, of one of our scientific schools of high repute—declared to me that it was American money that resisted the emancipation of their slaves, and that the same influence had always opposed Cuban freedom at Washington and in the American press. It must be confessed that the misrepresentation of Cuban character, as this writer sees it, which has followed our war record, gives force to this statement.

The traditional Spaniard, as such, will not be a source of much division in Cuba. More than half of that part of its population had become seriously disaffected by the ferocious brutality of the men in command. Nativity made for nothing in the Weyler slaughter. All were treated alike, unless the men chose to wear the Spanish uniform, and then they only suffered longer. The trading people, largely of Spanish birth, grew discontented during the year past. Then it has remained true that all persons born and reared in Cuba have been at heart, and generally bitterly so, anti-Spanish in feeling. The professional, teaching and literary class are usually Cuban by birth and sympathy. The younger ones are largely American by education. The farming class, especially the tobacco growers and exporters, the men of the small farms and the cattle ranges, are almost wholly Cuban. The skilled wage and day labor classes are native. The negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes are of course Cubans, with such exceptions only as prove the rule. And a great

proportion of the planter families, long established in the island, cultured, refined, Spanish in their fine manners and proud natures, are thorqughly Cuban in political character and opinion. It is from this class that the patriots, Cespedes, Agramonte, Aguone, Cisneros, Garcia and others known to recent history, have come. It must be borne in mind, also, that the mestizoes are not separable from the general body of the white Cubans. Nobody resident in the island ever makes any such distinction. Their families are the admixtures of the older white and African stock. In the negro labor population, the mulatto proper has a distinct but not unfriendly place.

The aristocracy or exclusive class will be made up of Spaniards who remain because of property interests, the banking and richer commercial elements, largely European, but only partially Spanish, the clergy who may remain, with the wealthier planters, and those dependent on them for direct personal employment and patronage. This analysis shows that the outlook as to population and its character is decidedly favorable to steady life and an assured, if moderate, progress to better conditions.

Everywhere the grateful feelings of the Cuban people toward Americans in general are unrestrainedly present. Everywhere, too, the business men, whether Spaniards or Cuban, are eager to welcome the restful interregnum we bring. Everywhere the desire to learn our language is so eager that it has its humorous aspects. The Cuban insurgents have borne their part in the waiting with a degree of manly patience that the more it is recognized the deeper will be the gratification aroused thereby. They have been educating themselves for citizenship by building and maintaining for three years past, over a considerable segment of the island, a rude but effective form of local administration and civil life. They have maintained courts, established workshops, cultivated great bodies of land, kept their soldiery in the field, founded common schools and printed books therefor. In all this they have had no aid, as was afforded elsewhere in other Latin-American struggles, from the clergy. It is asserted that there are not a dozen natives among the clerics on the island.

There are other issues buried probably in the graves of Antonio Maceo and José Marti, who both held to the idea of a West Indian Republic under federal relations. It is quite certain that

these two men were of the largest natural ability found among the Cuban leaders, and that they agreed as to the ideals for which they were working. Marti was the Cuban's Mazzini; Maceo the mestizo's Toussaint Louverture. Both were believers in an independent Cuba, and therein Gomez agreed with them; both hoped for the growth of a West Indian island federation, in which race issues would be solved under growing industry and the moulding attraction of justice.

This review of existing conditions in Cuba will illustrate that there is nothing inherently incurable in the present or prospective situation. It only appears so to those who think, perhaps, of New England, or want the power of New York City suddenly developed in the Antilles. But the thoughtful reader, who rationally seeks to put himself in the other man's place, will see that the Cuban—white or colored—is facile and available, willing to labor and responsive to fair dealing. To his credit always it must be remembered that he has unflinchingly borne the burden of resistance to oppression, and worn its sacrificial sufferings without undue complaint. The Cubans are not quarrelsome among themselves. That, the fact of their last thirty years of combining and fighting must establish. They are not revengeful, either, and bear little malice toward the mass of those who have ill used them. Indeed, the feeling of a true democracy, scientific in its deductions, dwells within their known views. The leaders recognize that the masses are mainly moulded in and by systems. Individuals are often responsible for special crimes or policy; the community acts as administrative machinery operates, until its grinding power becomes intolerable. The Spaniard, who remains to work with them, they know must be lifted up, not beaten down. And this I have found generally accepted among the Cubans. There are some, of course, who by temperament or spiritual insight are malcontent. The world's conditions create such unrest. But in Cuba there are few. It depends largely upon our acts whether they grow more numerous.

It is a settled policy that an American protectorate shall remain until order and industry are firmly established. In our sense of the words, there have been no such in Cuba before, because there has been no justice or wisdom displayed in administrative affairs. But the chief desire among active Cubans is

the speedy establishment of their island independence. This is practically universal in the small towns and rural districts. The larger places are more divided, older Cubans and men of business being in favor of speedy annexation. As to what may follow independence, present judgment and observation tend to a strong conviction that it would soon eventuate in a demand for annexation and admission into the Union as a state.

This conclusion, however, must not be accepted as a finality. If Cuba becomes, as is probable, reasonably prosperous and can depend upon herself, the old dream of the political idealists may be revived as a practical political issue. A federation of all the West Indian islands, under republican institutions, has been a subject of discussion among Cuban thinkers. It may be recalled by historical students that such an idea was broached in the revolutionary fervor that lit the close of the last century and shed a ruddy light upon the opening years of the one now passing away. It was discussed by Placide, the Cuban poet, and others in the mid century periods. And it has certainly been considered by Cuban leaders of this generation. There are those who think such a plan feasible, and are now ready to believe that with a stable government in Cuba, the European owned islands, as well as Hayti and Santo Domingo, could be more readily and peaceably brought together than would be the case under the direct efforts of this country. But this idea does not belong at present to the domain of practical politics. Probably it never will.

But whether Cuba remains under our protection until it enters the Union as a state, or whether, helped to a self-respecting independence, it decides to ask for annexation, it is interesting to know that the Cuban people are now a practical unit in supporting the idea and hope of a republican government; the separation of Church and State, with the secularization of all church property, not required for religious use, for educational purposes, collegiate, high schools, and for the free and common teaching of all the children. An increasing demand for primary education is felt in the island. Equally so is the desire for instruction in both Spanish and English.

The Cuban leaders have considered other important matters; as, for example, that of land tenures, and leasing. It is claimed also that there are some millions of acres, out of the nearly 29,-

000,000 which the island and its small additions contain, that still remain public property. Lawyers are engaged in the investigation of these matters. Representative Cuban republicans desire all such realty to be set aside in order to create a fund for educational purposes; and that liberal colony and homestead regulations shall be adopted, so that use or sale may be helpful in creating such a fund. There is a good deal of quiet discussion in progress relating to the present plantation system, which every one recognizes is, as now conducted, decidedly injurious to decent habits, social growth, and free institutions.

A broad willingness is shown as to franchises, but there are also those who question the wisdom of unrestrained bestowal of such privileges and functions. A demand for rapid communication, water-works, sewerage, paved streets, road making, bridge building, land settlement, mine opening, indeed, for all the multifarious activities of modern life, will soon be developed. But, so far, no one discusses manufacturing possibilities, and the tendency among the Cubans of trades and crafts will long remain individualized. Cuba offers interesting questions and issues, and demands from us not only honest action, but a clear conception of the duties we assumed at such a cost.

RICHARD J. HINTON.

THE BALLOT LAWS OF NEW YORK.

BY THE HON. JOSEPH F. DALY.

At the last general election in New York City, there was as much discussion over the way to vote as there was over the candidates to be voted for. The most contrary assertions were made as to the manner in which an elector who desired to vote for some candidate not nominated by his party could effect his purpose. The result of the election failed to express the intentions of many voters, (1.) because, in some instances, they were so confused by conflicting instructions that they forebore to vote in the discriminating way they desired and voted wholesale for, or against, party to avoid the total loss of their vote; (2.) because they followed wrong instructions and actually cast a vote contrary to their choice; (3.) because their votes, when correctly cast, were misread or miscounted, through the ignorance of election officers. It would seem that the whole effort of the Legislature should be directed to preventing this state of things, and it is to be hoped that it will be speedily remedied.

The policy of the State has been, for the last three years, to provide an official ballot for the use of the voter on election day. He goes to a polling place and receives a folded paper, with which he retires to a compartment, called a booth, where he finds lead pencils on a shelf which serves as a desk. On opening the paper, he sees—in some cases with difficulty, owing to insufficient light in the little shop used as a polling place—printed in separate columns, the names of the candidates of each party, and a blank column in which he may write the names of candidates not in the printed columns. At the head of each party column are a device, the name of the party, and a circle or ring. The device is to guide the voter who cannot read English or cannot read at all. The voter may simply mark a cross, with a black lead pen-

cil, in the circle, and in that case he votes for all the persons whose names are printed beneath it. This is called voting a "straight ticket." It is the first resort of an elector who is content with the candidates chosen by his party convention; and it is frequently the last resort of a voter who, going to the polls with the intention of choosing among the candidates of different parties, finds it difficult to carry out the instructions he has received, and, rather than lose his vote altogether, puts a cross in some circle and lets the matter go.

What is the difficulty which confronts the voter? It is the confusion due to the over elaboration in the ballot law of provisions for voting what is called a "split ticket," that is to say, for choosing candidates from different parties. Reduced to a simple form, the provisions are as follows. To vote a split ticket the voter may:

Omit to mark a cross at the head of any party column, and mark instead, a cross before the name of each candidate chosen in any column; or,

Mark a cross in the circle above his party column, and also mark a cross before the name of individual candidates in another party column. He thus votes for such individual candidates, and also for all the candidates in his party column except those on the same lines with the individuals marked in other columns. But if there are two or more candidates to be elected to the same office, as in the case of presidential electors or judges, he may vote for candidates on the same line by marking a cross before each of their names, and a cross before all other candidates of his choice for the same office, whether in his party column or in other columns, until he has thus marked as many individual candidates as he is allowed to vote for for that office.

The necessity of thus marking all the candidates of his choice for the same office is apparent from the following illustration. Let us suppose that there are three judges to be voted for by each elector. The ballot shows for that office thus:

Republican candidates.	*Democratic candidates.*	*Third Party candidates.*
Brown.	Doe.	Smith.
Jones.	Roe.	Grey.
Robinson.	Thompson.	Black.

It is manifest that if the voter marks a cross at the head of the Democratic column, and a cross before the names of Brown

and Doe, it will be doubtful which of the two other Democratic candidates he votes for, and so he must signify his choice by marking a cross before one of them.

If the voter fails to indicate a particular choice for any candidate in his party column, it does not render his ballot void as to other candidates. If he makes a cross at the head of his party column, he votes for all the candidates in that column, except those as to whom a doubt exists as indicated above.

If there is difficulty in comprehending the foregoing with regard to voting a split ticket, the difficulty is hardly lessened by the manner in which the instructions are given in the ballot law. Here are Rules 3, 4 and 5 for the guidance of the Board of Inspectors in counting the vote to ascertain the "intent of electors," taken from Chapter 335 of the laws of 1898, Section 110:

Rule No. 3. If the elector shall have made a voting mark in the circle above one ticket only, and shall have also made a voting mark in the voting space or spaces before the name or names of a candidate or candidates on one or more other tickets, he shall be deemed to have cast his vote for all the candidates on the ticket so marked in the circle, except for those for whom he has indicated his intention not to vote by making a voting mark in the voting space before the name or names of individual candidates on one or more other tickets, or by writing a name in the blank column, and the candidate or candidates so individually voted for on such other ticket or tickets shall be deemed to be the voter's choice for such office or offices; provided, however, that:

Rule No. 4. When two or more persons are to be voted for for the same office, as two or more justices of the Supreme Court or presidential electors, and the names of the several candidates therefor are printed under the title of the office for which all are running, and the elector shall have made a voting mark in the circle at the head of a ticket, and shall also have made a voting mark in the voting space before the name of one or more of a group of candidates for such office on other tickets, providing that he shall not have marked the names of two or more of such candidates upon the same line upon the ballot, he shall be deemed to have cast his vote for all the candidates for such office so individually marked and for those marked in the circle, except for those candidates under such circle so marked whose names are upon the same line on the ballot as the names of the candidates so individually marked, or written in the blank column, unless in addition to making the voting mark in the circle at the head of the ticket he shall also have made a voting mark before each one of the group of candidates for such office for whom he desires to vote on the ticket so marked in the circle; provided further, however, that:

Rule No. 5. When two or more persons are to be voted for for the same office, as two or more justices of the Supreme Court or presidential electors, and the names of the several candidates therefor are printed on any ticket under the title of the office for which all are running, and the electors shall have made a voting mark in the circle at the head of the ticket, and shall also have made a voting mark in the voting space before the name of more

than one of the group of candidates for such office printed on the same line on the ballot on other tickets, or by writing the name or names of a candidate or candidates in the blank column, he must also indicate by voting marks in the voting spaces on the ticket so marked in the circle the individual candidates of the group of candidates on such ticket for whom he desires to vote, or his vote shall only be counted for the candidates for such office which are so individually marked on other tickets or written in the blank column.

The foregoing provisions of law, which were discussed very fully before the last election, had the effect in many cases of deterring discrimination in voting, and led to the voting of a "straight ticket" for fear of the dreaded consequence—the loss of a vote—under the impression (an erroneous one) that, if a ballot were not marked so that the intention of the voter was clear as to a particular candidate, his vote would not be counted for any in his party column.

But the greatest confusion arose from a cause for which the Legislature was directly responsible; namely, two apparently inconsistent and contradictory enactments on the same subject—the voting of a split ticket.

Under the head of "Preparation of ballots," in section 105 of the same law, occurs the following:

Rule No. 2. If the elector desires to vote a split ticket, that is, for candidates of different parties, he should not make a cross mark in the circle above the name of any party, but should make a cross mark in the voting space before the name of each candidate for whom he desires to vote, on whatever ticket he may be.

In section 110 of the act are found the elaborate rules 3, 4 and 5, above quoted, showing that a split ticket may be voted in a different way. The provision in section 105 is, in fact, nothing more than a direction as to one way to vote a "split ticket," and is a suggestion which may, or may not, be followed, inasmuch as the voter may adopt the method of voting referred to in the subsequent section 110, and his vote will be equally valid. But many persons having read the first enactment without reading the others, and many newspapers having published it as the controlling legislative provision on the subject, uncertainty was inevitable. The manifest duty of the Legislature is to amend the law so as to avoid a mistake so likely to occur. This should be done by adding at the end of rule 2, in section 105, the words, "the elector may also vote for the candidates of different parties in the following manner," and incorporating briefly the methods allowed by rules 3, 4 and 5 of section 110. The greatest direct-

ness and simplicity of enactment is demanded in directions for voting and counting votes, and convenient illustrations should be incorporated in the act, if the official ballot is to remain as the means by which the voter is to express his choice at the polls.

To understand how the existing enactments confuse the election officials, it is only necessary to read a portion of the report made on the 9th of November by a member of the bar, who acted as a volunteer watcher for the Lawyers' Committee in the last election held in New York. His object was to secure a correct count of the vote for Supreme Court justices, each elector being entitled to vote for three candidates. He said:

"Yesterday I acted as a watcher on behalf of the Committee of One Hundred, at the Fourth Election District at No. 43 Cherry Street, in the Second Assembly District.

"Ten ballots were marked as follows:

	X
Cohen.	X Andrews.
X Daly.	X Fitzgerald.
Taft.	Leventritt.

and one ballot as follows:

	X
Cohen.	Andrews.
X Daly.	X Fitzgerald.
X Taft.	Leventritt.

"The Democratic Inspectors took the position regarding the first ten ballots that neither Daly nor Fitzgerald were voted for, but that Andrews and Leventritt were voted for and so counted the ballots. I objected strenuously, read the election law to the inspectors, and finally succeeded in having a protest endorsed upon the back of each of the ten ballots, which protest was signed by the Republican Inspectors, Francis P. Kennedy, of 38 Park Row, and Michael J. Gorman, of 313 Water Street. The protest read as follows: 'We claim that Daly, Andrews and Fitzgerald are voted for on this ballot. (Signed) FRANCIS P. KENNEDY.

" MICHAEL J. GORMAN.'

"On the other ballot an endorsement was made and signed by Kennedy and Gorman as follows: 'We claim that Daly, Fitzgerald and Taft are voted for on this ballot.'

"In the last-mentioned ballot the vote was counted for Andrews and Taft."

The vote should have been counted exactly as claimed by the watcher and the Republican inspectors; that is to say, for the candidates marked with a cross. The error of the other inspectors lay in supposing that the voter could not choose two candidates out of three on the same line if one was in his party column —a manifest absurdity which no Legislature could be supposed to countenance; but, nevertheless, the cloudy provisions of Rules 4 and 5 left some minds in doubt on the point.

It would undoubtedly do away with the difficulty of ascertaining the voter's intention if the Massachusetts and California form of ballot were adopted. This ballot has no separate party column, all the candidates being printed in one column under the titles of the offices for which they are running, and the name of the party by which they are nominated printed after each name. Voting is done by marking a cross on the right of the name of each candidate of the voter's choice. Only the names so marked are credited with a vote. The election officers, inspectors, watchers and canvassers can make no mistakes. With the name of each candidate on a separate line, there can be no question for whom the vote is cast. A candidate who is not marked gets no vote, and a mark for one name cannot be counted for another.

The California ballot law substitutes a stamp for the lead pencil mark on the ballot. A rubber stamp and ink pad instead of a pencil are found in the voting booth, and the voter uses the stamp to make a uniform and indelible mark opposite the candidate's name. One object of this uniform stamping is to prevent any peculiarity in marking which, in using a pencil, might be resorted to for the purpose of identifying a ballot as cast by a particular voter or class of voters; a very desirable precaution, all ballot laws providing for the rejection of ballots upon which any identification mark can be discerned. In New York, ballots have been challenged because the cross mark in the circle at the head of a party column was made with one heavy and one light stroke, an effect as easily produced by accident as by design, and so have various forms of cross marks which, though irregular, may possibly, under decisions of the courts of New York, be accepted as valid cross marks not necessarily to be rejected as imperfect, or as made for the purpose of identification.

A reasonable objection to the system which obliges the voter to mark every name he votes for, may be made where a multitude of offices are required to be filled by election. In California we are told that sometimes between 200 and 300 names have to be marked, owing to the statutory requirement of votes for school officers and other minor positions. The same objection would, of course, be very apparent in several states in presidential years, when, if there were several parties in the field, a vast number of names of presidential electors would have to be printed on the ballot; but, inasmuch as these are invariably voted for as repre-

senting the party presidential candidate, and not upon their own merits as individuals, a separate ballot could be printed for presidential electors, upon which a single mark at the head of a party column would suffice to vote a whole ticket. This method would certainly have to be adopted in order to prevent the undue prolongation of an electoral count, which would result from having to record the individual marking of the names of several hundred candidates. No voluntary watchers could be found who were willing to give more than one day to the count of votes. At an election in California, it is said, the count sometimes extends over two or three days. The obvious objections to this are many and serious. In favor of the single column system generally, it may be observed that the same aid, by way of party emblems, could be furnished to voters who cannot read English, as well as to those who cannot read at all, as is offered by the party column system. The party device, as well as the party name, could be printed after the name of each candidate.

While in New York an official ballot is prescribed for general elections, an important modification is allowed for primary elections at which delegates to political conventions are chosen. An official ballot is furnished for each political party, on which is printed its nominees; but any person may provide ballots with the names of other candidates, and may deposit them with the election clerks, who are bound to furnish them, as well as the official ballots, to every elector who presents himself at the polls. The voter may vote any ballot so received; or he may substitute for them a ballot which he has brought with him, and which conforms in external appearance to the provisions of the law and has been printed according to the regulations. Official paper is to be furnished at cost, together with sample official ballots, by the election officers prior to the election, to all who require them for the purpose of printing special ballots.

Thus at primary elections the voter may vote a ballot previously prepared and put into his hands before the elections, a privilege from which he is debarred at general elections. The system might, I think, be improved by requiring the election inspectors to provide at the polls envelopes in which every ballot is to be inclosed before it is voted, so as to prevent the possibility of detecting whether the elector is voting a well-thumbed ballot which he has previously prepared, or a fresh ballot which he has just

received from the poll clerk. A watch would be kept upon voters by the party workers, if ballots were not thus screened from observation when cast, and the secrecy of the ballot might be endangered.

It has been questioned whether the voter, at a general election, ought not to have the privilege which he enjoys at a primary election, of casting a ballot which he has prepared at home, and which he can substitute in the secrecy of the polling booth for the official ballot received from the inspectors. Much is to be said in favor of an enactment which would require the election officers to deliver at the residence of each registered voter a certain time before election—say two or three days—copies of the official ballot, one of which the voter might mark to suit his views as to the choice of candidates and substitute for the official ballot which he receives on election day and with which he retires to the polling booth. Such a privilege would undoubtedly be a great boon to the voter, as it would afford him the opportunity of consultation as to the proper way of marking his ballot so as to effect his intention in voting. The object of requiring the official ballot to be delivered at the residence of the voters is to put all upon an equal footing, and avoid the disclosure of an intention to vote independently which would result from personal application for the ballot at the polling place in advance of the election.

The present New York ballot law, with all its defects, seems to be intended to favor the independent voter. Its labored provisions for giving effect to his intention fail only because they lack arrangement and simplicity. Thoroughly revised by competent hands, the law can be made clear to voters and election officers, and an official ballot can be devised which will serve to record unerringly the will of the elector. Voters in New York have become familiar with the present form of party columns, and that is an argument in favor of retaining it; but some modification might be allowable, to avoid the perplexity which must always be caused by an attempt to discriminate where there is a group of candidates to be voted for for one office. It might be permissible to use a paster in such a case, to be placed in the party column over one or more names; or it might be permitted the voter to indicate the candidates he rejects in his party column by running a pencil mark through their names, an instinctive,

as well as unmistakeable, way of denoting disapproval. This, with a cross mark before the name of a candidate or candidates selected from other columns, or the writing of a name in the blank column, would clearly indicate the voter's choice.

The use of the single column, with the name of each candidate for each office on a single line would, of course, render these precautions unnecessary.

JOSEPH F. DALY.

OBJECTIONS TO ANNEXING THE PHILIPPINES.

BY SENATOR G. G. VEST.

WHEN President Northrop, of the Minnesota University, sneeringly declares that the nation has become a giant, and "is no longer content with the nursery rhymes which were sung around his cradle," and eminent statesmen ridicule "the swaddling clothes" made by Washington and Madison, it is surely time to ask whether the American people are ready to follow these apostles of the New Evangel in revolutionizing our Government, and trampling upon the teachings and policies which have made us great and prosperous.

To those who thus manifest their contempt for the Constitution made by Madison and his wise associates, and for the teaching of Washington, I make no argument; but to the great body of citizens who love their country and revere the traditions and memories consecrated by the blood and sacrifices of our fathers, I confidently appeal against the fantastic and wicked scheme of colonial expansion, the adoption of which will change our form of government and will bring nothing but disaster.

I am opposed to annexing the Philippines because such annexation makes the people of those islands ultimately citizens of the United States, and necessitates the admission of the territory thus acquired as a State.

The idea of conferring American citizenship upon the half-civilized, piratical, muck-running inhabitants of two thousand islands, seven thousand miles distant, in another hemisphere, and creating a State of the Union from such materials, is so absurd and indefensible that the expansionists are driven to the necessity of advocating the colonial system of Europe, against which the American Colonies revolted when its application to them was attempted by the King of England.

In the rush and roar of recent events, the fact is ignored that the first four years of the Revolutionary War were fought against the colonial system of Europe, which was based upon the cardinal principle of monarchy, that millions of people could be held as colonial subjects, governed by laws in the making of which they had no part, and under whose exactions they were impoverished by unjust and excessive taxes. Against this system, graphically described by Jefferson as based upon the belief that "nine-tenths of mankind were born bridled and saddled, with the other tenth booted and spurred to ride them," our fathers took up arms and defied the most powerful nation of the world. The history of that eventful period shows that they did not at first contemplate independence, but rebelled because they were denied representation, although taxed to support the Crown. When the people of Rhode Island burned the British war sloop, "Gaspee," in Narragansett Bay, and the people of Massachusetts threw overboard the tea in Boston Harbor, they claimed to be loyal subjects of the King; and when Thomas Jefferson and his friends met at the Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia, and resolved to share the fortunes of New England, they declared their object to be the maintenance of their rights as British citizens.

After four years of war, the leaders of the Revolution determined upon final and complete separation from the mother country, and in 1776 Jefferson framed the Declaration of Independence, the foundation stone of which is the sublime truth that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

It is incredible that the men who fought and suffered for seven years in resisting the colonial system of Europe, should have then formed a government whose constitution recognized and adopted the oppression against which they had successfully struggled.

It is a travesty upon history, and an insult to the memory of the glorious dead who suffered and died that we might be free.

That the heroic men who fought against the colonial system in the Revolution did not intend to abandon their position and surrender to absolutism, is evident from the fact that the Articles of Federation contained no provision for acquiring new territory, and Mr. Madison, in number 38 of the Federalist, complained that the Northwestern Territory had been received from Virginia,

and a territorial government established there by Congress, without any authority, and upon this he based an argument for the adoption of the Constitution of 1789, in which he claimed there were limitations of Congressional power necessary to the preservation of those great principles of free government for which the war against England had been waged.

The Constitution of 1789 provided that Congress should have power "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States," and "to admit new states into the Union."

These provisions must be taken together, and obviously mean that Congress can legislate for the sale of public lands, and for the proper government of newly acquired territory until it is ready for statehood.

In Dred Scott *vs.* Sandford, (19th U. S. Reports), the Supreme Court decided that "there is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure, or to enlarge its territorial limits in any way, except by the admission of new states."

This portion of the opinion was concurred in by all the Justices, including McLean and Curtis, who dissented from the views of the majority as to the rights of a slave owner to carry his slaves into a territory where slavery had been prohibited by Act of Congress. In their dissenting opinions, Justices McLean and Curtis declare that Congress can exercise no powers in territory acquired by conquest or purchase, which are prohibited by the Constitution, and their legislation must be for the protection of life and property, and "initiatory to the establishment of State governments."

This decision as to holding colonies has never been questioned by any court or public man in this country, until the craze for expansion made its appearance within the past few months.

The expansionists, made desperate by the plain teaching of our early history, and the unanimous opinion of nine Supreme Court Justices, representing all sections and political opinions, contend that the Constitution does not apply to the Territories, and that Congress has unlimited power to control new territory as colonies if it believes this condition to be needful. Mr. Web-

ster is quoted as authority for the doctrine that the Constitution does not apply to the Territories, and it is true that in an acrimonious debate in the Senate with Mr. Calhoun in 1848, when the latter asserted that slavery existed in the territory acquired from Mexico by reason of the Federal Constitution, which recognized slavery, being extended over such territory, Mr. Webster not only declared that the Constitution did not apply to the Territories, but that the Constitution gave the Federal Government no power to acquire territory in any way.

With great deference to Mr. Webster's ability and learning, it must be emphatically stated that his position is too monstrous for serious discussion. That Congress can ignore the Bill of Rights, and deprive citizens in a territory of the right to trial by jury, security from unlawful search and seizure, freedom of religious opinion, and the other rights guaranteed by the Constitution, cannot be defended successfully even by Webster.

The Supreme Court of the United States has repeatedly determined that the Federal Constitution, with all its provisions, applied to all territory under the jurisdiction of our Government.

In the case of Loughborough *vs.* Blake (4th Wheaton), Chief Justice Marshall, in delivering the opinion, said that the term "United States" meant "the whole Republic, composed of States and Territories, and all the provisions of the Constitution as to taxation and personal rights applied to the whole country alike."

Chief Justice Waite, in the case of "The National Bank *vs.* the County of Yankton" (101 U. S. Reports), speaking for the Court, said that the Territories held the same relation to the Federal Government as counties to a State, and that "Congress had all the powers of the people of the United States, except such as have been expressly or by implication reserved by the prohibitions of the Constitution."

In Thompson *vs.* Utah (170th U. S. Reports), the Supreme Court decided that the provisions of the Constitution relating to trials by jury for criminal offenses applied to the Territories, and that Congress in legislating for the Territories is subject to all the limitations of the Constitution.

The same doctrine is announced in The American Publishing Company vs. Fisher (166th U. S. Reports), and Crandall *vs.* Nevada (6th Wallace).

It is a significant indication of what our people have hereto-

fore thought of the colonial system that, in all our acquisition of territory, provisions have been placed in the treaties of cession giving to the inhabitants of the ceded country as soon as possible American citizenship and statehood. The ordinance of 1787, providing for the government and disposition of the Northwest Territory, established self-government for the people of the ceded territory, and the same enactment is found in the treaties made with France, Spain, Mexico and Russia, for the cession of Louisiana, Florida, the northern part of Mexico, and Alaska.

But, if the constitutional power to hold the Philippines as proposed were undoubted, I would oppose annexation if, instead of paying $20,000,000, we should receive five times that sum for taking them.

Nothing but foreign complications, ruinous expenditure, social and political deterioration, and the destruction of free institutions, can come from annexation.

The Philippine Islands are stated in a pamphlet forwarded in May last to the State Department by Mr. Hay, Ambassador to England, and found in the Consular Reports for July, 1898, to be about two thousand in number. They cover sixteen degrees of latitude, or a distance equal to that between Massachusetts and Florida, and are supposed to contain from eight to ten millions of inhabitants, no census having ever been taken, and one-half the archipelago being only nominally under Spanish rule. The natives of many islands are savages in a state of barbarism, and very little is known of their actual number and condition.

The following extracts from the paper forwarded by Mr. Hay are interesting:

"On the whole, the Philippine natives find and take life easy. Their requirements are few. The sum of £5 will provide a native household with a dwelling of its own and ample furniture. Under a genial climate; on a soil lavishly grateful for the slightest tending; by waters teeming with fish, they know nanght of hunger, and have much time left for amusements—such as dancing and public rejoicings on the smallest occasion. . . . Cockfighting is the national sport, and no mean source of revenue to the authorities. Almost every native owns a fighting fowl, which is as dear to him as her lap-dog to a European lady. He carries it about with him and bets his bottom dollar on its performance in the arena."

The favorite pastime of a Malay, when cockfighting becomes monotonous, is to "run-amuck," which means an indiscriminate and murderous attack upon everybody within reach until physical exhaustion terminates the innocent recreation.

Foreman, an English author who lived many years in the Philippines, says in his book, "The Philippines," published in 1890:

"The native is indolent in the extreme and never tired of sitting still gazing at nothing in particular. He will do no regular work without an advance—his work cannot be depended upon—he is fertile in exculpatory devices—he is momentarily obedient, but is averse to subjection. He feigns friendship, but has no loyalty—he is daring on the spur of the moment, but fails in resolution if he reflects."

He also states that, out of 10,000,000 natives in the archipelago, 7,000,000 only are domesticated, the remaining 3,000,000 being savages; and that within a half-day's journey from Manila there are several well-known haunts of pirates, such as San Mateo, Imus, Silan, and Indan.

It is respectfully suggested to the farmers and manufacturers of the United States, who are told by the expansionists that a great market for their products will be furnished in the Philippines, that the population of those islands, as described by reliable observers, will furnish very poor customers for the agricultural and manufactured exports of this country.

It is obvious from conditions in the Philippines that if we annex them, and plunge into the dangerous arena of foreign complications, we must keep there an army of at least 10,000 men, and four or five war vessels, at a cost of many millions annually. Besides this, whatever may be the status as to citizenship of the older inhabitants, their children born after annexation become citizens and voters. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States;" and the Fifteenth Amendment enacts that "the rights of citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State." It being certain from these amendments that the children of the Filipinos will be citizens and voters, in case of annexation, it follows that they must be educated and civilized in order to fit them for the duties imposed by our jurisdiction over their country.

The official record shows that we expend each year more than thirty dollars *per capita* in educating and governing the Indians, and if one-third this amount is expended upon the Filipinos the annual expenditure would be $100,000,000, with no certainty of making them law abiding and intelligent citizens.

The magnitude of the task is shown by the fact that in Manila, by far the most civilized community in the archipelago, there are in its population of about 300,000, 200,000 Chinese, 50,000 Japanese, 40,000 natives, principally Malays, and 3,000 whites. What must be the character of the population in the outlying islands!

We are told, however, that large revenues will be derived from the Philippines, which will reimburse us for all our outlay. The "Statesman's Year Book" for 1898 gives the revenues from the Philippines in 1894-95 as $13,579,900, derived from imports, government monopolies, stamps, cock fighting, opium, gambling, lotteries, raffles, and Chinese capitation tax; and the expenditures for the same year $13,280,130. This leaves a net balance for the government of $299,770. Assuming that the United States would degrade itself by licensing gambling, lotteries, cockfighting, and the sale of opium, it will be seen that no governmental El Dorado has been discovered in these distant possessions. When the enterprising carpet-bagger, and hungry political appointee have swarmed to this new field of plunder, it requires no stretch of the imagination to see an enormous deficit each year to be paid by the taxpayer of the United States.

The principal argument of the expansionists is addressed to the greed of our merchants and exporters, in the assertion that large profits will accrue to this country from the trade of the Philippines and of China and Japan, which can be secured through our people in the archipelago. We will be fortunate if China and Japan, which are now raising cotton and importing the best machinery for manufacturing cotton goods, do not become our most dangerous rivals.

The exports of the Philippines for 1896 amounted, according to the Report of the Bureau of Statistics, to $30,806,250.

If this entire trade could be monopolized by the United States, the profit would be insignificant; but we must remember that England and Germany have large trade interests in the islands, and if an attempt is made to exclude them from what they now enjoy, it will result in retaliation by those countries. Besides this, it is stated that by the terms of the treaty signed at Paris, Spain is to have equal trade privileges with this country for ten years in the Philippines.

We are assured that American capital and labor will rush to our new possessions, and that the enormous mineral and agri-

cultural resources of the islands will soon change them into American communities.

No intelligent man can be made to believe that our laborers can be induced to make homes in the tropics, amidst a population like that of the Philippines, and where the wages and comforts of the temperate zone are impossible. Speculators and promoters may go there for a time, but they will soon find that the natural resources of that distant region have been greatly exaggerated. While mineral deposits are found, they have not been developed to such an extent as will justify the certainty of profitable returns for the miner, and Spain has granted to an English company exclusive mining rights in Luzon, not to expire for many years. The valleys are fertile, but the largest part of the tillable land is owned by the Catholic Church and the priests, making it certain that the United States will be confronted with temporal and ecclesiastical claims of the most serious nature.

No intelligent American can see why we should leave the safe and sure policy of a century for this dangerous experiment.

Great Britain has in her colonies 16,662,073 square miles, containing 322,000,000 inhabitants, while the mother country has 39,825,000 people, and 120,979 square miles. The United States has no colonies, yet our exports are larger than those of Great Britain, and our export trade in the last seven years has gained eighteen, while that of Great Britain has lost five, per cent.

Why should we now disregard the counsel of Washington, that: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible."

The colonial system inevitably brings war, and the proof of this assertion is, that in no two years of Queen Victoria's long reign has the British Empire been at peace with all the world.

Macaulay, the English historian, says:

"There are some who assert that in a military and political point of view the West Indies are of great importance to this country [meaning England]. This is a common but monstrous misrepresentation. We venture to say that colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost; fettered trade; lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in government, and indigence among the people.

"What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain, the Brazils for Portugal, Batavia for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall

we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for trans-Atlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear firesides for snowy desert and infectious morass on the other side of the globe. This inspired us with the project of conquering America. This induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation—to embroil ourselves in the intrigues and fight the battles of half the continent—to form coalitions which were instantly broken and to give subsidies which were never earned. This gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house.

"This it was which in the war against the French republic induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die in West Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous. Gold has been but as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dream of alchemy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

"Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations, fly in the face of history. The colonies of Spain were far more extensive and populous than ours. Has Spain any time in the last two centuries been a match for England, either by land or sea? Fifty years ago our colonial dominions in America were far larger and more prosperous than those which we now possess. Have we since that time experienced any decay in our political influence, in our opulence, or in our security? Or shall we say that Virginia was a less valuable possession than Jamaica, or Massachusetts than Barbadoes?"

A great crisis is upon us, and our free institutions must be maintained by the intelligence and virtue of the people, or cease to exist. We cannot escape the peril by stopping our ears, as did Ulysses those of his sailors, when allured to ruin by the sirens' song. Let us keep them wide open, that we can hear the truth.

Let us listen to that lofty resolution of Congress declaring the war with Spain to be waged, not for conquest, but for humanity and the liberation of Cuba from Spanish despotism; and then let us hear with impatient disgust those who are shouting against "hauling down the flag," which they would dishonor and degrade by violating this solemn pledge.

Let the flag of our Republic not be "hauled down," but brought back to congenial soil where it will wave over freemen, instead of floating above conquered islands in another hemisphere and ten million half-barbarians bought for two dollars each.

G. G. VEST.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

SNOW TORNADOES.

SOME twenty years ago a North German physician built a winter sanitarium in the form of a glass gallery that admitted every gleam of sunshine, but excluded cold air currents, and invited health-seekers with an ornamental inscription: "*Waerme ist Leben, die Kaelte ist der Tod*"—"Warmth is Life, Cold is Death."

"Yes, death to microbes," replied the exponents of the germ theory, but to a numerous class of believers in the old sanitary frost-fables the climatic conditions of some parts of East America must have appeared almost as dangerous as the atmosphere of the Upas Valley.

The alternation of hot summers and icy winters, and the sudden changes of temperature, are not altogether peculiar to our continent, but the snow tornadoes that sweep from the polar regions to the very gates of the tropics are as distinctly an American institution as pension procurators and Sunday law spies. In Asia the progress of the Arctic gales is intercepted by an almost continuous chain of snow-clad mountain ranges; in Africa and Australia blizzards are as unknown as bald-headed eagles; in Europe every Mediterranean peninsula has a storm-shelter of its own: Spain the Pyrenees, Italy the Alps, Greece the Balkans, all high enough to moderate the speed of hyperborean invaders.

But in North America the trend of the two principal mountain chains agrees exactly with that of the two coldest air currents. On the Atlantic slope the northeast gale, "the ice-wind from Labrador," need not change its direction a fraction of a compass point to sweep along the valleys of the Alleghanies, and on the great central plateau the still icier northwest storms pour down the trough of the Rockies as through the funnel of a wind sail.

Hundreds, nay thousands, of miles beyond the latitudes that mark the limit of ice-storms in Europe, blizzards are yearly visitors to regions of East America whose summer climate entitles them to the name of the semi-tropics.

The Marseilles longshoremen can be seen working in shirt sleeves fifty weeks of the year, and the *tramontanes* that interrupt the perpetual spring of Genoa would only be called cool April winds in New England. But the actual April winds of Austin, Texas, more than a thousand miles farther south, often come in the form of fierce sleet storms, and the hotel-keepers of El Paso have to prevaricate like Kansas druggists to deny the occasional transit of a fullgrown snow tornado that flies four hundred miles further south, before it gets finally arrested for trespass on the reservation of the actual tropics.

Yet El Paso is on the parallel of Morocco, where the glare of a perennial bake-oven heat has made the descendants of the Moriscoes almost indistinguishable from Ethiopians. In Brownsville, Texas, near the mouth of the Rio Grande, three hundred miles further south than the delta of the Nile, cottages with good sized fire-places rent at a premium, and in Monterey, Mexico, it gets cold enough almost to reconcile the natives to the Dingley tariff, which, as a correspondent of the Associated Press informs us, has impoverished stock farmers, but reduced the price of wool in the Mexican markets.

Arctic gales, indeed, pursue refugees from the severity of our Atlantic winters as the relentless Cossacks pursued the flight of DeQuincey's Calmuck Tartars—"A host of fiends chasing a host of maniacs;" and a Frenchman who settled at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, "because it was further south than Paris," seems really to have got scared out of his wits before the winter got half through with him.

If cold is really the arch enemy of health, the discovery of the North American mainland should be mourned as an international calamity, and a snow gale like that which some time ago raged from the lakes to the valley of the Tennessee River would have made immigrants from the neighborhood of the above mentioned sanitarium manager turn back in dismay, and rather pay the taxes of the Dreibund than encounter the triple-perils of storm, snow and frost.

But the sunrise of modern science has at last begun to dispel the fogs of the most mischievous of all sanitary superstitions. Consumption has been recognized as a house-disease. Like the Russian Grippe, catarrh, whooping coughs and bronchitis have been traced to the influence of atmospheric impurities and disease-germs that are developed by warm, stagnant air and expurgated by a low temperature. Consumptives, that cough out their lungs in the sweltering atmosphere of a tropical coast region, recover in the cold dry air of the upper Adirondacks. A Spanish physician of Santiago de Cuba proved that yellow fever, in all but the last *deliquium* stage of its development, can be readily cured in hospitals artificially cooled, as fruit dealers cool their storage-houses. In a paper read before a committee of the French Academy last year, a Paris surgeon describes several successful attempts to cure dyspepsia by inhaling the intensely cold air of an ice factory vault. The experience of the last two hundred years has convinced the settlers of our lower Gulf States that climatic disorders, defying all the resources of *materia medica*, yield readily to the influence of the first October frosts.

Jack Frost, indeed, seems to have been more outrageously slandered than Lord Byron, or Artillery-Captain Dreyfus. The health-seeker's truest friend has for centuries been denounced as a harbinger of death. The most effective specific for the cure of pulmonary disorders has been mistaken for their cause. Frost is nature's panacea for half a hundred different diseases, and the motto of the glass sanitarium should be answered as follows: "Yes, frost, long continued, will at last effect the destruction of all organic life; BUT will destroy disease germs long before it begins to affect the health, or even the comfort, of a human being."

Hence the physical vigor of our colonists in latitudes which, on the other side of the Atlantic, have metamorphosed the stoutest tribes of the Caucasian race. Spain was settled by the Visigoths, the iron-fisted giants who, in the battle of Chalons, beat back the storm of Attila's cavalry

charges with battle-axes—beat and all but destroyed a million veteran troopers that had swept through the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire like a conflagration through a sun-parched grain field. Sicily was colonized by the Normans—cousins of the same all-conquerors that vanquished King Harold after his victory over the Danes.

"Gentlemen, you are in, and we are out," said an old Moorish sheik when he was forced to embark his followers at Palermo, "and you will stay till the consequences of your vices invite a race of stouter invaders"—but the sweltering climate alone did its work so thoroughly that the next conquerors did not think it worth their while to expel the groveling survivors.

But the settlers of Northern Texas and Northern Mexico have been actually improved by their removal from a higher to a lower latitude, and even from a land of cooler to a land of warmer summers. The "average temperature" of the Rio Grande Valley is warmer than that of Spain or any other part of Western Europe, but the coldest north storms are so much colder that the short winter enables the settlers to accumulate a reserve fund of vigor for the rest of the year. The Mexican states of Chihuahua and Tamaulipas breed *vaqueros* that can run our toughest cowboys a close race in rough-riding and tricks of wild daring, and would rout modern Spanish infantry as the Spaniards of Balboa routed the natives of the Central American coast regions. The dominant race of modern Texas and Arkansas is composed of British, French and German immigrants and their descendants, and between the Arkansas River and the Rio Grande six-footers are now far more numerous, per thousand inhabitants, than in any part of Germany, France or Great Britain.

But further south, that contrast is suddenly reversed; in the perpetual summer climate of Southern Mexico and the Southern West Indies the Creoles have degenerated beyond any South European degree of degeneration, and the difference between the *Indios Bravos* (Apaches, Yaquis, Comanches, etc.) of the North Mexican border and the *Indios Mansos* of the South, is as great as that between the Arab tribes of Mount Atlas and the Egyptian Fellahs.

The extreme southern limit of the blizzard-range, in fact, marks a sanitary division line almost as unmistakable as that of the European Alps.

The much-maligned snow-tornadoes that traverse a bee-line route equalling the distance from northernmost Norway to the center of the Sahara, should be recognized as one of the chief blessings of our continent. the yearly visit of nature's microbe-killer prevents countless diseases and nips countless others in the bud; and, like the first British colony of Tasmania, several of our Southern States might specify their inducements to immigrants: free land, free fuel and free medical attendance.

F. L. OSWALD.

SHEATHING WARSHIPS.

THE question of copper sheathing our naval vessels is one that constantly comes to the surface in emergencies like the present. Nearly all of our modern yachts built of wood are sheathed with copper, and so are many of the sea-going tugs and wooden merchant vessels. The operation is an expensive one, but in the end it is questionable whether the results do not justify the extra outlay. The navies of the world have been interested in the subject for a long time, and copper was applied to sheathing war vessels as far back as 1761, and nearly every other anti-fouling substance imaginable

has been experimented with at various times. From 1620 to 1770 the Colonial and English shipbuilders used lead as a sheathing material, and they nailed it on the wooden bottoms of their ships with large copper nails. Later, a mixture of tar, pitch, and brimstone was applied to the bottoms to protect the ships from the barnacles and teredo.

But England made the first attempt to sheath vessels of the modern iron and steel navies in 1868, when the iron cruiser "Inconstant" was prepared for service in warm seas. She had her bottom completely sheathed in copper, and she proved so successful that between that date and 1889 thirty-two other vessels of the English navy were copper-sheathed. The process adopted then was a little crude compared with present-day methods. The bottom was what is called flush-plated, with heavy seam straps on the outside. Since 1889 the British Admiralty has made it a practice to copper-sheath every war vessel intended for foreign waters where docking facilities were poor, and the result is England has a large fleet of copper-sheathed cruisers that could stay in tropical waters for a long period without becoming badly fouled.

In our navy, copper-sheathing of the new vessels has had its advocates, but little has been done in a practical way in this direction. When the first members of the White Squadron, the "Chicago," "Boston," "Atlanta," and "Dolphin," were built, the Naval Advisory Board considered the question of copper-sheathing their bottoms, but it decided adversely. It was estimated then that it would cost $75,000 to sheath the "Chicago" and a little less for the others. The decision then reached established a precedent that has been difficult to overcome.

There were two other important objections to performing the work besides that of expense, and the Naval Advisory Board at that time justified their decision, which has had such a far reaching effect ever since. One was that the copper-sheathing would add enormously to the weight of the cruisers, and thus reduce their speed. In the case of the "Chicago" it was estimated that the additional weight would be about 255 tons, and 160 tons each for the "Boston" and "Atlanta." The second consideration was that the process of copper-sheathing was far from perfection, and that it was barely beyond the experimental stages. A slight derangement or scratch of the copper plates might at any time expose the steel hull to great danger. Galvanic action might begin instantly, and do considerable damage before the ship could be docked. As an instance of what damage can be created in this way on short notice mention should be made of the cruiser "Cincinnati." She anchored alongside of a copper-sheathed vessel at her moorings, and as a result her bottom was seriously injured. It is a strict order in the navy now that an unsheathed vessel is never to anchor alongside of a sheathed steamer of any kind.

Copper sheathing is not a perfect anti-fouler, and consequently experiments are being made continually with paints and compositions to preserve the hulls of our warships. Some curious substances are tried for this work, and the results are of historical interest if not of exact scientific value. The Japanese, for instance, startled the navies of the world by announcing a number of years ago that they had discovered the great sheathing material for the future. This was nothing more than Japanese lacquer prepared in a certain way. A lacquer manufacturer of Tokio made experiments in covering steel plates with his lacquer, and these were submerged in salt water for many months. The condition of the plates after they were recovered

seemed to justify further experiments, and the steamer "Fuso-kan" was docked, and part of her bottom sheathed with the lacquer. Immediately after an examination of her hull a year later, the Japanese Admiralty ordered a cruiser to be treated by this process, and the European nations, not to be left behind in the game, followed suit. The Russian Government had the warships "Dmitri Donskoi" and "Admiral Nachimoff" lacquered in 1890, and the United States naval authorities took cognizance of the new invention in 1891. In that year the Japanese lacquering company sent over steel plates treated with the new preservative, which were submerged at the Norfolk Navy Yard and taken up three months later. Nothing, however, was done by our Government to adopt this method of preserving our warships from fouling, and for various reasons the Japanese process of lacquering warships' bottoms has not made much advance in the European navies.

All of the governments have fallen back upon copper, or compositions in which copper is the predominant metal, for sheathing their warships. Electroplating the bottoms of ships with copper has recently been experimented extensively with, and this does away with many of the old objections to copper sheathing. Where the copper plates were nailed on the ships, "pitting" nearly always started at the nail holes. If the salt water was allowed to enter here even in the smallest quantity, corrosion would begin at once, and in a short time do great damage to the steel hull. In electroplating, however, the copper sheathing is put on in one unbroken mass, and there is no danger from "pitting." When the whole surface has been electroplated with copper a smooth and unbroken surface is presented, and it fits so closely that the sheathing cannot be removed without sometimes chipping off the iron. Moreover, this sheathing is merely a light film of copper, and its weight is so small that it averages only 2.85 pounds to the square foot.

While copper sheathing is not a perfect anti-fouling material, it is so satisfactory that ships with their bottoms so treated can often remain in warm seas for two years without being docked. Ordinarily an unsheathed vessel could not remain in such waters more than six months without having its bottom so covered with barnacles that its speed would be seriously reduced. Copper sheathing not only gives a smooth surface which offers no friction to the water, but the barnacles are killed by the poison from the copper. The small marine animals attach themselves to this copper surface and absorb the poison, which kills them and makes them drop off. This poison is produced by the gradual dissolution of the copper by coming in contact with the salt water. The chemical process in time ruins the copper bottom, and if it does not dissolve fast enough the marine animals secure a good foothold on it. All of the anti-fouling paints and compositions imitate the action of copper. Most of them are composed of copper, mercury, zinc, or arsenic. Next to copper, zinc has been used more commonly in European navies than any other metal, but this does not act as well in salt water as copper, and its use is gradually dying out.

G. E. WALSH.

LABOR-SAVING DEVICES IN LITERARY WORK.

IN approaching the question as to what has been done by literary men to lighten the mechanical side of their labors, we are struck with their lack of progress. The reasons for this deficiency are two-fold; the literary man is not a mechanic, and he believes this side of his work to be beneath his

consideration. But in looking at the writer as a machine producing marketable material, which is after all the most important aspect of his profession, the importance of this question becomes at once far greater.

I use the term "literary man" in its broadest sense, to include everyone who uses his brain for composition. Personally I was never more impressed with this lack of progress than in reading a recent magazine account of the reporting of the inauguration of a president of the United States. The material, collected in a rapid, skilful manner, was written out by the reporter, word by word; twelve hours being required for the task. The entire nervous energy of the reporter was exhausted by the work. There should have been some method devised by which this work could have been done in at least one-third the time and with one hundredth expenditure of energy. This importance grows doubly significant in the light of the recent views of physiologists that life is simply an impetus given to our organism at its birth, which can be used up speedily or spread over a number of years.

There are many serious objections to the use of the pen in composing. There is a great disparity between the speed of thought and that of the pen; the thought is frequently lost before it can be recorded. This chase after thought accounts for the bad penmanship of the average literary worker. Again, the manual labor involved soon tires the body and fatigues the fancy, especially as the silly mediæval habit of crippling the left hand is still in vogue among our writing masters.

The two great methods of shortening the labors of composition are at present stenography and the use of the phonograph. Shorthand writing has many disadvantages, for if one does the work himself he is compelled to write it out afterwards or dictate it to some one else, as each writer's system is generally intelligible only to himself. This does not shorten time or labor. If one has the work done, it simply transfers the expenditure of time and labor to some one else, and does not shorten the time between composition and possible publication. Again, the average stenographer is of little service in steady literary work; being generally poorly educated and tiring easily in brain and hand, he is more or less of a broken reed. A very rapid long-hand writer frequently does far better; a composer can generally slow his pace sufficiently to dictate his work in this way.

The use of the phonograph is the alternative for more rapid composition. The writer has refrained from expressing an opinion until he has used it for ten months. His experience has taught him that the phonograph requires a training similar to that required in learning the use of the typewriter; for example, after the "recording cylinder" is put in place, there appears at once in the dictater a sense of hurry, more intense than that experienced at best in dictating to a stenographer. It takes time to learn to keep one's wits from being distracted by gazing at the revolving wheels. Then, again, he must learn the management of a delicate machine that must be kept in perfect order; he must learn to articulate properly and to stop his machine when not actually dictating.

The most serious objection to the phonograph, as to the stenographer, is that it requires some one to take off the dictation. If the writer does this himself he saves no time; besides, the labor of "reading off the cylinder" is very brain fatiguing. There is, too, the same likelihood of mistakes, for, despite all care, words will sound indistinct and misleading.

In looking into the future, we find ourselves staring at a blank wall; for, with the exception of the phonograph and the typewriter, no recent ad-

vance has been made in lessening literary work. The ideal method of composition would be the use of some machine into which the operator could talk and have his spoken word reproduced at once on paper as the written word; but, unfortunately, like printing photographs in colors, each succeeding advance and discovery in the world of invention seems to make this hope more and more improbable. The insurmountable difficulty lies in the fact that there is no connection between the sound of a word and its appearance on paper. We will never reach this ideal state. It has its disadvantages, too, for probably it would turn the whole world into a producer of literature in its broadest sense, for composition would be so easy. This might drive the present writers to the wall by mere force of numbers; so its improbability may be their preservation.

This leaves us with practically only the phonograph as our hope for future development. The simplest method developing along the line on which the phonograph has started, would be to retain the articles on the cylinder all the way from writer to editor and compositor: the writer to send his articles to the editor on his cylinders, the editor to judge of their adaptability to his use by "reading them off" on his own machine; on their acceptance, the compositor to set them up in type directly from the cylinders, so that the first time that they would be seen in legible form would be in "galley proof." In this way the trouble of reproducing the articles in written form would be avoided. Of course, this method would require the education of literary men who could judge of their work without the help of the eye; of editors who could judge of the merit of articles and their length by the ear alone, and of compositors who would be similarly placed. But this objection is one that can be made to all advance in any line. Undoubtedly educating all three divisions of workers to do work in this way is perfectly possible. But it seems as though nature intended to every substantial advance to attach a corresponding defect. The wonderful machinery by which the manufacturers of to-day produce such great amounts of furniture would astound the comprehension of our grandfathers; but the furniture of our grandfathers will still exist as heirlooms long after our modern furniture has become unglued and unsewed. So it is with writing rapidly produced; it is exactly the difference between machine and hand-made articles. We could not imagine Milton dictating his "Paradise Lost" on a phonograph. His work was done only by many years of hardest thought. The same amount of material could be rattled off on a phonograph in a week's time, but it would last in the public mind but a week, while Milton wrote for eternity.

Undoubtedly, as we progress more advance will be made in preparing literary work for use, but these devices can be used only where quantity is wanted and quality not demanded. That will be its limitations. For writing letters and describing inaugurations the phonograph, or some better machine, will come into general use in future years; but for the higher form of literature, undoubtedly the quill which was used by Shakespeare and Addison did the best work, and the writer who would emulate them in the smallest degree must use their methods. The mechanical work of Elizabeth's and Anne's time seems to us as nothing, but we have yet to excel the work of their literary men.

J. Howe Adams.

INDIAN AND SPANISH EDUCATION.

I EARNESTLY hope that Congress and the Administration will promptly adopt the plan recommended by Miss Reel for the education of Indian youth. The schools should be located among the Indian people, and the course of study and training should bear directly upon the probable future responsibilities and duties of the pupils. It will be folly in the future, as it has been in the past, to educate Indian youth over the heads of their people. A literary culture which has nothing in common with Indian life, either takes Indian boys permanently away from their tribes, or makes them helpless and useless on their hands; in either case the money and effort spent on them are without useful result to the tribes.

To raise the Indian people to a higher plane, we must get our lever down low enough for them to take strong hold. Their cordial co-operation is necessary. The reading and writing, the elementary science, the manual and industrial training, must be of a character to win popular approval among the Indian people, so that they will encourage regular attendance, and even help support the schools.

To this end the entire scheme of education must be planned from an intimate knowledge of the Indian character and the Indian environment.

I have great faith in manual training to arouse and sustain an interest in school work on the part of the Indian youth and their parents, but it must be very simple and carefully chosen. The education that is to succeed must bear immediate fruit; its value must be at once apparent to the narrow-minded, selfish and ignorant. The normal product of an Indian school must be an Indian still, but one who is both willing and able to raise the standard of working and living in an Indian community. The boys and the girls are to be trained, not to cease to be Indians, but to be better Indians.

The problem of Indian education is by no means solved. The bookish schoolmaster never will solve it. The solution lies, in my judgment, along the line indicated by Miss Reel; but failure is still possible. It will take considerable money, infinite patience and discretion, and twenty years' time to give the experiment a fair trial.

Similar schemes for popular education in Cuba and Porto Rico are needed. The proposition to bring a few hundred Cuban or Porto Rican boys to American colleges will accomplish practically nothing. The boys would either fail as students and be sent home in disgrace, or succeeding as students they would fail to go back to Cuba or Porto Rico to live.

Spain planted her wretched style of civilization on those islands by sending her priests and teachers and colonists to live among them, and to train up new generations to their ideas. If we would regenerate those motley inhabitants so as to make them fit for self-government or for equal citizenship with us, we must go about it in a similar way, and we must not look for speedy results. A people can be regenerated only by replacing one generation by another and better one, and generally that by still another. But the fact that the task is long and difficult makes it all the more necessary that the work be begun soon and begun well.

C. M. WOODWARD.

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IMPERIAL RESPONSIBILITIES A NATIONAL GAIN.

BY COLONEL SIR G. S. CLARKE, K. C. M. G., F. R. S.

In the lives of men and of nations there are marked turning points. A momentous decision has to be taken, or a chance presents itself which, once lost, cannot be recalled. The past history of the American people shows two such great national crises towering above all minor issues. In both, the solution was attained by war involving immense sacrifices; but looking back through the years, with vision unclouded by the stormy passions of the moment, we recognize that the decision in each case was fraught with permanent benefit to the progress of the world. When, after the close of the Seven Years' War, the relations between Great Britain and her North American colonies became strained, and successive measures of oppression led to the Boston outbreak of 1773 and to the active hostilities of 1775, the choice of two courses lay with the leaders of the revolt. They might have determined to continue to oppose the specific acts of the mother country, which constituted their real grievance, in the hope that a change of policy would come to their relief. Or they could cut the Gordian knot by a declaration of independence, and assume the tremendous responsibilities involved in the foundation of a new State. We cannot now know what would have been the result of the adoption of the first course. There was

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in England a great body of opinion—too generally forgotten in America to-day—which ranged itself from the first on the side of the colonies. Speaking in the House of Commons in 1766, Pitt declared that "this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. . . . Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essential to liberty." And in a little known private letter written after the surrender at Saratoga,* he thus characterized the situation:

"How decisive and how interesting are the ways of Providence! The sentiment and the conduct of the American Colonies, full of nobleness and humanity! On the side of the Royalists, native English spirit, not to be extinguished—thank God—by *enslaving* principles and *peremptory nonsensical orders!* When will national blindness fall from our eyes, and the *gutta serena* be taken off that sight which should behold all with an equal view? . . . I rejoice that the Americans have behaved *in victory* like men who were actuated *by principle:* not by motives of a less elevated nature. . . . I would as soon *subscribe to Transubstantiation as to sovereignty (by right) in the Colonies.*"

Contemporary expressions of this nature could be indefinitely multiplied. The thirteen revolting colonies were distinctively British in sentiment and in nationality, and it was inevitable that they should receive support from their late fellow citizens, who, in parallel circumstances, would have adopted the same line of action. On the other hand, the political conditions of the mother country were not at the time favorable to an entirely new departure in colonial policy, and hostilities once commenced tended to strengthen the forces of reaction.

The first great turning point in American history was determined by a purely British people, few in number but instinct with the spirit of human liberty. Washington and John Adams followed directly in the footsteps of Cromwell and Hampden. The Revolution of 1776 was the lineal descendant and even the logical consequence of that which began in 1642. To America, the 4th of July was the dawn of a new nation; to Great Britain it was the real starting point of a new era which has witnessed the firm establishment, on the basis of equal rights, of her present colonial empire. We cannot tell whether, if in 1776 the "United Colonies" had decided to temporize instead of declaring that they "are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States," the mother country would have fully learned the great lesson

* To the Earl of Shelburne, Dec. 15, 1777.

then roughly administered. But we now see clearly that this decision led to the uprising of a national spirit to which is directly due the marvellous development of the United States, and that Great Britain, shorn of her oldest and greatest dependencies, gave proof of energies stimulated, and of vigor enhanced.

In 1861, the American people, grown to thirty millions, no longer distinctly British, were brought face to face with a second great crisis. The subordinate issues were curiously complex; but one question of vital import to the future of the nation dominated and included all others. Should the Union be maintained at any sacrifice? The immense majority of Americans answered in the affirmative, and many thousands laid down their lives for a cause which strongly appealed to all that was best in the opinion of the old mother country. "We see," said John Bright, in the House of Commons,* "that the government of the United States has for two years past been contending for its life, and we know that it is contending necessarily for human freedom. That government affords the remarkable example—offered for the first time in the history of the world—of a great government coming forward as the organized defender of law, freedom and equality." The democracy of Great Britain was throughout staunch to the cause of the Union. "I know," said the same statesman,† "that there are ministers of state who do not wish that this insurrection should break up the American nation; that there are members of our aristocracy who are not afraid of the shadow of the Republic; that there are rich men, many, who are not depraved by their riches; that there are public writers of conscience and honor who will not barter human rights for the patronage of the great." These words were true, and the attitude of the Lancashire operatives, reduced to the verge of starvation because the mass of the American people had decided to uphold the Union at all cost, is a far better index of real British feeling than the diatribes of certain newspapers. Most unfortunately the utterances of a noisy minority in this country alone reached the United States. The broader and deeper currents of thought were then and have been since all unrecognized.

In 1861, as in 1776, the mass of the American people ac-

* June 30, 1863.
† Birmingham, Dec. 18, 1862.

cepted a tremendous responsibility. The national will, personified in Lincoln as in Washington, rose superior to the crisis. The Union was saved, and the gain was world-wide. At both of these great turning points in history, self-reliance and firm faith in the destiny of America determined the issues, and the parallel is manifest. The qualities which called a new State into existence in 1776 and saved that State from disruption in 1861-5 are the heritage of the Anglo-Saxon race, which American citizenship has always been able to impart to the mixed nationalities attracted into its fold.

In the year now past, another vital question of supreme importance for good or evil presented itself for decision, and again, as I firmly believe, the true path has been chosen. Writing nearly five years ago, I ventured to state that "a policy of abstention from the responsibilities of a great nation has become impossible to the American people," * and last year I pointed out that "it is a loss to the world that the United States, with their growing trade interests, second only to our own, have so far failed to accept the position of a great power with the corresponding responsibilities." †

When the long inevitable war with Spain broke out, one certain result was clear to every student of history. Whatever were the illusions cherished in April last, the moment was evidently at hand when the American people would be brought face to face with the alternative of accepting or repudiating direct responsibility for the restoration and maintenance of law and order in Cuba and the Philippine Islands. The war could end only in one way, and when once the feeble rule of Spain was shattered, anarchy would necessarily supervene in her distant possessions if the strong hand of a great power were not forthcoming to protect the hapless populations. The case of the British intervention in Egypt in 1882 offered a close parallel. The occupation was to be temporary; approximate dates of withdrawal were officially announced; but duties toward a semi-civilized people, whether rightly or wrongly assumed by a great nation, cannot be abandoned without a loss of honor.‡ An action such as

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, March, 1894.
† *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1898.
‡ Cyprus, acquired in 1878, is another case in point. The island possesses no naval or military importance and its occupation is of no advantage to Great Britain. If, however, it were abandoned, great injustice would be inflicted on the numerous persons, the value of whose property and interests has been created by British rule.

those in Manila Bay and at Tel-el-Kebir creates a new situation. In the one case, the symbol of Spanish power in the Philippines and the link connecting them with the governing State were destroyed; in the other, the army, the only organized force in Egypt, and with it the machinery of government, were broken up. In either case, direct responsibility devolved upon the victor.

As soon, therefore, as the recent hostilities came to an end, the many friends of the United States in England carefully watched the currents of popular feeling. Would the new duties be frankly accepted? Would the manifest imperial destiny of the American people be now realized? Or would the dead letter of the farewell message of Washington so dominate opinion as to prevent, or at least postpone, a new departure? These were the questions which engrossed all thoughtful minds on this side of the Atlantic.

As to Cuba, there could be no doubt. The war was undertaken in order to put an end to a government which had failed in its most elementary duties, and had directly caused a wholesale destruction of life and the devastation of a rich island within a few hours' steam of the shores of the Republic. Whatever steps were necessary to establish order, to secure human liberty and to promote prosperity, would certainly be taken by the United States. An Armenia or a Crete lying a hundred miles from the Land's End would have been freed many years ago. Moreover, the idea of exercising authority over Cuba had grown familiar. By geographical position it was marked out as the certain ultimate inheritance of the United States; its people and natural features were widely known; a protectorate or annexation would not involve any entanglement of American "peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, humor or caprice;" the fleet, almost in home waters, could control its communications. In the case of the Sandwich Islands, also, the conditions were comparatively simple. The group, though isolated, is too far removed from the centers of foreign naval forces to create great demands for its defence; the population was unlikely to give trouble, and already American influence was paramount at Hawaii. Captain Mahan seems to have believed that Great Britain had persistently endeavored to thwart American aspirations in this direction; but, as I pointed out in February

last,* "if these islands are now annexed, not the smallest protest, opposition or resentment will be forthcoming in this country," and he would probably admit the accuracy of my forecast. Nevertheless, the annexation found many opponents in the United States, whose views suggested misgivings as to the solution of the infinitely more important question of the future of the Philippine Islands. This was the real turning point, and some hesitation before taking a step fraught with momentous consequences was natural. The thirty millions of 1861 had become seventy. The admixture of foreign races had further encroached upon the population of British descent; but, as Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out,† whatever the composition of the United States, their ethical and political system, their sense of liberty, and their restless energy, are "peculiarly Anglo-Saxon." The impulse toward expansion, the instinct of empire and the unwillingness to shrink from a great responsibility, were ingrained in the genius of the nation.

> "If we shall stand still
> In fear our motives will be mock'd and carp'd at,
> We should take root here where we sit, or sit
> State statues only."

So wrote Shakespeare; so—unconsciously, perhaps—the American people reasoned when the third great turning point in their history presented itself. The same decision would infallibly have been arrived at by Great Britain in similar circumstances, and to us the knowledge that the United States have freely elected to abandon the policy of isolation, to follow in the footsteps of the "ancient mother" and to assume their rightful place among the nations of the world, is a source of unmixed satisfaction.

In 1762, American troops were present with the force under Sir George Pocock and Lord Albemarle which captured Havana.‡ In the same year, Manila fell to an expeditionary force under Admiral Cornish and General Draper, and its surrender "comprehended that not only of the whole country, of which it is the capital, but of all those numerous and valuable islands which are its dependencies." § The town of Manila was, according to the custom of the times, ransomed for a sum of one million sterling,

* *Nineteenth Century.*
† NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, May, 1898.
‡ American troops were also present with the force under Generals Wentworth and Guise, which landed in Guantanamo Bay in 1741.
§ *Annual Register*, 1763.

of which the greater part was never paid.* Under the Treaty of Paris in 1763, with the total disregard of relative values which British statesmen have frequently displayed, Havana and the Philippine Islands were returned to Spain in exchange for Florida and the right of log cutting in Honduras. That, after a lapse of one hundred and thirty-five years, the Pearl of the Antilles and the rich islands of the China Sea should have again, and this time permanently, fallen under the sway of the English-speaking people, is a curiously interesting historical development. The United States have stepped into the place which might have been ours, and have fulfilled the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Whether the consequences of the supremely important new departure are realized seems doubtful. The United States have brought under their rule vast tracts of territory. The process of absorption has been carried on without effort and without apparent effect upon the machinery of government. It may naturally be thought that the placing of the Philippine Islands on the footing of a "territory" is a measure akin to that adopted in California in 1846—more difficult, perhaps, by reason of the distance and of the large native population, but differing in degree and not in principle. On the other hand, while American writers have dwelt upon the immensity of the task undertaken and laid stress upon the want of experience and of previous preparation of the United States for the discharge of their new obligations, few have drawn attention to the moral gain thus arising.

Senator John T. Morgan admits that "the situation imposes upon the American people a difficult and responsible task, in giving a proper direction to the future of those insular people that are now left in a chaotic condition." † He believes, however, that "annexation will not be a necessary or proper result" of the naval and military action taken at Manila, and he alludes to the "temporary necessity of preserving the peace in these islands until the rightful government of their people has been established on a safe foundation." We have heard of this "temporary necessity" before in relation to India, to Egypt and to Tunis; but events have shown that a great and progressive power, in order to give "a proper direction to the future" of semi-

* Manila had previously been taken by a British force in 1757.
† NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, June, 1898.

civilized or uncivilized peoples, and to establish over them "a rightful government" on a "safe foundation," incurs responsibilities which deepen and extend with the years. The United States cannot be content with occupying a fringe of coast line, and leaving great areas unexplored and undeveloped, as was Spain in the Philippines, as is Holland in Sumatra. Barbarism cannot be tolerated by a great power controlling territory lying close to one of the great highways of the world. The period at which the mixed population of more than seven millions will attain to a capacity for self-government lies far off in the dim future. Senator Morgan's idea that the islands, after a brief period of tuition, will be able to manage for themselves, directly contradicts the teaching of history.

To Mr. Andrew Carnegie the question presents itself in a purely commercial aspect. The islands "will yield us nothing and probably be a source of annual expense." * They will necessitate the maintenance of an "enormous army and navy." They may involve foreign complications, and so disturb the serene horizon of the United States. "The sagacious policy of keeping possessions and power concentrated" ought to be resolutely upheld, which would logically entail the abandonment of foreign commerce and rigid restrictions upon the employment of American capital abroad. Broadly speaking, Mr. Carnegie appears to dread expansion on the ground that it might, in some way not clearly defined, interfere with the material prosperity, the luxury and the security of the people of the United States.

In these two articles, written from a widely different standpoint, and in many others, I do not trace the faint glimmer of the great truth that the responsibilities of empire may be a moral gain to the nation which accepts them from lofty motives. Both Senator Morgan and Mr. Carnegie, however, unconsciously illustrate the urgent need of a new political departure. The former rejects the idea of any permanent occupation of the Philippines "because the United States are, in every sense, American," and these islands "are not within the sphere of American political influence, but are Asiatic, and should remain Asiatic." Domesticity is one of the virtues; but the man whose whole interests and responsibilities are limited to his home circle, lives at best a maimed and stunted life.

* NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW August, 1898.

Self-centered nations are incomplete organisms which can never attain full dignity and vigor. If the Senators of Rome in 260, B. C., after the subjugation of Italy, had set their faces against expansion, proclaiming that foreign territories were "not within the sphere of Roman political influence," they would have indefinitely retarded the progress of the world.

On the other hand, Mr. Carnegie would abandon the Philippines to chaos or to a scramble among powers to whom liberty, as we understand the word, is yet unknown, because "Americans cannot be grown there." In his view,* "the most grievous burden which Great Britain has upon her shoulders is that of India, for there it is impossible for our race to grow."

It is true that our race cannot colonize India, cannot become hereditary magnates, territorial or industrial, in any part of British Asia; but the task of governing India, heavy as it is, confers upon us a moral advantage which defies all estimate. The greatest gains of nations and of individuals cannot be presented in the form of a balance sheet. European peoples vaguely regard India as a perennial mine of material wealth, upon which Great Britain makes huge annual drafts. This is an absolute illusion; but to India we owe in great measure the training of our best manhood. India makes men, though it does not "grow" them, and the influence, example and education of the men whom India makes reacts powerfully upon the whole social and political structure of the nation.

A young civilian goes to India to find himself at once in a position of great individual responsibility, to represent justice and right among a horde of Asiatics in some isolated country station, to rise rapidly to the rule of many millions. A young officer joins a regiment from the military college and may shortly find himself the leader of native troops in a trying situation; or —such cases occur—he may be placed in charge of a plague district in a great town, with duties calling for high administrative qualities combined with the utmost tact. In this way men are made, and when the continuous interchanges between England and India and the number of relatives and friends who are carefully following each Indian career—even those that are humble—are remembered, some idea of what our great dependency gives back to us may be attained. In a lesser degree, Egypt, South,

* Expressed also in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for June, 1893.

East and West Africa and other portions of the empire are contributing continuously to the national vigor; while, in the great self-governing colonies, strong and self-reliant peoples are growing up under the ægis of the British flag, which already teach lessons to the mother State. Not long ago I read a short biography of Major "Roddy" Owen, written by his sister, which throws a strong light upon the careers which attract the young Briton of to-day. Owen was the finest steeplechase rider in the army, and one of its most popular officers. Before him lay a life replete with pleasures and comfort. In 1892, he seems to have become dissatisfied alike with victories on the turf and with social success, and to have craved to "do something for the empire." On the morrow of winning the Grand National, he left England to receive three wounds in leading Hausas across a West African river. Thence he went to Uganda and alone, under circumstances of the greatest difficulty and suffering, he carried the flag to Wadelai. In 1895, he took part in the Chitral expedition, and helped to lead two charges of native cavalry, subsequently undertaking an adventurous solitary journey to the Pamirs. In the following year, he joined the Nile expedition and died of cholera alone among the Alighat Arabs, whose affection he had quickly gained. Owen's career is typical of many, and so long as examples of this nature continue to inspire our young men by the thousand, the nation will gain more than words can express. I do not wish to lay stress on the military advantage arising from the fact that a large proportion of our officers and men have experience of campaigning in wild countries. This advantage will show itself in any great emergency. I prefer to dwell upon the moral gain, the frequent concentration of the public mind upon other than domestic affairs, the antidote to the patent evils arising from mere material prosperity, and the high ideal of manhood which is maintained directly and indirectly by imperial responsibilities. The empire, with all its risks, anxieties and burdens, is now more than ever producing men.

Looking back upon the past year, it is impossible not to recognize the immense influence of the late war upon the American people. Mr. Carnegie tells us that "the United States, thus far in their history, have no page reciting self-sacrifice made for others; all their gains have been for themselves." This statement, if true, would supply a powerful argument in favor of the

policy which he condemns. Isolation from the affairs of the world and abstention from the responsibilities of a great power are necessarily incompatible with "self-sacrifice made for others."

In redeeming the world from barbarism, many nations have taken part, with varying success. Russia in Central Asia and France in Algeria, Tunis and West Africa, have accomplished good work which, by reason of unfortunate international jars, has not been adequately appreciated in this country. Italy, after sad blunders, is now ameliorating the conditions of human life in her Red Sea province. Germany, in East and West Africa, and now in China, is removing abuses. In so far as the work carried out by these nations has been beneficial to native races, it has reacted upon themselves, for "mercy . . . is twice blessed."

Meanwhile, the United States, absorbed in the development of their vast territories, in the race for wealth, and in internal politics, remained self-centered. The late war swiftly infused new aspirations into the national life, and upraised nobler ideals. Sympathy for the perishing *reconcentrados*, warm appreciation of heroism by sea and land, kindly thoughts for the vanquished, indignation aroused by the easily preventable sufferings of the brave troops who had worthily upheld the national honor—such were the impulses which stirred the hearts of the American people. A wave of generous emotion passed over the land, and the mere politician was for the time submerged. The recent New York election is the significant proof of a new standard of merit and of the triumphant assertion of new and loftier claims upon the popular suffrage. Before the war Colonel Roosevelt's chances would have been *nil*. After the war, the gallant soldier and man of action could successfully hold his own against the wire-puller. In this there is a distinct moral gain. It is a healthy and a hopeful sign that the mind of the New York elector turned to the "stricken field" before Santiago rather than to narrow local considerations. Already, therefore, the effect of "looking outward" * is clearly visibly. And, as President McKinley has stated,† "military service under the common flag and for a righteous cause has strengthened the national spirit, and served to cement more closely than ever the fraternal bonds between every section of the country."

* I borrow the words of Captain Mahan.
† Annual message, Dec. 5, 1898.

Henceforth the United States will occupy a new position among the nations of the world. They have, in effect, accepted responsibility for the righteous government of some ten millions of alien races. Their task, in the Philippines especially, will be difficult; but if it is approached with high aims and without seeking direct advantage, the difficulties will be successfully surmounted. The secret of the government of Eastern peoples mainly consists in the art of selecting agents of the right stamp, and the United States possesses men in abundance who are capable of regenerating the lost colonies of Spain. It is only necessary to make the selection without fear or favor, and with a single eye to the general good. The marvellous prosperity of the protected States of the Malay Peninsula, inaugurated by Sir Andrew Clarke and carried out by a few British representatives, acting through native rulers, and respecting native prejudices, shows what can be accomplished in conditions closely resembling that of the Philippine Islands. What we have done, Americans imbued with the same love of liberty and reverence for justice can undertake without doubts or misgivings, and the incalculable moral gain which imperial responsibilities have conferred upon us will be their reward. Reflex action upon the United States will be one of the most important results of the new departure.

A great nation once committed to expansion can neither draw back nor set a limit to its inherent energies. For the moment the future of Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and the Sandwich Islands is the subject of speculation; but President McKinley touches upon two other questions, which will shortly assume great importance. "The construction" of the Nicaragua Canal, he states, "is now more than ever indispensable, and our policy more imperatively than ever calls for its control by this government." The interests of the world, no less than those of the United States, demand that this linking of the oceans shall be realized. Those interests also require that the waterway should be absolutely controlled by the United States. We do not want to repeat in the Western Hemisphere the political complications in which the Suez Canal is involved. But the policy indicated by the President will infallibly entail new relations and new responsibilities in regard to the Central American republics. Again, in becoming an Asiatic power, the United States will stand face to face with the great problem of China. "If no discriminating

treatment of American citizens and their trade be found to exist, or be hereafter developed," states the President, "the desire of this government would appear to be realized." This is precisely the British view, and at last the English-speaking peoples stand side by side in upholding a principle of the highest international importance.

With the new year a fresh chapter in the history of the United States opens. The fair white pages await the impress of statesmanship, and I firmly believe that they are destined to bear the record of honorable work in the cause of liberty, justice and humanity. One European nation alone has cordially welcomed the new departure of America, and it is surely a happy augury that the English-speaking peoples have at this precise juncture recognized their need of each other. This suffices, and of the artificial and temporary arrangements miscalled "alliances," which provide occupation for European chancelleries, there is no necessity. Should a common emergency arise, we shall be able to undertake combined action with a full mutual understanding hitherto attained by no alliance. In war, the strength of the United States and Great Britain would be represented by the sum of their resources, and no correcting factor is required, because the genius of the two nations has a common origin. In peace, as Dr. Lyman Abbott has pointed out, if they "work together for the world's civilization, no reactionary forces can withstand their combined effort."

G. S. CLARKE.

EXPERIMENTS WITH HIGH EXPLOSIVES IN LARGE GUNS.

BY HIRAM STEVENS MAXIM.

FOR many hundreds of years common black powder was the only explosive used in warfare, and it was not until after Nobel invented a process for the manufacture of nitro-glycerine, that engineers began to speculate upon the possibilities of using something stronger than common black powder for charging shells thrown from large guns.

The properties of nitro-glycerine were for many years but imperfectly understood. It was said of it that if you wished it to explode it was impossible to make it do so; if you handled it with great care and did not wish it to explode it was almost sure to go off; sometimes it could be set on fire, and would burn very much like a slow fuse, while again the least jar would cause the most frightful detonation. Evidently such an agent was not suitable for use in firearms, and it was only after Nobel's discovery that nitro-glycerine could be gelatinized with collodion cotton (dinitro-cellulose) that engineers began to experiment with a view of using this high explosive in projectiles.

The naval and military engineers at Shoeburyness were among the first to conduct experiments, and it was found that when sufficient collodion cotton was employed to make the compound about the consistency of soft rubber, it could be fired with a comparative degree of safety from ordinary guns, providing, of course, that the powder charge used as a propellant was not too violent. Large numbers of rounds were fired under apparently identical conditions, with the result that perhaps 99 per cent. passed harmlessly out of the gun, while about 1 per cent. exploded in the bore of the gun, completely demolishing it.

Simultaneously with these experiments, Sir Frederick Abel was experimenting with compressed wet gun cotton, and he found that this explosive (tri-nitro-cellulose) when ground into a pulp, similar to paper pulp, and compressed while wet into slabs or blocks, could not be detonated by any ordinary means; that it could even be thrown into a white hot furnace with safety; but that it would detonate exactly like a fulminating cap, providing that a very large detonating charge of fulminate of mercury was employed, and this led to its universal adoption, not for use in large guns, but as the explosive charge in submarine locomotive torpedoes. However, it never has been used to charge projectiles fired from guns, except experimentally and on a small scale.

In 1884 I was consulted by a high Government official who told me that he had a quantity of German brown cocoa powder; he said that this powder produced remarkable velocities with phenomenally low pressures; it was a slow burning powder *par excellence.* He said that it was the easiest thing in the world to analyze it; he had given it to the leading chemists and scientific men to analyze, and they all agreed exactly as to the amount of carbon, sulphur and nitrate of potash present, but he added "when we make a powder here with the greatest care, containing the exact proportions that we find in this German powder, the results are totally different. Instead of high velocities and low pressures we get high pressures and low velocities, and still there is chemically no difference. There is nothing new in the chemicals employed, still we are asked to pay a very large sum of money for the secret. I have thought that perhaps you could put us on the right track and save the money. Can you tell us how the powder is made?" I replied: "You have already told me yourself, but I will come to-morrow and tell it back to you again."

When he assured me that the powder was chemically the same as the powder made by the Government, I knew that the difference must be some physical condition due to the mechanical mixing of the material, and it occurred to me that in all probability the sulphur and charcoal were very finely ground and intimately mixed, and that the oxygen bearing salt (nitrate of potash) must have an appreciable size.

In nitro-glycerine the nitrogen groups carrying the oxygen and the combustible material are almost in chemical combination; that is, the ultimate atoms are almost in actual contact; the dis-

tance between the centre of the store of oxygen and the centre of the material to be consumed is infinitesimally small, perhaps not more than one thousand millionth part of an inch; but in ordinary gunpowder, although ground extremely fine, the distance between any particular particle carrying oxygen and the material to be consumed is enormously great as compared with the distance in nitro-glycerine. Now, if we wish to make the powder still slower burning, we shall only have to increase this distance. So thoroughly was I convinced that this must be true that I at once went to an instrument maker and bought a micrometer to use with my microscope. I took two prisms of powder, one made by the Government and the other German prismatic; I polished the surfaces and examined them. The Government powder appeared perfectly homogeneous, the particles were so finely ground, so intimately combined and so firmly pressed together that it appeared to be all one body. I then tried the German prismatic, and it appeared under the microscope, exactly like what is known as brawn or hogshead cheese; the sulphur and carbon were finely ground, but the nitrate of potash had a granular appearance, the largest grains being 1-200th part of an inch in diameter.

The next day I took my instrument and the powder and showed it to the official. He congratulated me very highly and said I had done them a good service. However, about a year later, he informed me that the eminent scientist employed in the first instance, never would forgive me for what I had done with my microscope. The discovery, however, led me to further investigation. I went to a powder mill, and made a batch of powder; I carefully weighed the charcoal and carbon, and ground them together under an edge mill, quite as fine as they would have been ground in the ordinary way. I then added the proper amount of nitrate of potash in a granular form, thoroughly mixed it, and when it had been under the action of the edge mill for about five minutes, I removed a few pounds. This I repeated at short intervals for about four hours. Upon trying these specimens, it was shown that powder could be made slow burning to any required degree; that there was a constant change in the powder in the mill for about one hour, after which time very little change took place, that which was ground four hours being only slightly more violent in its action than that which was ground for two hours; while there was a great difference between that which had

been in five minutes and that which had been in twenty minutes. Some of these powders were afterward granulated, others compressed into cubes and tried before Government officials, when my theory in regard to slow burning powder was fully borne out.

Having found that powder could be made slow burning, I next arranged it in such a manner as to be progressive—that is, I pressed the powder into blocks and cubes, and loaded cartridges in such a manner that the first powder to be burned would be slow burning, and the last to be burned quick burning, so that as the projectile moved forward in the barrel, the powder would burn faster and faster, thus maintaining the pressure and imparting to the projectile a high velocity without a high initial pressure. It was also found that the violence of the shock was much lessened by the use of progressive powder.

I then determined to construct a gun for throwing high explosives, such as nitro-gelatine and compressed gun cotton, from a powder gun. At that time, considerable discussion was taking place in regard to the utility of submarine torpedoes. Mr. Bryce-Douglas, who was then Chief Engineer of the Fairfield Shipbuilding Works, Glasgow, expressed it as his opinion that it would be almost impossible when ships were in motion to discharge a torpedo in such a manner as to hit another vessel except at very short ranges. He said that the eddying and whirling of the water would be such as to make torpedoes almost as dangerous to the ship throwing them as to the ship aimed at. At that time torpedoes were projected into the water by compressed air, or by a small powder charge, throwing them perhaps forty feet from the ship. Why not make this tube larger and throw the torpedo through the air to the ship instead of throwing it in the water? This would make the torpedo much cheaper, there would be greater certainty of hitting and the effective range would be greatly increased. Acting upon these suggestions I constructed a torpedo gun, using progressive powder arranged in such a manner as to start the torpedo on its flight at a relatively gentle pressure and increasing the pressure on the projectile as the torpedo moved forward in the bore. I also provided my torpedo with a peculiar fuse, the striker being a long distance from the fulminating cap, so as to give a delayed action, permitting the projectile to enter the side of a ship, or to sink a certain distance in the water before exploding. It was found in these experiments that almost any

velocity could be imparted to the projectile with very little shock, the powder being completely under control.

I then found that there was great prejudice against the use of high explosives on board ship. I also found that the prejudice was so strong against throwing high explosives by the use of any sort of gunpowder as to make it absolutely impossible to get the apparatus tried anywhere. In the meantime, I had found the cause of the supposed mysterious explosion which occurred when nitro-gelatine was used at Shoeburyness. If a projectile was loaded in such a manner that a considerable quantity of air was imprisoned between the base of the projectile and the nitro-gelatine, it would be very violently compressed when the shot was discharged, and the heat developed would sometimes cause an explosion. I found that if the air was completely removed, so that not even a bubble was present, this source of danger was removed, and I made an apparatus for removing air bubbles from nitro-gelatine, and loading the mass in the projectile in such a manner that no air was present. I knew at that time that no explosives would detonate or explode in a vacuum.

Another source of danger, especially when compressed gun cotton is employed in rifled cannon, arises from the quick and violent twist given to the projectile, which rotates the case or shell, without rotating the bursting charge. This I obviated by dividing the interior of the shell into numerous compartments. Still no one could be persuaded to use my torpedo gun.

In the meantime, the French had been experimenting with picric acid, under the name of milenite, with fairly good results.

The next step was the Zalinski gun. This had been made and tested in the United States, when it was found that large charges of high explosives could be thrown considerable distances from an air gun. One of these guns was brought to England and fired at Shoeburyness. It was said at the time that three shots fired with the gun firmly locked in a stationary position landed in the same hole in the mud. The accuracy was admitted to be remarkable, but the velocities were so low, the range so short, and the trajectory so high, that it was almost impossible to hit the target when the gun was fired from a ship. It was even said that if the gun were properly aimed from a ship and the trigger pulled, the barrel, on account of its great length, would move sufficiently after the trigger was pulled and before the shot left the

gun, to throw the shot completely off the target. Still, it was believed that under certain conditions the gun might be useful for fortifications. In any compressed air gun of the Zalinski type, it will be evident that an increase in the atmospheric pressure is not attended by a corresponding increase in the velocity of the projectile, because the higher the pressure of the air the greater its weight and density, so that when the pressures are increased, we will say from 2,000 to 3,000 lbs. per square inch, the actual velocity of the projectile is only slightly increased. It occurred to me at that time that if the pressure could be increased without increasing the weight or density of the air a great improvement would result. I therefore constructed a gun in which I used only 1,000-lbs. pressure per square inch. The gun was arranged in such a manner that when the air passed from the reservoir into the chamber of the gun it took along with it a small quantity of gasoline, just enough to render the mixture explosive, the same as the mixture in a gas engine. The gun being loaded, in order to fire the trigger was pulled, which acted upon a large balance valve, which suddenly sprang open; the projectile was then driven forward in the bore with a pressure of only 1,000 lbs. per square inch. When the projectile had moved from 2 to 3 calibres, the charge of gasoline and air was ignited, and while the projectile was still moving forward, the fire ran back into the chamber, constantly raising the pressure, so that by the time the projectile had reached the muzzle of the gun the pressure had mounted from 1,000 to 6,000 lbs. per square inch, and the result was a comparatively high velocity with a short barrel. This gun was fired a great number of rounds in 1888, and found to be quite reliable. A peculiar feature was that the report of this gun was very loud and violent, showing that the final pressure was very high, while in the Zalinski gun the report is very feeble, showing that the final pressure is low. But this gun never went beyond the experimental stage. All the naval men with whom I came in contact were opposed to having any kind of high explosive on board ship, many of them even objecting to compressed gun cotton used in torpedoes, while not a few did not believe that torpedoes would be of much value in a sea fight.

In the meantime a long series of experiments had been made at Portsmouth on H. M. S. "Resistance." The name seemed to have been well chosen. This old ship was torpedoed time and

again, patched up and made as good as new. The experiments demonstrated that the ordinary submarine torpedo was nothing like as destructive as one had been led to believe. Experiments were also made with lyddite (which is the English name for milenite) with projectiles loaded with various high explosives. Then black powder was tried, and I remember distinctly that it was said that, everything considered, old-fashioned black powder answered the purpose best; it appeared to be quite as destructive as any other agents employed, was more apt to set the ship on fire, and produced an immense amount of smoke, which was demoralizing to the men and enabled the gunners to see where their shots had struck better than any other form of powder.

The "Resistance" experiments were very discouraging to me at the time, and my aërial torpedo experiments were practically abandoned—especially so as I had learned from experiments made at Annapolis that compressed gun cotton, dynamite, nitro-gelatine and so forth, had little or no effect upon armor plates.

It was then that I commenced my experiments in smokeless powder. It was known that the French had a smokeless powder, and every one in England was anxious to find out what this powder was. I had witnessed the firing of many rounds from Maxim guns in France, and from the smell of the fumes while firing it occurred to me that the powder employed might be a gun cotton compound. It was gun cotton dissolved in a solvent, made into sheets, dried and granulated.

The first smokeless powder that I made in England was made in exactly the same manner as the French. I had obtained a quantity of true gun cotton, that is tri-nitro-cellulose (known sometimes as insoluble gun cotton because it cannot be dissolved in alcohol and ether like collodion cotton, di-nitro-cellulose). Some of this powder, when freshly made, produced fairly good results, quite as good as those produced by the French powder, but upon keeping it for a few months the grains lost their transparency, became quite opaque and fibrous, and it then burned with great violence. Investigation showed that about 1 to 2 per cent. of the solvent was still in the powder when the first tests were made, whereas the drying out of this last trace of solvent had completely changed the character of the powder. I then added to this powder about 2 per cent. of castor oil, with the result that the castor oil remained after the solvent had been completely removed,

so that the powder would keep any length of time—indeed powder made at that time (1889) is quite good to-day.

But I wished to produce still higher results. I knew nothing of what other experimenters were doing, but it occurred to me that it would be very curious if two violent explosives like nitro-glycerine and gun cotton could have the same amplitude of molecular waves passing through them when the explosion took place. It also occurred to me that if the two substances were intimately combined, made into a liquid and mixed together and then dried, it might be found impossible for a molecular wave to pass through both of them. For instance, if we should take a plate of ice two inches thick and put it in a glass box four inches thick, the light would pass through both the ice and the two inches of air space, but if we ground the ice very fine, so that it filled the whole space, *i. e.*, the ice and air being thoroughly mixed together as in light snow, a wave of light would not pass through the two; in fact, the mixture would completely shut out the light, giving a black shadow. I believed that if the nitro-glycerine and the gun cotton were intimately combined an explosive wave would not pass through the mixture, and experiments revealed that I was quite correct. All mixtures of from 1 per cent. to 75 per cent. of nitro-glycerine were experimented with, the result being that from 10 to 15 per cent. was found to be the best, everything considered. If larger percentages of nitro-glycerine were employed, there was little liability of detonating when new, but it was found that the nitro-glycerine would gradually ooze out, or one might say evaporate out and condense in the cartridge case, forming pools, and a very little free nitro-glycerine was quite sufficient to set off the whole of the charge.

The experiments also demonstrated that when pressures not exceeding 15 tons were employed, almost any degree of slow burning could be obtained with these smokeless powders, and this again led to the suggestion that they might advantageously be employed in throwing aerial torpedoes from large guns.

The greater part of the smokeless powders employed to-day consist of a mixture of nitro-glycerine and gun cotton. The mixing is brought about by the agency of acetone, a species of alcohol which dissolves both gun cotton and nitro-glycerine. When a small quantity of this spirit is present the mass is of a semi-plastic consistency and may be squirted or spun through a

die by pressure, in the same way that lead pipe is made. The first powder experimented with was drawn into threads and called by the British Government "cordite." This was found to work admirably in small-bore ammunition, but when it came to a question of larger guns it was found advantageous to form the powder into tubes with one or more holes. It will be readily understood that when the powder was drawn into long, cylindrical threads the burning surface, and consequently the evolution of gas, would constantly diminish as the threads burned thinner. When, however, the powder was made tubular, the burning from the inside and outside being equal, the burning surface remained practically constant and produced much better results in the larger type of guns than it was possible to produce with the solid threads or sticks of powder. By increasing the number of perforations, it was found that a powder could be made which, instead of burning slower and slower as the projectile moved forward in the gun, would cause the development of gas to increase as the projectile moved forward with accelerated velocity in the bore. This was exactly what was required, and led to my patent on progressive smokeless powder—that is, the powder in which the burning surface increases while it is being consumed, instead of diminishing, and it was thought that this might be advantageously employed instead of compressed air for throwing torpedoes or high explosives.

At that time it was generally understood that modern smokeless powders were inherently slow burning, and experiments of Sir Andrew Noble seemed to point in this direction. Still it was believed by many that it would not be safe to throw any high explosive from a gun using a similar explosive as a propellant, for fear of the charge being detonated by what is known as sympathetic action.

In order to settle the question as to whether cordite would burn slowly in large quantities or would detonate, the British Government made a very interesting but disastrous experiment at Plumstead. A large quantity (a ton or so) of smokeless powder was set on fire. It flared up for a few seconds, and then detonated exactly like dynamite, excavating a hole in the earth about 15 feet in depth and 20 feet in diameter, and breaking a great deal of glass within a radius of a mile. This seemed to prove that when this kind of powder was ignited in large quan-

tities the rapidity of burning went on in geometrical progression, commencing slow at first, then as the pressure of the gas increased the heat, the heat increased the rapidity of burning, the rapidity of burning again increasing the pressure of the gases on the burning surface, which again re-acted upon the heat—thus action and reaction taking place in rapid succession. The rapidity of burning very soon approached to the point known as detonation. Others claim that the powder detonated on account of the presence of a considerable quantity of free nitro-glycerine which had been evaporated and condensed or had oozed out of the surface of the powder, it being remembered that the British Government powder contains 58 per cent. of nitro-glycerine.

Wishing to arrive at the exact truth in this important and interesting problem, I procured a considerable quantity of various grades of smokeless powder, the surface of all of them being quite free from exuded nitro-glycerine. I filled two large steel cylinders with this powder, placed them in close proximity to each other, and inserted a fuse with a very large detonating cap in cylinder No. 1. When the fuse was fired, both the cylinders detonated exactly like so much dynamite, making a deep excavation in the earth. Had I used only a small fulminating cap, the first steel cylinder would have exploded before half the powder had been consumed, and a large quantity would have been found unconsumed in the immediate vicinity, while the second cylinder would not have exploded at all. These experiments went to show that all forms of modern smokeless powder can be detonated, providing that the fulminating charge that sets them off is sufficiently large and powerful.

In one lot of foreign made rifle ammunition we had four cartridges out of a lot of 40,000 detonate and destroy Maxim guns. This was probably due to carelessness in putting two charges of fulminating powder in the primer instead of one.

Nitro-glycerine is slightly volatile—that is, air coming in contact with nitro-glycerine will take up a very small quantity of it, and it has been found that where English cordite with its large percentage of nitro-glycerine is being dried (that is, deprived of its acetone), all the surrounding objects in time become coated with pure nitro-glycerine. This led me to believe that under favorable conditions the nitro-glycerine of the cordite might be

transferred from the cordite to the metallic case of the cartridge. I therefore constructed a cylinder in which I placed about ten pounds of cordite. This cylinder was provided with a water jacket and heated by gas, the flame being regulated by a thermostatic regulator which kept the temperature constant at 100 degrees F. A similar but smaller cylinder was connected to this top and bottom, but instead of being heated, it was cooled by a circulation of water. By this arrangement, when the apparatus was hermetically closed, there was a constant interchange of air, the air passing up through the heated cylinder containing the cordite, and down through the cooler cylinder. At the end of one week, pure nitro-glycerine commenced to run out into the bottle attached to the lower end of the cold cylinder, and this continued for several weeks until a considerable quantity was obtained. Upon making the same experiment with cordite containing only 10 per cent. of nitro-glycerine, only a few drops of water which proved to be quite free from nitro-glycerine were obtained. As it only requires a very small quantity of free nitro-glycerine to make a cartridge detonate instead of exploding in the ordinary way, it is believed by some that when large cartridges loaded with cordite are kept for a considerable time in varying temperatures, they will become dangerous on account of the free nitro-glycerine, which may collect in the cases or be condensed as a dew over the whole of the interior of the metallic cases. In the olden time when guns were not rifled, and spherical shots were employed with a powder charge of about one-eighth of the weight of the projectile, the erosion caused by the gases passing the projectile was so small as to be considered a negligible quantity—in fact, its existence was practically unknown to the majority of artillerists at that time, but upon the introduction of rifled guns with elongated projectiles and heavy powder charges erosion became a serious obstacle, which increased as the power and range of the gun increased. Large guns made in England from 10 to 15 years ago, using black or cocoa powder with projectiles of 3 or 4 calibres, and having a velocity rather less than 2,000 feet per second, were destroyed after firing from 300 to 400 rounds. When the velocities were increased to about 2,200 feet it was found that the wear was about four times as great, while some very powerful guns made in France were completely worn out after firing 60 rounds. With smokeless powder, which gives a still higher velocity to the pro-

jectile, the erosion is still further increased, so that in some cases I have known guns to be destroyed after firing only a few rounds.

The next step was to prevent this cutting away of the steel from the inside of the gun by the action of the white-hot gases moving at a terrific velocity past the projectile. Various kinds of copper driving bands have been experimented with. These driving bands consist of a copper ring let into the projectile near its base, the periphery of the ring being of a sufficient diameter when pressed forward into the rifling to form a gas-tight joint between the projectile and the rifling, and at the same time give the necessary rotatory motion to the projectile. It will be understood that the copper band is the only part of the projectile which enters the grooves, or, as is said, "takes the rifling." These bands work very well while the barrel is quite new, but as soon as a small quantity of gas passes, the steel becomes very rough, so that the copper bands are cut away by the rough steel, while the passing gases from each successive shot make the steel still rougher, sometimes scooping out holes as big as a filbert after only a few rounds have been fired.

In order to obviate this trouble we have provided the projectiles with what might be termed an obturating band; that is, just behind the copper driving band we have placed a semi-plastic gas check. Behind it is placed what might be termed a junk ring, arranged in such a manner that when the gun is fired the junk ring moves forward and subjects the gas ring to a pressure 20 per cent. greater than the pressure in the gun—that is, if the pressure in the gun amounts to 14 tons per square inch the pressure on the gas ring is about 17 tons to the square inch. This is found to completely stop the passage of gas between the projectile and the bore of the gun; so we are now able to fire large guns many hundreds of rounds with full charges before any perceptible wear takes place in the barrel. This will enable our naval authorities to practice gunnery to almost any extent without the danger of wearing their guns out, and it is believed by many that in the near future no large guns will be fired on shipboard without the employment of the obturating gas check.

HIRAM STEVENS MAXIM.

London, July, 1898.

SOME ASPECTS OF LUXURY.

BY F. SPENCER BALDWIN, PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS IN BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

DISCUSSION of luxury centres naturally about two questions: Is luxury profitable; does it promote the industrial welfare of the individual and of society? Is luxury right; does it involve any moral injury to the individual or to society? To answer these questions fully would involve an exhaustive dissertation on the economics and the ethics of luxury. This paper does not attempt such a task; it aims merely at suggesting some of the more important considerations bearing on the problem of luxury.

The justifiableness of luxury is one of the most debated subjects in the field of social economics. The debate has been conducted largely on the plane of abstractions. And on abstract grounds it is easy for an ingenious debater to construct an argument for or against anything. He needs merely to invent a squinting definition of the thing to be defended or condemned, and then to deduce from the definition the inevitable conclusion wished for. He draws out with a triumphant flourish just what he has put in. There has been a deal of this shuffling with definitions in discussions concerning luxury.

A good example of this style of argument from definition is furnished by M. Emile de Laveleye in his entertaining but illogical essay on luxury. M. de Laveleye defines luxury as "the consumption of what it has cost great labor to produce for the satisfaction of spurious needs." * Therefore, all luxury is to be condemned, for it is obviously both wasteful and sinful to expend great labor for the satisfaction of spurious needs.

This question-begging method of definition has so confused the subject under discussion that it becomes necessary at the out-

* De Laveleye: "*Luxury*," p. 27

set to state with some precision in what sense the word luxury is here used. In ordinary speech we refer to necessaries and luxuries as contrasted with each other. Sometimes we speak also of conveniences and comforts, using these terms loosely to designate things intermediate between the extremes, necessaries and luxuries. The four-fold distinction thus vaguely shadowed forth in popular usage can be stated somewhat definitely, thus: A necessary is something indispensable to physical health; a convenience is something that relieves from slight pain or annoyance, not essentially detrimental to health; a comfort is something that affords positive pleasure, but is a common and inexpensive means of enjoyment; a luxury also is something that affords positive pleasure, but is an unusual and expensive means of enjoyment. Thus, for example, food of some sort is a necessary; utensils to eat with are conveniences; table linen and a table service are comforts; silver plate and cut glass are luxuries.

The first three classes make up together the standard of life. This includes, then, the amount of necessaries, conveniences and comforts which an individual, a class or a society regularly demands. Everything beyond this is luxury. Whatever an individual, a class or a society can dispense with, according to the prevailing standard, without injury, inconvenience or discomfort, may be termed a luxury. This definition, it will be noted, draws no hard-and-fast line between luxuries and non-luxuries. This is not possible. The line is a shifting one. The classification is relative to time and place; it depends on habit in the case of the individual, on custom in the case of groups of individuals. What is a luxury to one is a mere comfort, or even a necessary, to another. Luxuries tend in time to develop into necessaries. Shoes, once a luxury of the few, are now a necessity of the many. A place to sleep under cover is now regarded as absolutely necessary to physical health; but even this becomes a luxury under certain conditions of time and place. One thinks of Sir Walter Scott's Highlander, who, sleeping on an open moor in the dead of winter, rolled up a ball of snow for a pillow; his companion at once kicked it away as a sign of effeminacy. It should be borne in mind, then, that the notion of luxury is a purely relative one, the line between luxuries and non-luxuries a constantly shifting one. Indeed, the passing of luxuries into the class of common comforts is only one name for advance in material civilization.

In most of the discussions of luxury that have come under my notice the verdict has been unfavorable. Luxury has fared rather hard at the hands of both economists and moralists. Occasionally, to be sure, an apologetic voice is raised in defence of luxury, but it is soon drowned in the general chorus of condemnation. The condemnations of luxury range all the way from the rhetorical fulmination of the pietistic fanatic to the sober indictment of the social philosopher. With the former we need not concern ourselves. The latter alone will claim our attention.

On economic grounds the indictment against luxury contains two main counts, closely related and yet distinct: First, luxury diminishes the industrial efficiency of the individual; second, luxury retards the accumulation of capital, and consequently the growth of society in material wealth. The first count may be dismissed. It has no force as an argument against luxury in general. It holds merely against particular luxuries, and in the case of particular persons. Whether a luxury diminishes industrial efficiency depends on what sort of a luxury it is, and what sort of an individual is using it. Because some luxuries are bad we should not leap to the conclusion that all luxuries are to be condemned.

The economist who indicts luxury on the ground that it makes men lazy loses sight entirely of the effect of the prospect of luxury in making men work. If luxury itself tends to slacken the energies of individuals, the desire for luxury tends to quicken their energies. The second tendency is at least as strong as the first. I am inclined to believe it the stronger. Men would probably work less rather than more if the prospect of luxury were taken away. A very powerful motive to industrial activity would thus be destroyed.

The second count in the economic indictment of luxury—that it retards the formation of capital—is next to be examined. It may be well to state at once that this charge is indisputably true. Luxury does diminish the accumulation of capital. You can't both eat your cake and save it. But is it sound social economy to save as many cakes as possible? This appears to me to be a debatable question.

The orthodox economist answers: "Yes; spend as little and save as much as you can." The classic dogma of the universal beneficence of saving is very dear to the heart of the political economist.

His ideal is the largest possible production of material wealth. The increase of production depends largely on the accumulation of capital. Capital is accumulated by saving. To save is, therefore, more virtuous, from the traditional economic point of view, than to spend. Luxurious expenditure means waste of wealth that ought to have been saved and added to the stock of social capital. The money squandered on luxuries, if saved and invested in productive enterprises, would give employment to labor and increase the production of wealth.

The wayfaring man, untrained in the principles of economic science, has always looked with an approving eye on the prodigal spender. He has a notion that liberal spending makes trade good. This notion the economist assures us is a popular fallacy. He reproaches with shortsightedness the men who condone luxurious expenditure. The latter "fails to see"—that is the economist's favorite way of putting this point—that the person who spends money on luxuries, although he may indeed benefit trade in a certain way, and cause some employment of labor, would confer a vastly greater benefit on the community if he saved his money and invested it in some business. The millionaire epicure who spends annually $100,000 on his table, gives employment, to be sure, to an army of cooks and bottlewashers; but, if he had not spent his money in this way, he might have built a shirt factory. He would then have given employment to an army of productive laborers, and would have added to the stock of useful goods in the community.

Now, this traditional doctrine of political economy regarding saving has of late been assailed with great vigor by a group of critics, who hold it to be false to the ground.* These critics, in the opinion of the writer, have decidedly the better of the argument. They have successfully demolished the classic dogma of the universal beneficence of saving. They have demonstrated that saving, although it may be sound policy for the individual, is not always beneficial to the community. It may easily be carried too far. If everyone spent only the necessary minimum, saved as much as possible, and invested the savings in productive enterprises, obviously the demand for the products of these investments would be cut off, and the whole industrial machinery would be brought to a standstill. A state of general overproduction, or un-

* See especially J. M. Robertson: "*The Fallacy of Saving.*"

der-consumption would result, if all members of society acted strictly according to the advice of the economist. It is probable that society at the present time is suffering from an excess of saving, and the accompanying phenomenon of under-consumption. If we spent more and saved less, the industrial situation would be improved. An increase in expenditure would restore the lost equilibrium between production and demand.

The conclusion follows, then, that under present conditions luxurious expenditure really promotes the economic interests of society. Whether such expenditure be economically justifiable in the case of a given individual depends, of course, on his circumstances and resources. But this is a question of individual, not social, economy. From the social point of view, luxury is to be defended on the very ground on which the orthodox economist condemns it, namely, because it does retard the growth of capital.

Let us leave the economist and turn to the moralist. He, too, holds a brief against luxury. He assures us that luxury is a burden. "Vanity of vanities," saith the Preacher. "Surely this is vanity, and it is an evil disease." "The sleep of a laboring man is sweet, whether he have little or much; but the abundance of the rich will not suffer him to sleep." The father of Political Economy, Adam Smith, speaking in his earlier *rôle* of moral philosopher, gives utterance to opinions very like those of the Preacher. "Wealth and greatness," he declares, "are mere trinkets of frivolous utility, no more adapted for procuring ease of body or tranquillity of mind than the tweezer-cases of the lover of toys; and like them, too, more troublesome to the person who carries them about with him than all the advantages they can afford him are commodious. In ease of body and peace of mind all the different ranks of society are nearly upon a level, and the beggar who suns himself by the side of the highway possesses that security which kings are fighting for."* This notion that luxury is a burden meets us also in the essay of M. de Laveleye. He writes: "Diogenes one day saw a man drinking water from the palm of his hand, and immediately threw away his bowl to do likewise. Economically, he was wrong, for there is more satisfaction and less trouble in drinking from a glass than from one's hand; but the idea on which he acted was,

*Quoted by H. Sidgwick, "Luxury," in *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1894.

in my opinion, sensible enough. When discussing this question of luxury one day, I expressed a wish that instead of having feet, which we must constantly protect from stones and thorns, as well as from the damp, we might have horses' hoofs, and so dispense with shoes and stockings and all their attendant discomforts. I was laughed at for this idea, and it was nicknamed Sabotism. But I persist in believing that our needs are so many weaknesses, which divert us from the ideal and overwhelm us in worldly interests. Without wants we might be like the lilies of the gospel, 'which toil not, neither do they spin,' or we might even resemble those persons of independent means who pass from one delightful spot to another, enjoying at their ease the beauties of nature."* From M. de Laveleye's point of view it must appear equally deplorable that we are not provided with hairy coats, so that we might avoid the irksome necessity of dressing; that our palates are not coarse enough to put up with hay, so that we might escape the grievous trouble of breadwinning. It is a sort of cow-philosophy which de Laveleye here voices. Without wants we should resemble rather the cows of the pasture than the lilies of the field.

The arraignments of luxury on ethical grounds, when pared of emotional extravagances, may be reduced to these two propositions: First, luxury demoralizes the individual, making him sensuous and self-indulgent; second, luxury wrongs the poor, through the waste of money that ought to have gone to charity. The ethical argument against luxury thus rests partly on an individualistic, partly on a socialistic, basis.

The first of these propositions is a wild generalization. It is not true that luxury *per se* is demoralizing. All depends on the kind of luxury in question. The right sort of luxury refines the individual, enriches his life, and heightens his social efficiency. In the main, luxury has exhibited itself as a great moralizing and civilizing agent. The second proposition requires more detailed examination. Luxury is condemned on the ground that it absorbs the means that ought to be devoted to the relief of poverty. This thought finds expression in the following passage from one of Mr. Goldwin Smith's essays: "When did wealth ever rear such enchanting palaces of luxury as it is rearing in England at the present day? Well do I remember one of those palaces, the most conspicuous object for miles around. Its lord was, I dare say, consum-

*De Laveleye: "*Luxury*," p. 73.

ing the income of some six hundred of the poor laboring families around him. The thought that you are spending on yourself annually the income of six hundred laboring families seems to me as much as a man with a heart and a brain can bear." * From this point of view it appears sinfully extravagant to spend money on superfluities, when so many people are without necessities. The money spent for a box of Havanas would have supplied some underfed family with flour for a twelve-month. Luxury thus virtually involves robbery of the poor. There is a haunting idea in the background of this opinion that some occult causal connection exists between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many. The poor are getting poorer because the rich are getting richer. The millionaire is responsible in some mysterious way for the plight of the proletarian. "If one of my subjects is idle," said an emperor of China, "then there is somewhere in my state another who suffers from hunger and cold." Since, therefore, the rich man has obtained his wealth at the cost of the poor man, he owes the latter reparation for this injury. Charities are thus regarded as a kind of peace offering, incumbent on the man of wealth because of his supposed responsibility for the poverty of his neighbors. All luxurious expenditure is culpable, for it wrongs the poor.

This notion that there is necessarily any causal connection between opulence and poverty is too crude to require serious refutation. The wealth of society is not a fixed fund, of which, if one may get more than an equal share, some one else is bound to get proportionately less. It is rather a variable mass, which each individual can augment or diminish by his efficiency or inefficiency. If one man has more wealth than another, it is generally because either he or his ancestors have produced more. He is under no obligation to dole out his surplus. This does not mean that the possession of wealth carries with it no obligations. The man of wealth is morally bound to administer his trust in a way that shall promote and not retard social progress. This is an ethical commonplace which needs no emphasis. But it does seem to need emphasis that the possession of wealth involves no moral wrong to the poor which must be tardily made good by liberal giving. It is not wicked to be rich. The man of wealth is not bound to make restitution to his poor neighbor. He cannot be censured if he spends his income on luxuries—in a judicious way, of course.

* Goldwin Smith: "The Labor Movement," *Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1, 1873.

Indeed, the man who spends wisely on luxuries does more substantial good to society than the man who gives indiscriminately for charities. The former creates employment for laborers; the latter pauperizes them. Even foolish extravagance is a lesser evil than reckless alms-giving.

This argument that we have just been considering is really an arraignment of the existing system of distribution, not of luxury. So far as the argument has any force at all, it turns against the justice of the present distribution of wealth; it has no bearing on the expenditure of wealth. If the present system does involve injustice, by giving too much to the capitalist and too little to the laborer, then it is a reform of the whole plan of distribution that is called for—not a mere readjustment of private expenditure. If, under the existing system, the rich man gets more than his fair share, the system should be changed so that he will get less. But he should not be morally enjoined from spending on luxuries. As applied to luxury, this argument is misdirected.

The sweeping condemnation of luxury *per se* by the Puritan moralist has very little ground to stand upon. No case can be made out against luxury on ethical grounds. But let us not rashly go too far in the opposite direction, and pronounce luxury in all forms to be wholly good. There are justifiable and there are unjustifiable luxuries. The question whether a particular luxury be justifiable or culpable turns upon two considerations—first, upon its effects on the individual, and, second, upon its effects on society. In general, it may be laid down that a luxury which contributes to the efficiency of the individual, in the widest sense, and which does not impose on society for the satisfaction of its demands an unwholesome and degrading form of labor, is perfectly justifiable. This sanction of luxury is not to be stretched to cover unlimited self-indulgence. The part played by rational self-sacrifice in the development of character is not to be overlooked. Constant self-indulgence is demoralizing. But, in general, a man has a right to spend money for anything that enriches and diversifies his life, and thus aids in the developing and rounding out of his personality, provided the labor that is required for the production of the articles in question be agreeable and innocuous. On the other hand, a luxury that demoralizes the individual, or calls for a noxious form of labor, is unjustifiable. This is rather a mild restriction. But it is as far as the cautious moralist will go in

general condemnation of luxury. So far he is on safe ground. To go beyond this is to land in a quicksand of absurdities and extravagances.

The question of the relation of luxury to progress in culture has been touched on only incidentally in the course of the preceding discussion. It is here, however, that luxury finds strongest justification. Professor Sidgwick, of Cambridge, England, distinguishes two main elements of culture—first, the apprehension and advancement of knowledge; second, the apprehension and production of beauty. The progress of culture involves advance along both these lines—intellectual and æsthetic. It is the second line of progress that is promoted by luxury. "I find," says Professor Sidgwick, "that the study of history leads me continually to contemplate with sympathy and satisfaction the opulence and luxury of the few amid the hard lives of the many, because it presents itself as the practically necessary soil in which beauty and the love of beauty grow and develop; and because I see how, when new sources of high and refined delight have thus been produced, the best and most essential of its benefits extend from the few to the many, and become abiding possessions of the race." *

The order of culture-progress is in brief this: There sets in a differentiation of society into classes. One class forges ahead, developing new wants and inventing new means for satisfying these wants. When it first appears, each new want-satisfier is a luxury. But the luxuries of the few in one generation become the common heritage of the many in the next. For the lower classes, spurred by the example of the upper class, push on successively in their turn to a higher plane of civilization. Thus the whole society advances, class-wise, from stage to stage. The higher gains of civilization, at first enjoyed by only one class, are gradually diffused among the masses. Luxury is a main factor in this onward movement of the race. It deepens and enriches the content of life. The desire for it furnishes a chief motive to social advancement. Without it, existence would become a stagnant monotony. It stands for much of the beauty, grace and variety which alone make life really worth the living.

F. SPENCER BALDWIN.

* In *International Journal of Ethics*, October, 1894.

OLD WAR PRISONS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

BY MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS, H.M. INSPECTOR OF PRISONS.

THE treatment accorded to prisoners of war during the early years of the present century, by the two nations that were long the chief belligerents, was altogether at variance with modern humanitarian ideas. We can hardly imagine that the same horrors would be perpetrated, if hostilities as fierce and protracted were to disturb the world in these latter days. Public opinion, not only in the countries concerned, but throughout the civilized world, would certainly find voice to denounce any gross neglect or any cruel ill-usage of its captives by a callous and brutal government. Still, past experience contains many valuable lessons; and to know what was done in the past is some guarantee that it will not be done again.

Of course, the same conditions may not reappear. Fewer prisoners will probably be taken in future wars, certainly as the result of sea engagements; while modern science has multiplied the destructiveness of modern weapons, modern battle-ships are so many iron coffins that will sink, when worsted, with all on board. Again, we may never see the revival of the Napoleonic system, which was obstinately opposed to cartels and exchanges, and under which the prison population was constantly augmented as the war went on, yet rarely depleted save by natural causes. What this meant is best shown by figures. It has been calculated that, in the eleven years between 1803 and 1814, some 122,000 French prisoners in all were brought into England. Of these not more than 18 per cent. were paroled or exchanged; about 10 per cent. died in the prisons, and the residue remained in British hands until the peace. It was much the same in France, although the numbers were lower and would have been still less but for Napoleon's high-handed and unjustifiable detention of non-combatants on the declaration of war. The Emperor was also largely responsible for

the sufferings endured by the prisoners of both countries. They had little hope of release by legitimate means, and this led to the overcrowding already mentioned, and stimulated attempts at escape, which, when they failed, entailed the harshest reprisals.

The earliest method adopted in England for housing the French captives was their confinement in the "hulks," the "water" or floating prisons—obsolete men-of-war converted into places of durance, and stationed mostly in the Medway, at Chatham, or in the harbors at Portsmouth and Plymouth. These were the "*pontons*" of Napoleon's bulletins, the target of his bitterest invective, the foul receptacles where his braves languished perpetually, although many might have been forthwith freed if he had changed his policy towards the English "leopards." The first hulks employed were not to be defended. After many due deductions for a certain exaggeration of statement, the pictures that survive of the hulks, drawn by some of those who were confined in them, are dark and discreditable. One, M. Louis Garneray, who was captured in the "*Belle Poule*," off the coast of Africa, by H. M. S. "Ramillies," found himself in the hulk "Porteus," a two or three decker, at Portsmouth, in 1806. On arrival, under military escort, he was "brutally thrust" into the midst of a wretched, hideous crowd; he might have been "among corpses" that had just risen from the grave, with "hollow eyes, wan, cadaverous complexions, bent backs, beards neglected, emaciated bodies, scarcely covered with yellow rags." The latter were the shreds of prison uniform he was now compelled to put on—skimpy, badly made jacket and trousers of coarse yellow cloth and a red waistcoat, all stamped with the letters "T. O.," in black, the mark of the Transport Office, the department of state that controlled all prison business, especially transportation beyond the seas.

The part appropriated for air and exercise was the forecastle and "waist," a space 44 feet by 38 feet, called, by those who used it, the "Park." It was not open to the sky, but boarded over with strong planks, loopholed, through which the guards from without could fire in on the prisoners in case of outbreaks or disturbance. Below, the prisoners occupied the orlop and lower gun decks, each 140 feet long, by 40 feet wide and 5 feet high. Within these limits, some 700 persons or more slept in hammocks, two tiers of them, each hammock containing a flock mattress and one thin blanket. Those who could pay for it were permitted to construct

a standing bed place of boards. These "between decks" were very dark, and the small portholes were obstructed by stout iron bars; the place was infested with vermin of the worst kind, and the ventilation was so atrociously neglected, the air became so poisonous, that the ship's officers, when they took off hatches in the morning, were afraid to breathe it and ran for their lives. At night the candles would not burn for lack of oxygen, and the prisoners lay naked on account of the intolerable heat.

The dietary was coarse, insufficient and repugnant to French taste. The daily ration consisted of one and a quarter pounds of dark bread and seven ounces of "cow beef;" a small modicum of barley and onions was issued, to make soup for each mess of four men. The dinner meal varied a little; one day in the week a pound of red herring with a pound of potatoes was given; another day a pound of salt cod. These allowances were enough in the gross, but they were diminished in weight by cheating contractors, or were so foul as to be unpalatable. The herrings were so detestably bad that they were often sold back to the contractor at a trifling price, to do duty again later as the authorized ration. The writer I am quoting, Louis Garneray, declares that the same herrings regularly reappeared for ten years. The salt cod was just eatable, but the bread was as heavy as lead, and often short in weight; to complain of it meant going without until the evening, when the superior official gave his decision as to quality and quantity. Water was brought off to the hulk in small boats, and it had to be pumped on board by the prisoners. Still worse stories were current as to the insufficiency of the food. In 1811 a mutiny occurred on board the "Samson," caused by the desperate hunger of the half-starved inmates. Some doubt may be expressed as to an incident that is alleged to have occurred at the Portchester barracks, used in connection with the Portsmouth hulks. It was stated in all seriousness that a military mounted officer who visited the barracks, and had been so imprudent as to tie up his charger at the gate, missed his horse when he came out. It had been killed, cut up and eaten raw by the famished Frenchmen. The same fate, it was asserted, overtook the dog of the butcher who served the barracks—very inadequately, if the story is to be believed.

These accounts were, no doubt, overcolored, though not without some foundation in fact, during the earlier years. The over-

crowding was deplorable, 1,200 or 1,300 being confined in a three-decker, 700 or 800 in a two-decker. But, as time passed and numbers increased, reforms became imperative and were in due course introduced. The hulks were of a better class, their fittings and arrangements were improved. The "between decks" were cleared of bulkheads and obstructions, so as to give free circulation of air, the ventilation was rectified, the bedding was kept cleaned and well aired. Mr. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty, after an official visit to Portsmouth, reported that he had found the prisoners happy and comfortable; "well fed, cleanly, provided with amusements, including billiards and music." Admiral Sir George Warrender made a similar report on the condition of the Chatham hulks.

An effective step toward ameliorating the lot of all was made by reducing the population of the hulks. It was very soon decided to build special prisons for the war captives, and in 1806 the first stone of the great Dartmoor establishment was laid by the Lord Warden of the Stanneries, Sir Thomas Tyrwhitt. The wide upland waste of Dartmoor is part of the Duchy of Cornwall, the private estate of the Duke of Cornwall, better known as H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, who is to this day lord of the manor and receives a "ground" rent from Dartmoor Prison. The "War Prison," part of which is still standing, and still so called, was built, at a cost of £177,000, of limestone quarried in the immediate neighborhood. It was soon filled, and with a dense population which is reported to have amounted, at times of greatest pressure, to some 10,000 souls. These figures seem, however, to be excessive; from official returns published by the Transport Office the total population in Dartmoor was 5,354 in 1810 and 6,329 in 1811. Probably the war with the United States, which presently followed, served to increase the number. Of equal importance with Dartmoor, were the inland establishment of Norman Cross, which held upward of 6,000; the prison at Stapleton near Bristol, 5,000; the Valley Field Prison, near Edinburgh, 21,500. Still more important were the hulks and land prison at Portsmouth, containing, in 1810, 12,000, to be reduced the following year to 9,000, thanks to the relief afforded by Dartmoor and the others; the Plymouth hulks and prison, 7,000 and 8,000; those of Chatham, between 4,000 and 5,000.

Contemporary records have preserved for us many striking details of the conditions of life in these sorrowful retreats; the daily organization and discipline, the many moving incidents that from time to time broke the otherwise hopeless monotony. Some prisoners, by far the largest number indeed, met the inevitable with courage and commendable philosophy, striving bravely to make the best of their sad lot. Others, and they were not few, chafed so bitterly at their bonds that they spared no pains, faced any risks, to win free from them. The history of the old prisons is an alternation between desperate disturbance, determined and often successful attempts at escape, and the calm conquest of adverse circumstances by accepting and controlling them. Let us consider the latter aspect first.

To gain some ease was generally the aim of all. The possession of money meant everything to these poor creatures. It eked out their meagre allowances of food. It gave them better clothing, the luxury of gambling, always a most engrossing vice. Above all, the accumulation of a secret hoard of cash was a first step towards any bold stroke for freedom. Some few were supplied with funds from sympathetic friends in England, as well as in their own country; but most were dependent upon their own ingenuity and patient exertion. All manner of trades and handicrafts, old and new, were followed in the war prisons. The French prisoners were especially industrious and skillful. They invented manufactures, such as the elaborate plaiting of straw and hair into articles of use and ornament. They were adepts in turning out artistic trifles, chessmen, models of ships, boxes of filigree of elaborately carved ivory, wood and bone. Some knitted socks and woollen nightcaps; some followed tailoring and lace making; some made boots and shoes and musical instruments. One clever fellow produced tobacco, "heaven knows from what," says one who bought it.

There was another class of work, however, in which they excelled, and which flourished in spite of all precautions. Spanish dollars were collected for them in great numbers by persons without the prison, and from every silver dollar they contrived to produce eight English shillings. There was maintained also a secret manufactory of spurious Bank of England notes, for which it was suspected the guard furnished materials. So perfect was the imitation that, even at the bank itself, the forged

notes often passed undetected. In order to stop this flagitious traffic, the guard was always searched before being relieved. Many thousands of the notes, however, were put into circulation in this manner. Such prisoners as were masons and carpenters were allowed to engage themselves on the works constantly in progress at the prison. Thus, two of the main prisons, and the walls of the chapel at Prince Town, Dartmoor, were entirely built by the French themselves, soon after their first removal from Plymouth. Prisoners found employment in repairing the roads, or as blacksmiths, coopers, painters and nurses in the hospital. All those privileged to pass beyond the enclosure wore a small tin plate in their caps, and worked under the eye of the guard. If any prisoner escaped, the working pay of the whole party to which he belonged was forfeited.

At most of the prisons there was a regular market held outside the first wall, to which dealers came to traffic. In the hulks these traders were permitted to visit the ships, and freely circulated among the prisoners, crying, "Who sells? Who buys?" The profit made must have been small, although high prices are said to have been paid occasionally for some peculiarly beautiful piece of work; and the more thrifty of the French prisoners are said to have got together very considerable sums during their long detention of seven or eight years. At the peace, indeed, some were reluctant to take their leave, and others carried off with them savings to the amount of one and two thousand pounds. There were other methods of earning money besides production; at the hulks, we are told, there were professors of fencing and music, dancing masters, teachers of languages and mathematics, whose lessons could be obtained at the modest rate of a halfpenny an hour. Instruction was carried out under very adverse conditions, yet many made substantial progress; and it is affirmed that, in some cases, rude, ignorant seamen, who could not form a single letter of the alphabet nor read a single syllable, learned to read and write fluently and obtained a competent knowledge of geography and mathematics. Books and instruments were hard to come by, and study was difficult because of the noises on deck overhead during the day, while at night lights were forbidden. The most earnest scholars were often the poorest among the prisoners, and, being unable to buy candles, they were forced to make a lamp for themselves. At dinner time, each student

was bound to set aside every atom of fat in his food; this fat was collected in a large shell and, when sufficient, a wick was added. After night closing, the lamp was set above a table and surrounded by a wall of mattresses and blankets, every chink was stopped to hide the light from the sentries, who were ever on the watch through the portholes. The chamber within became so heated that the men at work sometimes fainted; yet all these precautions were rendered necessary by the stringency of the discipline. Whenever prohibited lights were detected in use, the culprits were sentenced to the "Black Hole" on limited allowance of food, and the whole of the school utensils were destroyed.

All the inmates of the war prisons were not, however, equally industrious, sober-minded, and eager for improvement. There was in every prison a large section of utterly reckless and improvident wretches, living constantly in the most absolute destitution and misery, to which they had been brought by their uncontrollable passion for gambling. These, in the hulks, were called *rafalés*, and they lived in seclusion apart from the rest. They had long since gambled away everything, hammocks, blankets, mattresses, even their clothes; many were all but naked and, when roll was called, two or three would hire among them an old blanket to cover them as they came on deck, for the use of which a halfpenny worth was deducted from their next day's rations. The rations of these *rafalés* were often pledged five or six days in advance, and then, pinched with cold and half-starved for want of food, they wandered about the piles of offal, grubbing up potato peelings and onion skins, now a herring head or a cabbage stump, anything that would satisfy their raging hunger. Yet two *rafalés* were known to have gambled for the possession of the scraps which each had discovered. At night, they lay closely packed, for the sake of warmth, on the deck, all of them on one side, and, when tired of the position, at the signal "Tack!" the whole turned over together. Terribly loathsome as was their condition, it yet possessed its attractions; for outsiders of the general body would occasionally ask to be admitted to the fraternity. The aspirant to be a *rafalé* was first obliged to sell all he possessed, to stand treat of beer and bread; then he was given a stone for his pillow and was fully admitted to the misery of membership.

Corresponding to the *rafalés* of the hulks were the Romans of

Dartmoor, so called because they occupied the "capitol," or topmost story of the prison buildings. They were even more degraded and incorrigibly vicious. It was one of their rules that none should possess a single article of clothing; but each wore, when necessary, a blanket with a hole cut in the middle, through which the head was thrust. They had no hammocks. Every candidate for admission into their order, as in the case of the *rafalés*, sold his bedding to buy tobacco as a treat for his new comrades. At night they lay upon the bare boards without covering, taking the word to lie down from their general, and when he ordered "*Bas!*" all stretched themselves on the floor in perfect order and silence. This general, whom they elected for themselves, possessed certain privileges; the dignity of a hammock, but without mattress or covering, and the right of wearing on certain occasions a kind of uniform curiously worked and embroidered with straw. The Romans were generally restricted to their own part of the prisons, but they were to be seen at times in the passages and purlieus, fighting like dogs for any chance bone. On one occasion the whole body, some six hundred strong, made a descent upon the prison kitchen, seized all the supplies, overpowered the guards sent to suppress the riot, and then paraded the courtyard with loud cries of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" Reinforcements soon arrived, and the Romans were in turn subdued.

Any close supervision or control by the proper authorities was impossible in these crowded receptacles. Good order was secured by self-government, in the absence of official regulations. The inmates were of the most varied character; almost every nationality was represented: French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italians, Swiss, Germans, Poles and Swedes, so wide reaching was the Napoleonic Empire. Very early in the history of Dartmoor and the other prisons, a "Constitution" was devised by these mixed peoples, a president was elected by the whole body, and each building or apartment chose its own commissary to act under him. Universal suffrage was the rule, and the election was by ballot; but, although all could vote, all were not equal in the constituency. The whole body of prisoners was divided into several distinct sections. There were, first, the "lords," those who received supplies of money from home and who, with this capital, traded within the walls, opening shops, where they retailed tobacco, thread, soap, coffee, etc., to their comrades, having pur-

chased these articles wholesale in the market square. Next came the "labourers," the handicraftsmen already mentioned, who added to their means by their industry. Thirdly, there were the "indifferents," who idled and bore their lot without an effort to improve it. Then came the "*minables*" and "*kaiserlichs*," who thought of nothing but gambling, and who were but one remove above the Romans and the *rafalés* already mentioned. All these several orders, however, rendered ready obedience to their self-appointed officers, and these officers wielded absolute power. They were the interpreters of the prison laws, exercising general surveillance and calling all offenders to strict account. On one occasion, the careless cooks of a ward who had boiled a number of rats in the soup were condemned to death, but were subsequently respited. The sentence was, however, no figure of speech. It is known on unquestioned authority that many murders, *quasi* judicial and others, occurred in the war prisons. There were those among the strange heterogeneous elements congregated within who were versed in all the methods of secret poisoning, and the culprit or victim was often despatched without fear of detection by the authorities. It is charitable to suppose that these extreme measures were only adopted to check crime and disorder, petty thefts, or turbulence and disorder calculated to destroy the peace and quiet of the whole body. Personal quarrels were fought out according to the code of the period. Duels frequently took place, and, although the use of knives or swords was positively forbidden, the ingenuity of the prisoners provided lethal weapons for the deadly combat. Splinters of hard wood sharpened to a point made excellent foils.

A hunger for liberty—common to all captives—constantly beset the war prisoners, and many made repeated bids for freedom. Breaking prison was so frequent that special legislation was required to check it. An Act of Parliament prescribed transportation as the punishment for all who assisted or connived at escapes. On the hulks a plan was adopted of making the members of a mess or squad responsible for the safe custody of all, and when one fled the rest were punished. Indignant protests were naturally raised against this barbarous regulation, which, however, was no worse than the French law which inflicted *travaux forces* at the galleys for a like offence—if offence it can be called. Still, escapes occurred, and some were of the

most daring and ingenious character. Stories are still preserved at Dartmoor of the Frenchman who allowed himself to be bricked up by his comrades in the new wall of a house and broke through at night; of another who, when mending a cupboard in the doctor's quarters, purloined his uniform and walked off wearing cocked hat and sword. At the hulks, a prisoner hid himself in an empty water barrel and was lowered into the small boat that had brought off the casks; this man remained in his cramped quarters till the next night and then got quite away. After this all water barrels were closely inspected before removal.

The combined action of a number was often tried, working with infinite pains at a subterranean passage. There was a notable attempt of this kind at Dartmoor in 1812, when a tunnel was carried for a distance of forty yards under the foundation of the prison. It was five feet below the surface, four feet in diameter, and it had all but reached the outer wall when the plot was discovered. These determined miners had conquered every difficulty, and were often compelled to make wide detours to escape the great masses of stone they constantly encountered. They had no tools but wooden spades edged with tin, and cask hoops made into scrapers. One of their chief difficulties was the removal of the earth extracted. This had to be brought up into the room they occupied, whence it was carried in small quantities into the gardens and spread upon the beds. The same difficulty confronted another set of fugitives, this time Americans. They disposed of the soil by throwing it into the prison water drains, which were continually flooded by the heavy rains, and thus the earth was carried off into the outer ditch. This mine was a more gigantic enterprise than the first named. The total length to be driven was a hundred and ten feet, and the passage was to be considerably wider. As the work progressed, it was found that the immense pressure of confined air made it impossible for the workmen to remain underground for more than half an hour at a time, and, as the passage lengthened, it became absolutely necessary to open up airholes to the surface ground above, a work of extreme danger, as sentries patrolled the whole of the prison yard. The work appears to have been continued without interruption for forty nights, the fugitives laboring in spells of two hours each, and freedom was within easy reach when one of the number revealed the scheme to the au-

thorities. As a preliminary to the work, the prisoners engaged had bound themselves by solemn oath to keep the secret under pain of death. But one man was base enough to betray his comrades, and, for his reward, obtained immediate release, with a passport to return home. The disappointed fugitives first realized that their scheme had failed when they were marched into the prison yard, and faced by a strong force of military, who were soon employed in filling up the excavation. In doing this, the officer commanding could not refrain from paying a high tribute of praise to men who, "under so many discouraging circumstances, had not only managed to keep their gigantic work a profound secret, but had, by their indomitable perseverance, carried out the work almost to completion. Such men," he declared, "were well worthy of their liberty." According to the writer, George Little, from whose "Life on the Ocean" I extract this story, and who was one of the prisoners concerned, increased rigor was their portion after the discovery of this attempt at escape. He also tells us that a solemn compact was entered into by many of his comrades to take the life of the informer, if they ever encountered him.

We have another light on these Dartmoor days afforded by the American writer, Andrews, who was for some time a prisoner in Dartmoor. He tells us that his compatriots by no means accepted their imprisonment with the same philosophy as the French and other Continental prisoners. They were refractory, full of bravado, and scarce a day passed, he says, without some dispute or strife between turnkeys or guards and the prisoners. The former, indeed, declared that four hundred Americans gave them more trouble than twenty thousand Frenchmen. It is obvious that their condition was almost intolerable; the prisons to which they were committed were very much overcrowded, and those among them of better stamp found themselves herded with the sweepings of the American seaports—"a perfect set of outlaws and desperadoes," George Little calls them—and many colored men. When a sea captain or officer entered one of these prisons and showed any disposition to keep aloof from the rest, he was certain to be mobbed and ill-used. Cases were known in which the strict disciplinarian on his own ship was tied up and flogged in the prison by some of his own crew.

A very unfortunate affair occurred at the end of the war,

when it was known that peace between England and the United States had been signed at Ghent, and yet unpardonable delay followed in releasing the prisoners. The blame for this appears to have been chiefly due to the neglect of the American agent in London whose duty it was to provide the cartels. There was great effervescence among the prisoners—now Americans only, for the French had gone—and they hanged the agent, Beasley, in effigy. Then some mismanagement in distributing the bread allowance brought on a very serious and lamentable affray. The prisoners rose, broke open the first three gates of the prison, drove the sentries into the guard house, and were only checked by meeting the main garrison with bayonets at the charge. For the moment the disturbance subsided; troops and artillery were brought up from Plymouth in reinforcement. That evening it was discovered that the prisoners had attempted to pierce the wall that interposed between them and the court in which the reserve arms were stored. On this the alarm bell was rung, increased guards were placed upon the walls, and the prisoners crowded to the first gate, not, it is averred, with any intention of forcing it, but simply to ascertain what was going on. The pressure of numbers broke the iron chain that held the gate, and a great crowd pressed into the market square. This was interpreted as a combined attempt of the whole body to escape, and the Governor came up, seeking to induce the prisoners to return to their yard. They refused, holding their ground, taunting the troops, daring them to fire and pelting them with large stones. At last the temper of the troops gave way and they commenced to fire, some say without orders, and seven of the prisoners were killed and sixty, more or less, dangerously wounded. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of justifiable homicide, but a mixed commission of English and Americans could only express their infinite sorrow at what had occurred.

Comparisons are odious, and there is nothing really to choose between the treatment accorded to war prisoners on the two sides of the Channel; all that the French and others suffered in British hands was fully repaid on the captives in France. The two principal French war prisons were Verdun and Bitche; both of them on the northeastern frontier, a couple of hundred miles from the seacoast. There were others, as at Metz, Sarrelouis, Valenciennes, and great numbers of officers were scattered

throughout France on parole. Verdun was the most aristocratic receptacle, filled chiefly with officers of both services and a large number of *détenus*, as the non-combatants, who happened to be in France at the declaration of war and who were arrested by Napoleon, were called. Many of these *détenus* were persons of rank and fortune. The Marquis and Marchioness of Tweeddale were among the number, which included a certain Dr. Jackson who, before settling in practice on the English coast, had taken a run over to Paris and was caught by the order to detain all Englishmen. As these *détenus* had often the control of considerable means, they were subjected to innumerable extortions by the commandant and his officers, who also encouraged gambling houses and other haunts of vice for their own profit, although nominally for the amusement of the prisoners. Drunkenness, gambling and debauchery were the order of the day. Many took to drink in the hopelessness of release; all who had the means or could raise money gambled at the *Café Thiery*, where there were *rouge et noir* and roulette tables, paying large taxes to the commandant. The man who held this post for years was a certain General Wirion, of the Gendarmerie, who long wielded despotic and baleful authority at Verdun. He was served by an army of spies and secret police, who made life almost intolerable to the prisoners. Wirion, by his exactions, amassed a great fortune; everyone was taxed, the smallest privileges had to be paid for. To miss the *appel* or sign the books at home, to obtain a passport to live outside the town, permissions to ride out in carriages or on horseback, to hold races—everything was taxed. The prisoners had to pay for alleged dilapidations to prison buildings, to defray expenses of recapture after an unsuccessful attempt at escape. There was considerable profit on the exchange between the franc, in which the allowances and drafts were paid, and the *livre tournois*, which was the circulating medium. Wirion was eventually called to account for his reprehensible practices. The repeated complaints of his turpitude, made by his indignant charges, at last reached the ear of the French War Minister. Clarke, Duc de Feltre, had succeeded Berthier, who had been Wirion's friend. Nothing could save Wirion. He was summoned to Paris to give an account of himself; Bernadotte pleaded for him, and Napoleon expressed his willingness to allow the accused to clear himself before a court martial; but he could

not face the music, and he adopted the advice given him by General Clarke, who had said: "If there is any truth in this accusation, you had better shoot yourself." Whereupon Wirion dressed himself in full uniform and blew his brains out in the Bois de Boulogne. His two *aides de camp* were dismissed. Courcelles, who succeeded Wirion, was no improvement. He is described by one of his own officers as ignorant, wicked, miserly and inhuman, and he was eventually superseded in his command and cashiered from the service. Other officials came to a bad end. There were more suicides, and two men, the lieutenant who governed Sarrelouis and the colonel at Montmidi, were condemned to the galleys. It is but fair to add that, after these exposures, the prison was put under Colonel Baron de Beauchêne, an upright, honorable officer, who introduced many reforms, and governed with humanity and justice.

Despite the extortions practiced, the freedom of those who lived in the town was ease and comfort compared to imprisonment in the citadel of Verdun. Here the prisoners occupied part of an old monastery with very limited accommodation; they were greatly overcrowded, sleeping two in a bed in foul and stifling atmosphere. "What with the shouting, the singing, the bewailing, the smoke of the lamps, the smoke of cigars and the consequent stench of the place, it was rendered almost unbearable," says one who passed through the ordeal. But there was a worse den in the citadel, the Tour d'Angoulême, or Round Tower, a circular building with only two rooms, one above the other. This was used for recaptured fugitives, who lay there on straw, heavily ironed, devoured by vermin, preparatory generally to their transfer to Bitche.

This fortress, which was known among the war prisoners as the "Place of Tears," lies some thirty miles north of Strasburg and stands on a solitary rock a thousand feet high. In the centre of the fort were two large barracks, a small part of which was appropriated to the prisoners. But a great number were located underground, in vaulted rooms known as the *grand* and *petit souterrains*. These were damp, cold, cavernous lodgings.. The rocky wall at the head of the great bed was in winter time a sheet of ice, the moisture which oozed through having frozen hard. In summer they were hot, ill-ventilated and offensive. Here were collected the sweepings of all the war prisons, "the

dissolute, the abandoned, the profligate, the drunken, the very refuse of the other depôts." There was no distinction of persons; officers and privates, masters and seamen, lived side by side. In its early years, the place must have been a perfect pandemonium. Despair and misery had driven most of the inmates wild; they were like untamable animals, a terror to their guards and a perpetual plague to one another. Once, when a favorite comrade was carried off to punishment, the whole number turned out, armed with great staves torn up from the bed boards, and they would have overpowered the guards had not the commandant released the man. None of the gendarmes dared enter the *souterrain* at night, and even the veteran guards who garrisoned the fort hesitated to come in contact with them.

Both at Verdun and at Bitche, indeed everywhere, escapes were attempted and often successfully achieved. They had all a strong family likeness—the boring through of walls, iron doors undermined, the descent into deep ditches by cords cunningly prepared from bedding and clothes. In more than one case a tunnel was driven from the lowest *souterrain* into the ditch. Once, a prisoner escaped by hiding at the bottom of a well three hundred feet deep, and he was not detected because of the neglect of the gendarmes to draw up the bucket. A surgeon among the prisoners having a fluent knowledge of French, had ingratiated himself with the officers of the regiment in garrison, and they generously provided him with a complete uniform and a military passport, armed with which he made for the coast. Unhappily, the extreme watchfulness of the coast guard prevented him from obtaining a passage across the Channel, and he was compelled to return to prison. The penalty would have been the galleys had he been taken in this disguise with a false passport. The frequency of escape had led to very severe measures, and it was announced in the war prisons that all who broke their parole and attempted to escape should, if recaptured, be tried by a military tribunal and shot.

ARTHUR GRIFFITHS.

RUSSIA AS A WORLD POWER

BY CHARLES A. CONANT.

WHEN the Czar Nicholas II. recently determined to propose to Europe the modification of great armaments in the interest of the peace of the world, he acted from the far-sighted motives of public policy which have governed the economic measures of the Russian Government for many years. The leaders of Russian political thought evidently reached the conclusion that Russia only needed relief from the heavy burden of taxation necessary for maintaining her great armies, to place her in the front rank among the industrial nations of the world. They have been for many years directing the steps of the empire in this direction, with a singleness of purpose and a continuity of policy which are rendered possible by the absolute form of the Russian Government. To the average American the Russian Empire probably still represents a half civilized state, peopled by the oppressed victims of a military tyranny in the older portions, and given up to barbarian hordes and army outposts in the provinces east of the Ural Mountains. Whatever warrant for this conception may have existed in the past, it is rapidly ceasing to be true. Russia is organizing the machinery of her economic system in a manner to make her the early and dangerous rival of the great industrial nations. M. de Witte, the Minister of Finance, furnishes the key of the present policy of the Russian Government in the declarations of his last annual report to the Czar:

"The principal support of the economic and financial prosperity of Russia consists in the traditional policy, pacific and just, of her sovereigns. The principles bequeathed by the late Emperor Alexander III. and the sincere spirit of peace which animates your Majesty are guarantees that, in the future, as in the past, the foreign policy of Russia will be exempt from every aggressive disposition towards other states, with the view to the promotion of the well-being of our country, and that from this source our economic and financial system shall be menaced with no danger."

Whatever may be thought of the sincerity and truthfulness of this analysis of the foreign policy of Russia, the statement of the end to be sought—the care of the economic future of the country—is truthful and significant. M. Arthur Raffalovich, the accomplished financial agent of the Russian Government in Paris, in his valuable annual volume on the financial development of the world, *Le Marché Financier,* declares that the economic life of Russia has become the centre around which converges all the care of the government, the interest of the public, and the attention of foreign observers. "The country develops and concentrates its forces, and thus is able to accomplish the numerous reforms in other domains of Russian life, of which the need has long been felt." This is a correct diagnosis of existing conditions in Russia. The whole energy of the state is being bent to the creation of a nation capable of competing in the field of manufactures, industry, commerce and credit with the great Western nations and with the United States. Remarkable progress has been made toward this achievement. The present economic system of Russia is eminently paternal, but finds excuse in the comparative infancy of the nation in matters relating to commerce and credit. That this system has its evils and leads the promoters of new projects "to consider the treasury of the state as an inexhaustible reservoir" for aiding their plans, is admitted by M. de Witte; but it seems for the moment to be the most efficient policy for equipping Russia with the means for entering upon the competition for political and commercial supremacy with the other industrial nations of the world.

The absence of parliamentary institutions, in spite of its latent evils, gives force, directness and promptness to every measure decided upon for the development of the country. In a democratic state, it is necessary to convince the majority of the people before any great reform can be accomplished. In Russia it is necessary to convince only the Czar and the Council of Ministers, which is made up of men trained for statecraft and undeterred from following their economic convictions by the exigencies of party politics. The leading statesmen of Russia are educated in the best schools of economics of France and Germany, they usually serve the state for many years when their services are efficient, and their combined experience and wisdom is applied to the important problems with which the government has had to

deal in raising Russia from the condition of feudal times to a rank among civilized powers. There have been, within the limits of a little more than a generation, two striking illustrations in Russia of the difference between the power and efficiency of an absolute government in dealing with serious national problems, and a government where it is necessary to convince a majority of the people before action can be taken.

These two illustrations of the directness of the Russian government in proceeding toward an object, determined after consideration to be a desirable one, are of special interest to Americans, because they run parallel with two of their own great problems of the same period—the abolition of slavery and the restoration of order to the currency system. Russia liberated the serfs by a ukase of the Czar, at almost the very moment when the States of the American Union were plunging into civil war upon the same subject. She resumed specie payments upon the gold standard in 1897, after a series of well-considered steps which have made her currency system one of the most secure in the world. Each of these measures was carried out within a few years after the plans were matured, without bloodshed or popular upheaval, or paralysis of industry and credit. While the final steps were being taken for the liberation of the serfs, upon a basis which compensated the owners and set the liberated class at once upon the footing of responsible property-owning subjects, the great Republic of the West was fighting a costly civil war, whose result was the liberation of the servile race, but without providing homes or a future for its members. A generation later, when the Russian Minister of Finance was calmly proceeding by successive steps to plant the credit of Russia upon an unassailable basis, the American Union was again torn with dissensions, banks were failing and industry was paralyzed, and Congress was sitting in extra session to undo the financial blunders to which the clamor of special interests and political cowardice had led a few years before.

The liberation of the serfs was conceived by Alexander II. soon after he succeeded to the power of Nicholas I. When the time came for action, in November, 1857, he issued a decree authorizing the Lithuanian nobles to form committees "to improve the condition of the serfs." He calmly assumed, in spite of some opposition on the part of the land-holders, that they were

favorable to reform, and followed up his policy in Lithuania by giving similar authority to the nobles in other provinces. A declaration in 1858 defined the principles of his plan, by which the peasants were to buy their houses and gardens, with land in addition sufficient to making a living, and were to be aided in the purchase by advances from the government to the land holders. A ukase of February 19, 1861—the Russian proclamation of emancipation—crowned the preliminary work and declared the abolition of serfdom.

The details of the financial operations by which this great reform was accomplished were set forth in a recent number of that invaluable mine of Russian statistics, the *Bulletin Russe de Statistique Financière et de Legislation.* The indemnity allotted to land-holders on account of the serfs from 1862 to 1891 reached the sum of 892,139,163 rubles ($450,000,000). Of this amount the government retained in various years 316,763,718 rubles to offset mortgage loans made to the land-holders, and issued the remainder in 5 and 5½ per cent. interest-bearing securities. The number of lots of land awarded to the serfs was 9,239,752 and the principal charged against them over a period of thirty years was 886,340,871 rubles. The aggregate amounts thus charged, including interest, from 1862 to 1891, were 1,040,167,863 rubles, and the amounts collected over the same period were 1,000,307,-140 rubles ($520,000,000). The land was taken in many cases by associations of the serfs, which afforded a guarantee for payment, and left the question of individual distribution to local assemblies. This great work was not without incidental blunders and complaints, but it was accomplished without shock to the economic system, and has left the former serfs in no such position of irresponsible isolation as the emancipated race in the United States. The relative cost of the liberation of the serfs in Russia and the war for the preservation of the Union in the United States stands in the relation of about $500,000,000 in the case of Russia, to $6,844,571,431 in the case of the United States.* Professor Seignobos, in his recent "Political History of Contemporary Europe," after referring to the difficulties growing out of the small lots awarded to the serfs and the high valuation of the land in certain cases, says:

*This is the computation of Prof. Albert S. Bolles, "(Financial History of the United States," III., 244), including $437,744,192 for army pensions to June 30, 1879.

"The emancipation of the serfs transformed Russian society. In giving to the mass of the population legal liberty and the administration of their local (communal) affairs, it has made of Russia a modern nation. It prepared her to deliver herself from habits of arbitrariness, servility and laziness produced by the long practice of servitude, and assured her the legal conditions of private enterprise and regular public administration. Economic progress was marked, after the death of Alexander II., by the increase in the area of cultivated lands, in the price of land, in the yield of the taxes, in the value of exports, and by the improvement in the peasant's manner of life."

The same energy and directness of action marked the measures taken to establish the gold standard which marked the plan for the liberation of the serfs. The accumulation of a gold reserve went on for many years under the management of farsighted and highly educated ministers of finance, but the actual resumption of specie payments was delayed, first by the Crimean War and then by the war with Turkey in 1877. When the gold reserve of the Treasury and the Imperial Bank had risen on January 1, 1895, to about $500,000,000, M. de Witte, the Minister of Finance, laid before the Czar a carefully matured plan for giving a fixed value to the circulating paper money and gradually reaching the free interchange of gold and paper at the bank. From the beginning of 1895 to the beginning of 1897, a period of two years, successive decrees were issued which gradually accomplished all that the Ministry had planned, and placed the Russian Empire, without disturbance to vested rights or business interests, among the gold standard nations of the world.

A national three per cent. gold loan was issued for reimbursing to the Imperial Bank a part of its advances to the Treasury; gold contracts were authorized; special gold accounts were received at the bank and gold check books issued; gold certificates were issued and made legal tender for public dues; 693,000,000 rubles ($350,000,000) in gold was paid out during 1896 by the Treasury and the bank; a fixed exchange value was given to the paper ruble; and gold coins were provided for at the new rate of exchange. Gold is now freely paid for notes at the bank, and the gradual contraction of the note circulation, with the increase of the gold funds to $600,000,000, has increased the gold above the amount of the outstanding paper and given the notes of the Bank of Russia the character of gold certificates. The effect of these measures was discussed intelligently by the leading financial journals and aroused some differences of opinion, but there was

no attempt to inflame the prejudice of the masses against the policy of the government; there were no windy demagogues stumping the provinces declaring that "the gold standard is a conspiracy against the human race." Short shrift might have been made of such orators by the absolute government of Russia, but intelligent discussion by responsible economic students was cordially welcomed and carefully weighed in the councils of the Czar.

The part which Russia has been playing since the early eighties as a grain-producing country is well known on the world's exchanges, and will be passed over here for a few references to her growth in more highly organized industries. It is worth noting, in passing, that in the production of petroleum, Russia has become within a few years a serious competitor of the United States. The production of 1881 was 663,001 metric tons against a production in the United States of 4,612,600 such tons, the part of the United States in the production of the two countries being 874 in 1,000. The production of Russia increased to 3,183,418 tons in 1888, while that of the United States remained substantially unchanged. Both countries have advanced with rapid strides during the succeeding ten years, but Russia is now practically abreast of this country in the production of the world's supply. The latest complete Russian figures were those of 1895, when the production of the United States was 8,835,181 metric tons and of Russia 7,056,537 tons, but the single district of Baku in 1896 and 1897 almost equalled the entire Russian product of 1895 and greatly exceeded that of 1894.

The most striking evidence of the entry of Russia into the list of competing capitalistic countries is afforded by the incorporation of stock companies in recent years. A recent number of the *Bulletin Russe de Statistique* brought the list of mining, metal working, naphtha and salt companies down to June 14, 1898. The whole number of such corporations constituted under Russian laws was 205, with an aggregate capital of a little more than 500,000,000 rubles ($260,000,000). Of this number 125 companies have been constituted since January 1, 1895, and these include nearly all of the companies with large capitals, ranging from 18,000,000 rubles downward. This is only a part of the list of Russian stock companies. Banking and credit societies are in operation to the number of 548, with a subscribed capital of 285,211,356 rubles, exclusive of the Imperial Bank and its many

branches. There are 293 corporations devoted to commerce and public works, life insurance, navigation, gas and electricity, with a subscribed capital of 177,124,144 rubles. There are also 536 industrial corporations, with a capital of 596,550,501 rubles. These 1,377 corporations, with an aggregate capital of 1,058,886,301 rubles ($530,000,000) include all those paying the tax of five per cent. upon net profits, and the net profits reported averaged 13.06 per cent., running as high as 16.9 per cent. in the case of the discount banks, 36.8 per cent. in the case of the food societies, and to even higher figures in the case of certain special industries.

A statement of all the business enterprises subject to the patent tax (or business license) in 1895 shows transactions amounting to 8,739,087,700 rubles ($4,500,000,000) for wholesale enterprises, with profits of 316,547,450 rubles ($160,000,000), and transactions of 955,051,900 rubles ($490,000,000), for retail enterprises subject to the tax, with profits of 102,212,680 rubles ($53,000,000). The figures of the total transactions or receipts of various companies include about $1,700,000,000 on account of the money paid into banks in the course of current transactions, but even if this amount is deducted, a total industrial activity, important enough to be subject to tax, amounting to $3,250,000,000, represents no small volume of business for a country whose economic development is so recent as that of Russia. All these figures, moreover, are taken from the tax returns for 1895. The growth of economic activity since that time has enormously increased the number of corporations, the volume of transactions, and the collections on account of the government. The revenue collected from the patent and additional taxes increased from 28,934,339 rubles ($15,000,000) in 1887 to 42,760,721 rubles in 1895 and 46,577,000 rubles ($24,000,000) in 1897.

The development of Russia as a manufacturing and capitalistic country is raising there the same industrial questions which have arisen in Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, and the United States. The Russian labor laws did not regulate until recently any work except that of children, youths and women, and the relation between the laborer and his employer. A step in the path of other industrial countries was taken by the law of June 2, 1897, which fixed definite hours of labor for adult males. The law was desired as much by large manufacturers, in order to meet

the competition of establishments having an excessively long day, as in response to the demands of the laboring men themselves. The working day is still long, but the system of limitation, having been put in operation, is likely to be continued, with the increased productive power of the laborer and the increase of his earnings, until the Russian factory hand stands upon a level with his fellow in Western Europe and America. The law of June 2 extended the regulations regarding the inspection of labor and contracts with laborers to the whole of European Russia and Poland. The numbers of inspectors of labor was increased from 151 to 171, and the labor laws were extended to all establishments which employ sixteen or more skilled laborers.

Technical education is finding a large place in the policy of the Russian government. There were twelve higher technical schools in the country in 1896, containing 5,916 pupils. Schools of commerce were opened in 1897 under a law of April 15, 1896, at Kiew, Odessa, Varsovia, Moscow, Kharkow, Nijni-Novgorod, St. Petersburg and Lodz. A school of navigation has just been opened at Odessa, which is recommended by the United States Consul for imitation in this country. Professional primary schools were opened in many other towns, and agricultural schools and schools of horticulture in the farming provinces of both European Russia and Siberia. Projects of law were recently under consideration by the Department of Finance for the revision of existing legislation on stock companies, the creation of corporations for popular readings and libraries, a new code for commercial paper, the regulation of weights and measures, the reduction of duties upon agricultural machinery and manure, and a new classification of the *octroi* charges in cities. The tariff rates on agricultural machinery were reduced in 1893 and 1894, and the value of the imports of such articles rose from 2,644,230 rubles in 1888 to 5,286,954 rubles in 1896.

One of the best tests of the economic progress of a nation is the extent and flexibility of its system of credit. The deposit and check system has not attained the development in Russia which it has attained in some other commercial countries, but is gaining ground at a remarkable rate. The discounts at the Imperial Bank were 132,578,530 rubles on October 23, 1898, exclusive of the accounts at the branches, and the deposit accounts included 61,-918,009 rubles payable on demand to individuals and 84,531,307

rubles to the account of other bankers, credit societies, and industrial and commercial corporations. Private commercial banks are rapidly obtaining a footing in Russia. There were forty such institutions in 1897, of which nine were at St. Petersburg, with a capital and surplus of 119,000,000 rubles; four at Moscow, with a capital of 36,300,000 rubles; and twenty-seven in the provinces, with capital and surplus of 86,300,000 rubles. The deposits in these forty banks on October 10, 1897, were 476,800,000 rubles ($240,000,000), an increase of 86,700,000 rubles within a year. The deposits at St. Petersburg amounted to 219,000,000 rubles and at Moscow to 117,600,000 rubles.

The statutes of the Bank of Russia were subjected to a complete revision in 1894, and the new statutes, promulgated on June 24, 1894, declared the purpose of the bank to be "to facilitate, by means of credit for short terms, the movement of commerce and to promote the success of national industry and agricultural production." Besides the usual provisions for loans upon commercial paper, the bank was authorized within carefully guarded limits to make advances on agricultural products and industrial material. The maximum loan for industrial enterprises is 500,000 rubles and for a retail merchant 600 rubles. The maximum term for loans for material is three years, but periodical payments are required when the term exceeds six months. The bank is authorized to accept as security for loans to small farmers, peasants and mechanics, the guarantee of the provincial assemblies, mutual credit societies, and individuals chosen from among the inhabitants of the community who are satisfactory to the bank. The government made advances to the peasants of some 90,000,000 rubles during the famine of 1892 and the customs war with Germany in 1893, which were repaid only in installments over a considerable period of time.

Popular banks for assisting peasants and mechanics of small means are rapidly spreading over Russia. The beginning of 1897 found 720 of these associations in operation, of which the 608 making complete returns counted 218,100 members with deposits of 9,200,000 rubles. A congress was held at Moscow in March last for the study of questions relating to the extension of small credits, and to consider a plan for a central bank for supporting the rural banks, as in Germany and Austria. The growth of the Russian savings deposits has been phenomenal in recent years.

The balances due depositors were only 9,054,648 rubles ($4,600,000) in 1880. This rose in 1890 to 147,042,901 rubles and in 1895 to 377,165,352 rubles. The latest available report, giving the deposits at the end of August, 1898, shows balances of 508,512,000 rubles ($260,000,000) distributed among 2,675,536 separate accounts. An analysis of the accounts was published in 1898 which showed that on January 1, 1897, the farming population had on deposit 66,437,000 rubles; mechanics in the cities, 33,288,000 rubles; factory employees, 12,076,000 rubles; merchants, 34,588,000 rubles; and domestics 29,829,000 rubles. An interesting indication of the improvement in the conditions of living, such as was noted in England earlier in the century, is the increased consumption of sugar. The taxes paid upon this product were only 23,161,725 rubles in 1887; they were 55,476,000 rubles in 1897.

The Russian railway system is also attaining a development which is putting the country abreast of the great transportation systems of the world. A comparison of the mileage in 1895 showed Russia, not including Finland and Siberia, in the possession of 36,585 kilometers of line, while France had 36,337 kilometers. The figures on January 1, 1898, gave Russia, including Siberia, 40,300 kilometers. With the addition of the Trans-Siberian line and the construction of the past few years, Russia is far ahead of France in actual mileage, although still below her in length of line *per capita.* Railway earnings have steadily increased with the development of commerce and the extension of connecting lines. The gross earnings in 1881 were only 199,979,356 rubles ($103,000,000) and the net earnings 55,538,549 rubles ($28,000,000). The gross earnings of 1896 were 426,322,767 rubles ($215,000,000) and the net earnings were 178,077,035 rubles ($90,000,000). These figures do not approach those of the United States, where the gross earnings in 1896 were $1,125,632,025 upon 180,891 miles of operated lines, and the net earnings were $332,333,756; but American railroad men may well regard with envy the percentage of net earnings in Russia, which is nearly 45 per cent. of gross income, in comparison with the less than 30 per cent. of such earnings on American lines. The number of persons employed on the Russian lines in 1895 was 343,996, and their combined earnings were 109,795,743 rubles ($55,000,000). M. Raffalovich declares that the existing lines

do not meet the constantly growing needs of Russian commerce. The transportation of merchandise over the lines of the West has especially increased since the opening of the Trans-Siberian. The four existing ports are hardly capable of handling the commerce of the Baltic, and it has frequently happened that grain transports have been stopped on the way to these ports because proper provision could not be made for discharging and receiving their cargoes.

The most important achievement of Russian railway engineering—the result at the same time of enlightened political foresight—is the Trans-Siberian Railway. This long thread of steel, connecting European Russia with the Pacific, was a dream of Russian statesmen as far back as 1850. It was not until the opening of the Ural line in 1880, which joined Perm in European Russia with Tiumen, on the Tobol, which flows into the Irtish, that a long practical step was taken towards binding the empire together by a single railway system. Several parts of the line remain to be completed in Russian territory, but the most important uncompleted part is the Manchurian Railway, across the northern province of China. M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu, who recently traversed the line, and describes his observations in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August 15, 1898, expresses the opinion that it will not be completed for ten years. The contract has already been signed, however, for obtaining the money from the Russo-Chinese Bank, and the control of the road, although under a Chinese president, is substantially under the Russian Minister of Finance.

The entire line, from the foot of the Ural to Vladivostock on the Pacific Ocean, will have a length of 6,613 kilometers, or about 4,200 miles. It will be by far the shortest route from Europe to the Orient. The time from London to Hongkong is now twenty-five days by the Suez Canal and thirty-three days by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway. It will be reduced to twenty days by the Trans-Siberian. The advantage in the case of other European places and Asiatic ports farther north will be much greater. The trip from Paris to Pekin can be made in sixteen days, where it now requires thirty-four days from France or England to Yokohama by the Suez Canal and twenty-five days by way of Canada. The passenger charges, moreover, are computed by M. Leroy-Beaulieu, including sleeping cars and meals, at about 800 francs ($160) from Paris to Northern China, as compared with charges

of 1,800 francs ($360) by the present steamer routes. The charges will be less favorable upon bulky freight from Western Europe, but for the interior of Russia the opening of the railway means that the resources of the East are at her disposal, and that she can deliver in the East her own products at a great advantage over her Western rivals. Business men throughout Europe will benefit by the mail service over the new railway, which will deliver letters in sixteen or eighteen days, in place of the month or five weeks now required. But the Russian merchants will enjoy the advantage of quicker communication and nearness to their new markets. The opening of new routes of communication has often involved the rise and fall of nations. It will not be contrary to historic precedents if, in the course of years, the development of the great trans-continental route which binds European Russia to Siberia should shift the centres of trade in the East, destroy the importance of many existing ports in China, and create new commercial centres in the heart of Asia, around which will gather the civilization of coming generations.

It is not surprising that Russian statesmen, with the vista of the economic empire of the future within their grasp, hampered by no necessity for pandering to the clamor of the moment in order to keep themselves in office, should have determined that Russia would gain enormously in the race with other industrial nations by devoting her whole energies to economic development. Hence the proposition of the Czar, that the world lay aside its arms and give its people an opportunity to devote themselves to industrial pursuits, looks directly to the future dominance of Russia in the commerce and finance of the world. It would be useless for Russia to attempt to fight such a power as Great Britain in the East until the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railway. She has accomplished wonderful results by the firmness and audacity of her diplomacy in China. When the railway is completed, with the economic development which will come in another period of ten years, she will be able to cope on land, if not on the ocean, with any force which can be brought against her. She will enjoy the advantage of occupying the inner line, from which she can strike at her enemies on the European or Asiatic flank with the force and directness of Napoleon when he was able to carry out his favorite policy of separating and conquering hostile armies.

Ten years of such economic development as Russia has witnessed in the ten years just passed will make her enormously stronger than she is to-day; thirty years will make her almost irresistible. The capacity for economic growth under modern conditions, when a nation has once obtained a fair start, is illustrated by the wonderful progress of the German Empire since 1870. Germany, from being a comparatively poor country, has become one of the great capitalistic nations of the world, threatening Great Britain in her own markets for manufactured goods and competing with British capital in the construction of railways and the creation of banks in South America, Africa and Asia. The estimated wealth of Germany in negotiable securities, according to calculations made in 1895 by the International Statistical Society, was $18,000,000,000, and she stood second among the nations of Europe. Russia then ranked fourth, with $5,000,000,000 of negotiable wealth, but this amount has greatly increased within three years. With a government controlled by the single purpose of promoting national advancement, with the best economic knowledge of all peoples at her command, with almost unlimited natural resources, and with an equipment of producing plant and saved capital sufficient to permit constantly accelerating progress, Russia promises in another generation to be the great competitor of the Anglo-Saxon race for the commercial and military supremacy of the world.

CHARLES A. CONANT.

AMERICA AND THE WHEAT PROBLEM.

BY JOHN HYDE, STATISTICIAN OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE AND EDITOR OF "THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE."

NOT since Tyndall shocked the religious sentiment of almost the entire English-speaking world, by proposing at the Belfast meeting in 1874 that certain wards of a hospital should be set apart for a scientific test of the efficacy of prayer, has the annual address of a president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science excited so general an interest, or provoked so much unfavorable criticism, as have the recent utterances of Sir William Crookes on the subject of an approaching scarcity in the supply of wheat.

In the United States, the warning—for such, rather than as a prediction, it should be considered—of the distinguished chemist has been received with a chorus of deprecation in which there was scarcely a discordant voice, the idea that the wheat-producing capabilities of this country are not practically illimitable being generally scouted as preposterous. Much of the criticism, however, was founded upon a telegraphic report, which, however creditable to newspaper enterprise, was not entirely accurate; and now that the address is available in complete form,* it may be worth our while to examine it with some degree of care, with a view to determining its actual bearing upon prospective conditions in this country.

The field covered by Sir William's argument is of immense extent. It is practically the entire wheat-producing region of the world, and the potentiality of every considerable portion of it is discussed in more or less detail and, in the main, conservatively. To follow the explorer, however, from Europe to Siberia, from

* British Association for the Advancement of Science. Bristol, 1898. Address by Sir William Crookes, F. R. S., V. P. C. S., President. London, 1898.

Canada to Australia, from South America to Africa, would be less useful, because less conclusive, than would be a consideration of the conditions, actual and prospective, in the United States, the country which, as he himself says, has for the last thirty years been the dominant factor in the world's supply. Sir William's references to the United States constitute less than one-twentieth part of his discussion of the wheat-supply problem, and are mainly embodied in the following statements:

"Practically there remains no uncultivated prairie land in the United States suitable for wheat growing. The virgin land has been rapidly absorbed, until at present there is no land left for wheat without reducing the area for maize, hay and other necessary crops.

"It is almost certain that within a generation the ever-increasing population of the United States will consume all the wheat grown within its borders, and will be driven to import, and, like ourselves, will scramble for a lion's share of the wheat crop of the world."

What it is sought to establish is that, not in the immediate future, but when almost a third of the coming century—practically a generation—shall have passed away, the wheat supply of the world, including the United States, will fall so far short of the demand as to constitute general scarcity, unless starvation be averted through the laboratory. This is Sir William Crookes' contention, and it is the object of the present article to consider, from a standpoint somewhat different from that either of the English chemist or his critics, what are likely to be the prevailing agricultural conditions in the United States a generation hence.

What were the conditions a generation ago? The country then had a population of about 34,000,000; now it has one of about 75,000,000, exclusive of the islands to be brought under its dominion as a result of the war with Spain. One hundred and ninety-one million bushels was the largest wheat crop on record; the average of the last three years has fallen but little, if any, short of 540,000,000 bushels. In the fiscal year 1865-66 the total exports of wheat, including wheat flour, were less than 16,500,000 bushels; last year they exceeded 217,000,000 bushels. In 1865 the corn crop was only 704,000,000 bushels, with 828,000,000 bushels as the high water-mark of previous production; during the last three years the crop has averaged over 2,000,000,000 bushels.

Were there really no limit to the agricultural potentiality of the United States, these enormous figures might furnish some sort of index to the probable developments of the future. But we are liable to be led seriously astray if we assume for the thirty-three

years to come an increase proportionate to that of the thirty-three years last past. That the population of the United States in 1931, exclusive of colonial possessions or dependencies, will be at least 130,000,000 is as certain as any future event can be, but it is not nearly so easy a matter to forecast the agricultural production of that period; and yet the question that lies at the very foundation of any just criticism of Sir William Crookes' address is, what contribution, if any, our farmers will be able to make to the wheat supply of other countries, when the time comes that provision has to be made for the varied requirements of a home population more than twice as large as that at the last federal census.

Those requirements will include a wheat crop of 700,000,000 bushels, without a bushel for export; an oat crop of 1,250,000,000 bushels; a corn crop of 3,450,000,000 bushels, and a hay crop of 100,000,000 tons, all for domestic consumption; with cotton and wool, fruit and vegetables, dairy and poultry products, meats and innumerable minor commodities in corresponding proportions. The area necessary to the production of the three principal cereals alone will be over 15 per cent. greater than the enormous total acreage devoted in 1898 to grain, cotton and hay, while the mere addition of the two last mentioned products and of the minor cereals will call for an acreage exceeding the total area of improved land in farms at the present time.

But what, it may be asked, is to prevent either (1.) any necessary extension of the areas in farms, or (2.) the bringing under cultivation of that large residue of unimproved land which amounted at the last federal census to no less than 42.6 per cent. of the total farm area?

The great fact that underlies the enormous productive capacity of the United States to-day is, of course, the transfer from government ownership to individual proprietors, within a single generation, of a body of land hundreds of millions of acres in extent and for the most part of extraordinary fertility. But, amazing as has been the increase in the farm area of the country during the last thirty years, it has not been sufficient even to keep pace with the growth of population. The addition of 128,300,000 acres, or 31.48 per cent., to the area in farms between 1870 and 1880 only increased the area *per capita* of population from 10.57 to 10.69 acres. By 1890 the area, notwithstanding a further addition of

87,100,000 acres, or 16.25 per cent., amounted to only 9.95 acres *per capita*, and the census of 1900 will almost certainly find it under 9 acres.

That for general agricultural purposes the public domain is practically exhausted, and that consequently there can be no further considerable addition to the farm area of the country, is too well-established a fact to be the subject of controversy. Of the entire area undisposed of, 72.7 per cent. is in states wholly within the arid region, and all but a small part of the remainder is desert, mountain, or at best suitable only for grazing purposes.* In Kansas, out of 1,061,000 acres undisposed of, only 116,000 acres are east of the 100th meridian, and these are described as broken and for the most part sandy. In Nebraska 10,548,000 acres are still open to settlement, but not one acre in seven is in a region of sufficient rainfall for general agricultural purposes, and the best of the land is described by the General Land Office as fit only for grazing. In North Dakota the vacant land amounts to 20,575,000 acres, but on little more than one-tenth of this area could irrigation be dispensed with, even if the land were otherwise adapted to general farmin. In Oklahoma, the youngest of the territories and the one containing the largest addition to the farm area of the country that has been made within many years, of the 7,007,000 acres of government land still vacant, 3,250,000 acres lie between the 99th and 100th meridians and a like amount, making altogether 93 per cent. of the whole, west of the 100th. The vacant land in the Pacific states amounts to 91,843,000 acres; but of the 42,503,000 acres in California, 19,000,000 acres are "barren, irreclaimable wastes," 19,875,000 acres "desert and grazing," and 3,628,000 acres "woodland and forest;" the 35,898,000 acres in Oregon include 17,067,000 acres of "desert and grazing" and 18,831,000 acres of "woodland and forest," while the 13,443,000 acres in Washington comprise 3,847,000 acres of "desert and grazing" and 9,596,000 acres of "woodland and forest."

It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that it is no longer the policy of the American people or of its representatives

* The figures relative to the public lands and the possibilities of irrigation are taken from the Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, pp. 15-16; the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the fiscal years ended June 30, 1897 and 1898, and The Public Lands and their Water Supply by Frederick Haynes Newell, Sixteenth Annual Report of the U. S. Geological Survey, 1894-95, Part II., pp. 463-533.

in Congress to permit of the continued destruction of the national forests, without regard to the needs of the future. It should also be borne in mind that, according to the U. S. Geological Survey, the entire water supply of the Pacific states available for irrigation is only sufficient for some 23,000,000 additional acres, or about one acre in four of the unappropriated public lands in those states. In the entire arid region the available water supply, as similarly estimated by the U. S. Geological Survey, is only sufficient for the irrigation of 71,500,000 additional acres, or one acre in seven and one-half of the area undisposed of. Commenting upon the difficulties encountered by the individual farmer in reclaiming land from its desert condition, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1898, p. 72, calls attention to the fact that such reclamation amounts to "less than 125,000 acres annually, at which rate it would require nearly six hundred years to dispose of all the irrigable lands." Commissioner Hermann says further:

"In connection with these astounding figures, it should not be overlooked that much the greater part of the lands already disposed of are those bordering on small streams, where reclamation was accomplished principally through individual efforts.

"Nearly all of the waters of these smaller streams are now utilized, and the remaining lands depend for their reclamation upon the saving of all overflow waters, and the diverting of the waters of the larger streams, which can be done only by expensive construction. It is, therefore, but a fair presumption that the disposal of desert lands to individuals will annually decrease, unless Congress in its wisdom provides a means by which the annual overflow waters in the arid region may be saved and intelligently dispensed."

The extent to which the total farm area of the country can be increased by the reclamation of desert lands will therefore be seen to be very small, if not absolutely insignificant; indeed, it is a question whether it will be sufficient even to counterbalance those constant encroachments upon the productive area which arise from the growth of cities,* the building of railroads, and the general development of commerce and of non-agricultural industry.†

* At the census of 1890, of the counties containing the 28 most populous cities in the country, 20 had a smaller number of farms, and 23 a smaller farm area and smaller area of improved land in farms than they had in 1880. Of the exceptions, all but three were due to the increase in the number and area of market gardens, which, for census purposes, were considered as farms.

† It is difficult to estimate the amount of land annually withdrawn from the farm area of the country, but the statistics of improved and unimproved land at the Eleventh Census show incidentally that at least 4,500,000 acres of the former and 6,500,000 acres of the latter passed out of farms during the preceding ten years, an average of more than one million acres per annum.

But what of that vast body of unimproved land already in farms, which amounted at the last census to 265,600,000 acres, or more than two-fifths of the total farm area of the country? Where is it situated, and of what does it consist?

If its distribution is not uniform with that of the area improved, it is no less general. No section of the country, large or small, has been too long settled, none has a too easily cultivable soil, none has too good a market in proximity to it, to be exempt from making a relatively substantial contribution to the unimproved acreage in farms. There was not one of the 2,783 counties at the Eleventh Census that failed to contribute to the grand total, whether situated in the richest part of the Mississippi Valley or embracing some great center of population.*

Between the international line and the 37th parallel (which runs through Hampton Roads, Va., Cairo, Ill., across the southern part of Missouri, and forms the northern boundary of Indian Territory and Oklahoma) and east of the 100th meridian, the census of 1890 found about 115,000,000 acres of unimproved land in farms, ranging from 15.8 per cent. of the total farm area in Illinois to 55.9 per cent. of that in West Virginia. South of the 37th parallel and east of the 100th meridian there were about 118,000,000 acres, ranging from 53.6 per cent. of the total farm area in Tennessee to 68.8 per cent. of that in Florida. Within the region that is absolutely arid were about 27,000,000 acres, ranging from 53.4 per cent. of the total farm area in Montana to 92 per cent. of that in Arizona, and in those portions of the Pacific states in which irrigation is unnecessary were found the remaining 5,500,000 acres.

The chief factor in determining the ratio of unimproved land in farms to total farm area is not the cost of the land—not the facility with which it has been acquired—but the relative facility of cultivation. The percentage of unimproved land is higher in all the New England states, except Connecticut, than in either of the two Dakotas, with their immense areas of newly opened farms, and it is higher in almost every southern state than even in Montana, Idaho, Utah or Nevada.

The enumerators of the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses were instructed to report as "improved" all tilled land, including fallow

* The counties containing the cities of New York, Boston, Jersey City, St. Louis, and San Francisco, had 115, 451, 135, 422 and 366 acres of unimproved land in farms, respectively.

and grass in rotation, whether pasture or meadow, and all permanent meadows, permanent pastures, orchards and vineyards. As "unimproved" they were instructed to report all natural woodland and forest within farm limits, all unplowed land, and all land that, once plowed, has since been abandoned for cultivation, like the "old fields" of the South. They were specifically directed that rocky, hill and mountain pastures were not to be reported as improved land.

With this distinction clearly in mind, a brief survey of the conditions existing in the grand divisions above specified should prove instructive.

With regard, first, to the unimproved land in farms in the arid region, there will apply with almost equal force much of what has been quoted from the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office against the probability of any considerable increase in the total farm area. On irrigated lands, the yield per acre is relatively so high that the farmer in the arid region has every inducement to utilize, to the fullest extent, such portions of his farm as are irrigable. The land easily irrigated has, therefore, to a large extent, been already brought under cultivation, and is annually contributing to the fruit, grain and forage crops of the country. The developments of the future will be slow and costly. The average first cost of preparing the soil for cultivation in the arid region, as determined by Mr. Frederick H. Newell in connection with the Eleventh Census,* was $13.51 per acre, and the average first cost of water rights $8.23 per acre, making $21.74 as the average cost per acre of reclaiming such of the desert lands as were the most easily irrigated. In the eight states and territories lying wholly within the arid region the irrigated land constituted but little more than two-fifths of the land reported as in some sense improved, so the chances for the reclamation of the still larger body of land upon which no improvements whatever had been made are exceedingly remote. They are for the most part grazing lands and such they will doubtless remain.

Among the various astounding assertions called forth by the discussion of Sir William Crookes' address is the statement that, with wheat at one dollar per bushel, the annual production of that cereal in the state of Idaho alone might reach 400,000,000 bush-

* Report on Agriculture by Irrigation in the Western part of the United States at the Eleventh Census: 1890. By F. H. Newell, Special Agent. 1894.

els ! It is amazing that such an assertion should be given place in an article written in 1898 for a scientific publication. While farming without irrigation is successful along the northwestern edge of this most interesting and beautiful state, the state is for the most part made up of mountain, forest and desert. Its mean elevation is 4,700 feet, and over 15,000 square miles of its area is from 6,000 to 11,000 feet above sea-level. Many of its valleys and the lower slopes of its mountains are covered with a dense forest, the removal of which would be only preparatory to the construction of more or less costly irrigation works. Of every 100 acres of its land surface, statistically considered, 84 acres are still without settlers, and of these, 34 acres are desert and 50 acres forest. The entire arable land of the state has been estimated by Mr. Henry Gannett, geographer of the U. S. Geological Survey and of the Tenth and Eleventh Censuses, at rather less than 4,000,000 acres, and Mr. F. H. Newell, hydrographer of the U. S. Geological Survey, in estimating the water-supply as sufficient for the reclamation of 7,000,000 acres, makes by implication the highest estimate of the agricultural possibilities of the state that has been made by any competent and disinterested authority. Even the State Engineer estimates the amount of land that can ultimately be cultivated by irrigation in Idaho as not more than four or five millions of acres in the aggregate.* On the basis of reports from nearly five hundred local correspondents, the Department of Agriculture estimates the wheat crop of Idaho for the present year at but little more than 4,000,000 bushels, while commercial authorities in general content themselves with including it, with other states of small production, under the head of "other" or "sundry." What a fortunate thing it is that the country has been warned in advance, so that business may not be too seriously demoralized by the sudden marketing of a 400,000,000 bushel crop !

Let us turn now to that important group of states lying south of the 37th parallel and wholly or mainly east of the 100th meridian. These states contain about 22 per cent. of the entire land surface of the country, and about 29 per cent. of its total farm area. But, while their improved farm acreage is only 21 per cent. of that of the country at large, the land included in their farms

* First Biennial Report of the State Engineer to the Governor of Idaho. December, 1896. Page 7.

and plantations and remaining in a state of nature constitutes no less than 44 per cent. of the total unimproved farm area of the country, or a larger proportion of the total farm area within which it is embraced than is to be found in any other group of states, not excepting even those of the arid region. The reason for this is not far to seek. Excluding Texas, the unimproved land of which is mainly prairie, of every 100 acres of unimproved land in farms in the states under consideration 86 were at the Tenth Census covered with forest and woodlands, the percentage ranging from 78 in South Carolina to 93 in Florida and Arkansas.

The soil of this forest area* is to a large extent of so inferior a quality that there is but little inducement to attempt its reclamation, and even after the merchantable timber has been removed from it but little effort is made to utilize it for farm purposes. This is owing to the fact that it is its mechanical rather than its chemical constitution that presents the most serious obstacle to such utilization. Containing, for the most part, an exceedingly large percentage of sand, the obstacle it presents to successful cultivation is not one that can be overcome by the use of commercial fertilizers, except for forage crops and vegetables.

While, therefore, each succeeding census will probably find some relatively small portion of it added to the cultivated lands of the various states, it cannot have the slightest bearing upon the much discussed wheat problem. For such wheat production as the farmers of the South are engaged in, the lands best adapted to the growth of that cereal are assigned, and yet in the ten years ending with 1897 the ten principal cotton states produced an average annual crop of only 23,610,671 bushels, the average annual yield per acre being only 8 bushels. Between 1880 and 1890 these states, together with Virginia, increased their area in cotton by 5,630,000 acres, their area in corn by 1,140,000 acres, their area mown by 1,320,000 acres, and the number of their milch cows by 630,000. Their area in wheat, however, showed a decline of 1,150,000 acres, a fact that need occasion no surprise when it is considered that the average value of farm products per acre of improved land in these states is in inverse ratio to the extent of their wheat production.

* See Report on Cotton Production in the United States, by E. W. Hilgard, Ph.D., Vols. V.-VI., of the Tenth Census Reports. Forestry Conditions and Interests of Wisconsin, by Filibert Roth, U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1898, may also be consulted with reference to the use of pine lands for agricultural purposes.

There are writers who seem to imagine that the price or exchangeability of a product is the sole factor in determining the extent of its production everywhere and at all times; but this certainly does not hold good where the cultivation of the product is so difficult and precarious as is that of wheat in the southern states. For this reason, were wheat to be worth a dollar per bushel, no largely increased production need be looked for in the South. From 1879 to 1883, inclusive, the average price of wheat in Chicago was $1.08, and even the average December farm price was $1.01. During these five years, however, the total wheat production of the ten principal cotton states averaged only 24,270,000 bushels per annum, or but 660,000 bushels more than the average during the ten years ending with 1897. It is not, of course, contended that $1 per bushel fifteen or twenty years ago was the equivalent of the same price at the present time, but simply that a relatively high price failed to increase production, owing to the limitations imposed by physical conditions.

In discussing agricultural potentialities much misconception arises from taking the state as the geographical unit. From the fact that North Carolina contributes annually some four or five million bushels of wheat to the total production of the country, it might be supposed that its production could be very largely increased; but an examination of the statistics by counties discloses the fact that the crop is grown almost entirely on the high lands on the western border of the state, adjoining the Blue Ridge and Great Smoky Mountains; and with regard to the adjoining state of South Carolina, no less than 97 per cent. of its wheat crop at the last census was produced in the counties embraced within the Piedmont and Alpine sections of the state. Still, the average annual yield per acre in the two States for the last 10 years has been only 6.3 and 5.9 bushels, respectively.

In Tennessee, Texas and Oklahoma the conditions are somewhat different from those obtaining in the other states south of the 37th parallel, but the favorable conditions that render possible the larger production in these states are more or less localized and no really great extension of this branch of agriculture is to be looked for within their borders, even under the stimulus of high prices. This is equally true of Indian Territory, a region that lies wholly within the Lower Austral life zone and the large and increasing cotton production of which is itself the very

strongest argument against the possibility of developments in the production of wheat that will be more than a mere drop in the bucket. Nature has decreed that a profitable return on the cost of cultivation shall become less and less to be depended on the farther the departure from the region to which the plant is indigenous, and the operation of this law can be arrested, in the case of wheat growing, only by topographic conditions—chiefly that of elevation above sea-level—that do not exist in Indian Territory.*

It is the firm belief of the writer that with a more diversified agriculture—in the direction of which a gratifying tendency is already observable—and with the continued development of its manufacturing industries, the South will soon enter upon an era of great prosperity, but its contribution to the wheat crop will continue to be but small.

This brings us to the consideration of that marvellous agricultural region extending from the international line to the 37th parallel and from the Atlantic Ocean to the 100th meridian—a region containing only 30 per cent. of the entire land surface of the country, but yet embracing 59 per cent. of its total farm area and nearly 71 per cent. of its improved farm acreage. The twenty-six states in this division contributed last year 82 per cent. of the total corn crop, 76 per cent. of the total wheat crop, 91 per cent. of the total oat crop, 83 per cent. of the total hay crop, and a correspondingly large proportion of the total production of every other agricultural product, save cotton, sugar cane, and the tropical and sub-tropical fruits, grown in the United States. It is obvious, moreover, that this is the region that must continue to furnish the principal proportion of all these necessary commodities.

The fact that at the census of 1890 these states contained about 115,000,000 acres of unimproved land in farms would suggest enormous agricultural possibilities, but unfortunately these large figures are to some extent delusive. Here, as in other parts of the country, the distribution of the unimproved land is anything but uniform, and the extent to which such land might be made available for cultivation likewise differs widely. In Illinois and Iowa it constitutes between 15 and 20 per cent. of the total

*The Republic of Mexico had a very creditable exhibit of wheat at the recent Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha, but it was grown at an elevation of several thousand feet above sea-level.

farm area; in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Kansas and Nebraska, between 20 and 30 per cent.; in Vermont, Connecticut, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, North Dakota and South Dakota, between 30 and 40 per cent.; in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Wisconsin and Minnesota between 40 and 50 per cent., and in Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia and West Virginia, between 50 and 60 per cent. It will readily occur to the reader that these differences are largely a matter of topography—indeed only a superficial acquaintance with the natural characteristics of the different states is necessary to placing nearly all of them in their respective categories. The question is: How near do these various figures come to indicating the amount of additional land that might be brought under cultivation under the stimulus of higher prices for agricultural products? This we should be able to determine with a sufficiently close approximation to the truth by a brief examination of the conditions obtaining in certain typical states.

Beginning with Illinois, we find that at the Eleventh Census that state contained 10,116 miles of railroad and 69 towns and cities of 3,000 inhabitants or upward, of which 21 contained 10,000 or upward. It had enjoyed periods of great agricultural prosperity since it became fully settled; it possessed within its borders the greatest produce market and shipping point in the world; its agriculture was of the most diversified character, and its farmers had every inducement to make the most of the agricultural capabilities of their farms. Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose that its residue of unimproved land, 15.8 per cent., represented, if not an absolutely irreducible minimum, at least that proportion of the entire farm area which—containing, as it did, not only all waste land, but farm yards, private roads, wood lots and natural pastures—not even an era of high prices would bring under cultivation? In Iowa the conditions were in all essential respects the same, and the percentage of unimproved land differed but very slightly, being 16.6 per cent. of the whole. Ohio has been longer settled, but its surface is more broken, and its percentage was 21.5. In Pennsylvania the percentage was 28.1, many counties in the mountain region averaging over 40 per cent. and some very much higher. In Kentucky a naturally somewhat high percentage is rendered still higher by the inclusion of many fine natural parks and pastures among the unimproved. In Kansas, Nebraska, Min-

nesota and the Dakotas, averages of from 26 to 40 per cent. are mainly attributable to the more recent settlement of those states.

Assuming that the entire region will, under the influence of high prices, have 85 per cent. of its total farm area brought under cultivation within the next 30 years, there will be added to the productive area in this region about 60,000,000 acres, with state and railroad lands to the possible extent of 20,000,000 acres in addition. This will fall so far short of the requirements of our own population that it is necessary to seek other possible additions to the cultivable area.

Not for the purpose of growing wheat, but under the influence of those generally higher prices which any considerable and long-continued increase in the price of wheat would bring about by reducing the acreage in other products, the South might conceivably add to her productive area as much as 30,000,000 acres. Ten million acres might be added on the Pacific coast and 3,000,000 acres in the arid region. This would make the gross addition 123,000,000 acres, against which must be set those continual withdrawals of land from agricultural uses which not even a high degree of agricultural prosperity would entirely prevent. Assuming the annual rate of diversion to be diminished by one-half, the loss during the next thirty years would amount to about 15,000,000 acres, making the net increase 108,000,000 acres.

This will constitute an enormous addition to the productive capacity of the farms of the country, and one the contemplation of which, aside from the question of consumption, might well appal our much-discouraged farmers. Considered, however, in the light of the requirements of a population of 130,000,000, the figures assume an entirely different aspect. On the basis of our present actual consumption as a people, to the entire exclusion of our export trade, the country will require by the year 1931 the following additional acreage: for wheat, 13,500,000 acres; for corn, 66,000,000 acres; for oats, 23,700,000 acres; for the minor cereals, 10,000,000 acres, and for hay, 40,500,000 acres, a total of 153,700,000 acres, without making any provision for the proportionately increased consumption of vegetables, fruits and other products. Instead, therefore, of the probably largely increased acreage bringing down prices or proving unprofitable to the farmers, there will be a deficiency of at least 50,000,000 acres. Indeed, it will be more than this, since it cannot be supposed for a moment

that the unimproved lands left to the last are anything like equal in natural fertility to those first selected for cultivation. On the other side of the account, however, we have to place whatever increase in yield per acre may be brought about by improved methods of farming. But whatever agricultural science may be able to do in this direction within the next thirty years, up to the present time it has only succeeded in arresting that decline in the rate of production with which we have been continually threatened.

From 1878 to 1882, inclusive, the average yield per acre of wheat was 12.8 bushels; from 1883 to 1887 it was 11.9 bushels; from 1888 to 1892 it was 12.8 bushels, and from 1893 to 1897 it was likewise 12.8 bushels. While it has been remarkably uniform when considered in 5-year periods, it would unquestionably show a slight decline, were it not for the very high averages obtaining in those states and territories the crops of which are irrigated, and which have appeared in the list of wheat-growing states only within the last fifteen years. The average yield per acre of corn for the 10-year period, 1878 to 1887, was 24.40 bushels; from 1888 to 1897 it was 24.42 bushels. Of oats the average yield was 27.2 bushels in the former and 25.7 bushels in the latter period. Of potatoes the average yield per acre declined from 77.6 bushels to 76.0 bushels; of cotton it declined from 181 pounds to 172 pounds, and of tobacco from 727 pounds to 726 pounds. Of hay the latter period shows an increase of one one-hundredth of a ton per acre per annum, and there is also a slight increase in the case of barley, rye and buckwheat.

While there is but little satisfaction to be obtained from these figures, it must be borne in mind that it is only to a very small extent indeed that scientific methods have as yet been employed in the growing of field crops. It is unquestionably to the laboratory that we shall have to look for relief, except in so far as it may be afforded by the Government undertaking the construction of storage reservoirs in the arid region that might reclaim not to exceed 71,500,000 acres, less whatever small area might in the mean time have been brought under cultivation in that region through private enterprise.

So much as to the prospective crop situation in general; what as to the question of wheat production? That it is to the crop most readily convertible into money that, all other things being equal, the farmer will give the preference in determining what he

will grow, needs no proof. The cultivation of wheat at the expense of other necessary crops will, however, be held in check by two very powerful influences. The first will arise from the fact that a reduction of the acreage under any product of general use below the actual requirements of the country will instantly—perhaps even prospectively—affect the price of that product, possibly in a proportion even greater than that by which its acreage is diminished, and may even be sufficient to constitute it a competitor with wheat on equal terms for the farmer's favor. The second check will be found in the fact that the American farmer, north, south, east and west, has at last fully awakened to the safety, stability and, in the long run, increased profit resulting from a judiciously diversified system of farming. The one-crop system has passed away, never to return, and before wheat can be extensively cultivated at the expense of other products it will not only have to command what would now appear to us as an excessively high price and afford a reasonable assurance of its continuing so to do, but would have to do this without affecting to any considerable extent the price of other products.

There is yet one more factor to be considered, namely, the possibility that, to a much larger extent than has ever yet been attempted or contemplated, the farmers in the different sections of the country will restrict their products to what they can raise most abundantly and most cheaply, so that the regions best adapted to wheat shall raise wheat, and so on through the entire category of farm products. This, however, would also be to a very large extent counter to that system of diversification which the writer regards as the most encouraging feature of the agriculture of our time, and while some change may be looked for in this direction, it is doubtful if it will play any very important part in our new rural economy.

To discuss the extent to which under conceivable conditions the United States may, notwithstanding this somewhat dubious outlook, still continue to contribute to the food supply of other nations, would be little more than speculation. It is sufficient for the writer's present purpose to have called attention to the enormous prospective increase in the requirements of our own population and to some of the changes in the agricultural situation which such increase will involve.

JOHN HYDE.

THE CAPTURE OF ENEMY MERCHANT VESSELS AT SEA.

BY COMMANDER CHARLES H. STOCKTON, U. S. N., PRESIDENT OF THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE, NEWPORT, R. I.

In an open letter, recently written by Mr. Charles Henry Butler to Captain Mahan of the United States Navy, Mr. Butler, among other things, combats the effectiveness, or military value, of the capture of privately owned ships and their cargoes upon the high seas, when sailing under the flag of an enemy. It has occurred to me, after reading this letter, and at the suggestion of Captain Mahan, that a fuller presentation of the subject, from the point of view of a belligerent, to whom the practice and principles of international law are not unknown, would be of value and interest—especially as, in my opinion, the freedom of private property from confiscation and capture on land is overestimated, and the military effect of such capture at sea not thoroughly understood. To prevent any misapprehension, I would add that I favor the repeal of any laws that give to naval officers any prize money from the capture of enemy merchant vessels at sea.

Whatever has been the doctrine of our country as to the capture of private property at sea, there is no doubt that the practice has been uniformly in its favor in all wars with nations having a mercantile marine.

In the War of the Revolution, in the quasi-war with France, in the War of 1812, as well as during the late war with Spain, the merchant vessels of the enemy were captured, without material restriction, upon the high seas. In the war with Mexico and in our civil war, the almost entire absence of an enemy mercantile marine upon the high seas prevented a similar practice. In the earlier wars mentioned, we were also considered at the same time one of the great neutral powers; but, notwithstanding this fact and

the precedent we established against ourselves by the capture of enemy merchant vessels, we used such belligerent rights vigorously for the purpose of prosecuting these wars to a successful end.

To-day, when we are gradually assuming, by the extension of our insular territories, and still more by our far reaching and increasingly complex external interests, the *rôle* of a great possible belligerent, it behooves us to examine closely all such questions, and to study them in their relation to ourselves, and to our future complications in the arena of the world. We should not hastily restrict our war powers.

It is interesting to review the conduct of the last great land war between two highly civilized European states—the Franco-German war—with respect to the question of the exemption of private property on shore from capture. During that war, it has been authoritatively stated that the French, with their overwhelmingly superior navy—a navy that caused a paralysis of German commerce—captured ninety merchant vessels, the value of which did not much exceed six millions of francs; while, during the same period, the German armies in France took private property, by methods of systematic, but unrecompensed, requisitions and contributions, valued at more than six hundred millions of francs, not counting the damage, more or less unavoidable, caused by the march and encampment of the armies in the field. This levying of contributions and requisitions was practically a confiscation of private property, in an orderly and well distributed manner perhaps, and duly claimed as among military necessities; but no more orderly and well considered, and no more necessary, than the capture of enemy merchant vessels and cargoes at sea, confiscated only after fair trial, by civil courts, presided over by duly appointed and trained judges, and with full opportunity for defense and appeal. Pillage, it is true, has been done away with; but when in its place comes well-ordered requisitions, without payment, for such supplies as cigars, beer and wines, to be furnished by the inhabitants of a town, it cannot be said that on land private property is completely exempt from capture. It must be understood, also, that the government of France did not attempt to reimburse the losers by this war, except very partially, and only in cases of extreme poverty and distress.

Von Moltke, who represents the probabilities of the future, as

well as the modern soldier of the immediate past, stated that he was, by no means, in accord with any manifesto which declared that the weakening of the regular military forces of the enemy constituted the sole legitimate procedure in war. "No," he said, "it is necessary to attack the resources of the government of the enemy, his finances, his railways, his provisions (stores) and even his prestige." How such objectives as these can be reached without disturbing directly and indirectly private property, it is difficult to see.

France did not suffer upon the sea in that war; but none the less was the loss of private property by the French people, by the heavy hand of the German invader, a cause for the termination of the war and for a universal cry for peace. While it is not proposed to advocate such severity, its influence for the prevention of wars cannot be ignored; and, compared to this severity, the capture of merchant vessels at sea, though effective, is certainly much less harsh.

Deliberately ordered devastation on land and the exemption, by ransom, of unfortified towns from bombardment, cannot even yet be considered as matters outside of the pale of civilized warfare.

So high a military authority as General Sheridan, in speaking of his operations in the Shenandoah Valley, treats of the whole question of the effectiveness of the destruction of private property in such a manner that I cannot refrain from quoting his remarks as not without pertinence. He says:

"I do not hold war to mean that lines of men shall engage each other in battle and material interests be ignored. This is but a duel, in which one combatant seeks the other's life. War means much more, and is far worse than this. Those who rest at home in peace and plenty see but little of the horrors attending such a duel, and even grow indifferent to them as the struggle goes on, contenting themselves with encouraging all who are able-bodied to enlist in the cause to fill up the shattered ranks as death thins them. It is another matter, however, when deprivation and suffering are brought to their own doors. Then the case appears much graver, for the loss of property weighs heavy with the most of mankind; heavier oftener than the sacrifices made on the field of battle. Death is popularly considered the maximum of punishment in war, but it is not; reduction to poverty brings prayers for peace more surely and more quickly than does the destruction of human life, as the selfishness of man has demonstrated in more than one great conflict."

Turning from the land to the sea, let us look upon the value of the merchant vessel and its cargo to the enemy as a bellig-

erent, and the consequent military value of its capture by the other belligerent.

In the first place, as to the ship: In modern maritime war between two naval powers, as soon as the declaration of war is known, there will be in most, if not all, cases, a cessation of the deep sea sailing trade, and the vessel that is likely to be captured —after the period of exemption generally allowed upon the outbreak of war—will be the merchant steamer, either a passenger or cargo carrier. Now, the merchant steamer has many possible belligerent uses in modern naval warfare. She may not be made into a vessel for the line of battle, it is true; but, with little or no material change, she may become a cruiser or a scout, or one of the many valuable and almost essential auxiliaries that are now demanded by maritime warfare. Transports, colliers, supply ships, torpedo depot vessels, floating machine shops, water distilling vessels, and telegraph cable layers and grapplers, are or can be made from innocent merchantmen.

As to the cargo, it also can be said to have a direct belligerent value to the enemy. In most, if not all, commercial countries, it would contribute directly the "sinews of war" to the enemy government through the customs duties paid from it. Our gold interest-bearing bonds of the period of the civil war, depended almost entirely for their value upon the duties levied by custom houses. War loans are not infrequently based upon customs receipts. There is no question as to the increased cost of war in modern times. Warlike appliances, afloat and ashore, cost much in a money sense in these times, and financial resources and superiority count vitally in modern warfare.

Unrestricted commerce affords an enemy these opportunities for increasing his revenue and resources, in such manner as to cause the evils of war to bear less hardly upon the people concerned than by any other method. These sources of revenue are great means for carrying on war; their forced cessation is a great measure for causing war to close. It may be urged that, as a neutral cargo in an enemy's ship is now free from capture, through our acceptance of the Declaration of Paris, the neutral cargo will still furnish customs revenue. But it must be remembered that, where the enemy ship is captured, the neutral cargo does not go on to its destination. It must go at first, and remain for some time, with the enemy ship. Hence, this detention, and the loss it

must entail, will cause, if the capture of enemy ships prevail, the avoidance of enemy ships as carriers of neutral cargoes.

It may be urged that a blockade would be more effective as a means of stopping trade and revenue. This is without doubt true, if a blockade can be made effective; but an effective blockade is a difficult thing, both as a military and commercial measure. If the enemy is continental in his geographical position, and connected by railways with continental systems of other countries, a forced cessation of external trade becomes most difficult, if not impossible, by blockade.

As to the *personnel* of the merchant vessels of the enemy, it must be remembered that, for a long time, these persons have been subject to detention as prisoners of war, as a sea resource of the enemy in war time. Although the skill of the able seaman is no longer found in the merchant steamers, as in times past, the crews of these steamers have sea knowledge and sea habits, and the engineers are skilled men, of the highest value on board of battleships and war vessels of all classes. Their detention from the service of the enemy would be a distinct military advantage. In international law, they are peculiar in their position. They are not exactly combatants—but, as an organized crew of a merchant vessel, they can nevertheless resist capture, and if captured they can rescue or recapture their vessel from the hands of the enemy. They may then be properly classed as part of the military or naval resources of the enemy, and, as such, subjects for maritime capture.

I will not do more than refer to the question of the throttling of the food supply of an insular or small isolated and overpopulated country, or to the effect of commerce destroying upon a country depending upon its manufactures and manufactured exports for its wealth and war sinews. Some of these countries depend upon their sea carriers for bringing them the raw materials for manufacture and for carrying the finished product to the great markets. At least one of these countries has so large a tonnage that it would be impossible to have this work done by the neutral vessels of any other country, and the transfer of that tonnage at or after the outbreak of war to a neutral flag, would be so colorable and suspicious as to justify a condemnation in many, if not all, cases before a prize court. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the successful "whitewashing" or transfer of

American vessels to the English flag in the civil war. The Confederate States could not bring such cases, for manifest reasons, before prize courts, and to avoid complications the Confederate cruisers, as a rule, allowed such vessels to go free.

It must be noted, also, that the principal maritime nations of the world have given a governmental character and subsidy to various large merchant steamer lines for present and ulterior service—the ulterior uses being of a belligerent character. These vessels, constructed under governmental supervision, with a view to naval uses, have often a large proportion of their officers and crew regularly enrolled as a part of a naval reserve. They are, nevertheless, until taken by their government into belligerent service, merely enemy merchant vessels, privately owned, and as such would be free from capture, if such property were duly exempted.

I will repeat what I said in the earlier part of this paper—that I am distinctly opposed to the payment of prize money, as such, for the capture of enemy merchant vessels on the high seas. I have endeavored to show that the practice should be continued upon its merits as a military measure; it should be rewarded only in the same way as other military measures are rewarded that are incidental to a maritime war. It certainly should have no greater reward, in a material sense, than that given to phases of naval warfare in which life, limb and reputation are jeopardized.

In conclusion, I will quote from the remarks made upon this subject by one of our most distinguished civilians and publicists, the late Mr. Richard Henry Dana of Boston. He says:

"Merchandise sent to sea is sent voluntarily, embarked by merchants on an enterprise of profit, taking the risks of war; its value is usually capable of compensation in money, and may be protected by insurance; it is in the custody of men trained and paid for the purpose; and the sea upon which it is sent is *res omnium*, the common field of war as well as of commerce. The purpose of maritime commerce is the enriching of the owner by the transit over this common field, and it is the usual object of revenue to the power under whose government the owner resides."

CHARLES H. STOCKTON.

THE TUBERCULOSIS PROBLEM IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY S. A. KNOPF, M.D.

"It is in the power of man to cause all parasitic diseases to disappear from the world." These words, spoken by an immortal master of modern medicine, the late Louis Pasteur, have to no disease a more just application than to tuberculosis. To the lay mind it may seem like a paradox to say that, though nearly every sixth individual is tuberculous, and though pulmonary tuberculosis, commonly called consumption, is the most fatal and the most frequently contracted of all diseases, one-seventh of all deaths being due to it, it is nevertheless the most curable of all chronic ailments. But not only is consumption the disease which can be most frequently cured, especially when the invalid submits himself to treatment during the earlier period of his affliction, but it is also the disease which can be most easily prevented. Indeed, it is the disease which the power of man could cause to disappear from the world with more certainty than any other.

Tuberculosis is a parasitic disease *par excellence*. The parasite is the *bacillus tuberculosis*, discovered by Robert Koch in 1882. It is a minute organism, in the shape of a cylindrical rod, visible with a high power microscope only after certain staining reagents have been applied to it. This micro-organism, belonging to the order of schizo-mycetes or fission-fungi in the lowest scale of vegetable life, is the specific microbe of consumption; without its presence there is no tuberculosis. Its action upon the animal organism is two-fold— local, by destroying the tissue; general, by secreting toxins which poison the entire system. The bacillus of tuberculosis may enter the human organism, firstly, by ingestion, that is to say, through food coming from tuberculous animals;

secondly, by inhalation, that is, inhaling dusty air laden with bacilli. Such an atmosphere we may encounter wherever consumptives are careless in the disposal of their expectoration. A tuberculous invalid expectorates, at times, as many as seven billion bacilli per day, and it has been demonstrated again and again that the dried and pulverized sputum of consumptives is one of the most frequent means of transmitting this disease. The third method of infection is by inoculation, that is to say, the microorganisms enter directly into the circulation through an open wound. The most frequent way in which this occurs is through handling a broken glass or porcelain spittoon that has been used by a tuberculous individual.

Let us see what has been done, and what can be done, by the State, the community and the individual to prevent the propagation of this disease, and ultimately to eradicate it.

One of our best American authorities on this subject, Dr. F. W. Smith, of the Tuberculosis Committee of the State Board of Health of New York, wrote me some time ago that, in his opinion, the first great step toward the prophylaxis of tuberculosis in man should be to stamp out the disease in cattle.

Martin, of the Royal Commission to investigate tuberculosis in Great Britain, is of the same opinion; and so are many of our most distinguished American physicians and sanitarians who have studied the question of tuberculosis. But how far removed we are, in this country, from effectually stamping out tuberculosis in cattle, may be gathered from a report which I submitted last year to the Section of State Medicine at the forty-eighth annual meeting of the American Medical Association,* from which I give a few extracts here.

There are fourteen States which have bovine laws and regulations, and in which circulars are issued for public instruction in regard to tuberculosis in man, viz.: California, Colorado, Connecticut, Iowa, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia and Wisconsin; two which have bovine laws, but where apparently nothing is done to stop the spread of tuberculosis in man, viz.: Minnesota and South Dakota; one which has bovine laws, but cannot enforce them for lack of funds, and where thus far the

* "The Present Status of Preventative Means Against the Spread of Tuberculosis in the Various States of the Union, Critically Reviewed." *Journal Am. Med. Ass.*, Vol. XXIX., No. 18.

board has only issued circulars on the prevention of tuberculosis in man and beast, viz.: Tennessee; two (the District of Columbia and Oklahoma Territory) which have a law prohibiting the sale of tuberculous milk, but nothing else concerning tuberculosis in man or beast; eight which issue circulars of instruction concerning tuberculosis in man, but where nothing is done in regard to bovine tuberculosis, viz.: Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, New Mexico Territory, Ohio, Texas, and West Virginia; nine where nothing is done to stop the spread of tuberculosis in either man or beast, viz.: Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, North Dakota and South Carolina; seven which have no board of health, viz.: Georgia, Idaho, Montana, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah and Wyoming; five from which I received no answer, viz.: Florida, Missouri, Nevada, Vermont and Washington.

To the letters addressed to the health officers of forty of our largest cities, I received twenty-nine answers. In one-third of these it was stated that nothing at all had been done concerning the prophylaxis of tuberculosis.

This state of affairs speaks for itself, and shows that as a nation we have a most limited protection from tuberculosis in man and beast.

To combat tuberculosis in cattle and other domestic animals effectually, the federal government, having equal jurisdiction over all the States and Territories, is alone competent. How this should be accomplished enters not into the scope of this article. Abler men than myself will outline the workings of such a national institution, which might justly have its centre in the Bureau of Animal Industry in Washington, which has already done such excellent work in the direction of preventing bovine tuberculosis. But the physicians, sanitarians and statesmen, intrusted with the care and preservation of the lives of American citizens, should appeal to the United States Government to take into its own powerful hands the task of stopping the spread of tuberculosis through the bovine race. By judicious legislation and proper enforcement of laws in this direction, individuals and communities would ultimately be spared the loss and destruction of valuable live stock and property, and thousands of precious human lives would be saved.

The Board of Health of the City of New York has endeav-

ored to enforce the registration of all tuberculous cases. The great majority of the medical profession has opposed any attempt in that direction as untimely. Still, the careless and ignorant consumptives should be controlled and prevented from doing harm. The same board and many other city boards have passed ordinances forbidding expectorating in street cars or on the floors of public buildings, and some even make it punishable to expectorate in the street. But anyone who observes at all will be surprised to note how little these ordinances are heeded. From a sanitary point of view, I am inclined to think that a more general use of the pocket flask, not only by those who are tuberculous, but also by those who have a simple cold or grip, would solve the problem of expectoration. The boards of health, the hospitals and dispensaries should distribute such flasks free of charge to all pulmonary invalids coming under their care. They should preferably be made of some light metal (aluminum or nickel) to protect the patient from the danger of inoculation through breakage. The use of the handkerchief for this purpose, while better than spitting on the floor, is certainly not very sanitary, and I have no doubt, at times, is the cause of a severe reinfection of the nasal mucous membrane.

The general public, however, does not always see things with the same eyes as the sanitarian, and some pulmonary invalids will absolutely refuse to adopt a course which would attract attention to their infirmity. The only remedy in such cases is to tell them to have pockets of impermeable material and carry with them a sufficient number of cheap handkerchiefs, squares of muslin or Japanese paper handkerchiefs, for the exclusive purpose of expectorating therein. These handkerchiefs should be burned as soon as possible after use. Of course, such patients take their chances of infecting their hands by manipulating the soiled handkerchiefs, and they should be enjoined never to touch any food with their hands without having thoroughly washed them.

The whole matter of preventing the spread of tuberculosis must forever be educational work on the one hand, and on the other the work of the State and municipal authorities, in the care of the consumptive poor and those of moderate means.

The school physician, aided by the teacher of hygiene in our public schools, must inculcate upon the pupils the ordinary prin-

ciples of how not to become pulmonary invalids. Respiratory exercises, outdoor singing and declamation when the weather permits, will form an important part in this work. The Board of Health will have to educate the public by circulars and general instructions, and by offering gratuitous disinfection of apartments, bedding and wearing apparel. Such educational work has been most creditably done during the past years by the New York City Board of Health and in Philadelphia by the Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis. But the greatest amount of good, the work which will be educational, preventive, and curative at the same time, must be done by the State and municipal authorities, aided by wealthy and generous citizens, by creating and maintaining a considerable number of special institutions, sanatoria,* hospitals, dispensaries, etc., for the exclusive treatment of tuberculous patients.

The need of such institutions has been demonstrated again and again; but, strange as it may seem, in this country we have fewer sanatoria for tuberculous patients, absolutely and relatively to our population and to the number of consumptives, than either Germany, England or France. The only State institution of this kind in America was recently opened at Rutland, Mass., with a capacity of 300 beds, and is called the Massachusetts State Hospital for Consumptives. The great city of New York, with its 10,000 tuberculous poor, has not enough accommodation for 500 consumptives, unless they are placed in the general hospitals, where they are a constant menace to their fellow patients suffering from acute diseases. It is not rare that a patient with typhoid fever, entering the ward of a general hospital, leaves it cured from that disease, but taking with him from the hospital the germs of tuberculosis, the invasion of which his enfeebled organism will not withstand. Still, there are in this country statesmen, physicians and philanthropists who doubt the need of special institutions. To such I would suggest a visit to the consumptive poor in the tenement districts of our large cities, and to study the hygienic and social conditions of these sufferers in their surroundings. Let them watch some of the tuberculous

* Contrary to the custom of many English-speaking people, especially in the United States, I call these establishments *sanatoria* and not *sanitaria*. The former (sanatorium), from *sanare*, to heal, gives a better equivalent to the German "Heilanstalt," the word used by the originator of this system (Brehmer). Secondly, the word sanatarium, from *sanitas*, health, is usually employed to designate a place considered simply as especially healthy, a favorite resort for convalescent patients.

families. After lingering a year, either the mother or father dies of consumption, and the remaining partner, having become infected by nursing the companion, dies a year later, after having buried half of the children, who have succumbed to tuberculous meningitis. I am sure these visitors will emerge from the dark, dreary rooms and the crowded, unclean houses which serve as habitations for millions of poor people, thoroughly convinced of the urgent need of measures to relieve these consumptive sufferers. Let these doubters also experience the difficulty of gaining admittance as a tuberculous patient into a general hospital supported by private charity, or let them watch the rapid decline the poor consumptive often makes, even if he has been fortunate enough to be admitted to a general public hospital, and they will become still more convinced of the urgent need of creating special institutions for this class of patients. It will be clear to them that something must be done in the interest of the sick, as well as in the interest of the still healthy portion of the community.

But how can this be done, and done effectually? What class of patients should the State or municipality take care of? Only the curable, or only the incurable ones? Only the poor, or also those of moderate means? If any government is in earnest in its endeavor to combat tuberculosis effectually, besides its regularly enforced laws against bovine tuberculosis, its thorough hygienic measures against tuberculosis in man through sanitary regulations and public instruction, it must take upon itself the care and treatment of the curable and incurable cases of tuberculous patients, among the poor and among those of limited means. I mean here by limited means a financial condition which does not permit a tuberculous patient to enter a private sanatorium, or to have at home such medical, hygienic, and dietetic care as will assure him the best possible chance of recovery.

The next point to be considered would be how to recruit the patients, and how to discriminate between the proper and improper cases.

In an address which I was invited to deliver recently before the thirteenth annual conference of the State and Provincial Boards of Health of North America,* I made the following suggestions in regard to these questions:

* "The State and Municipal Care of Consumptives." *Medical Report*, September 24, 1898.

"Just as there exists in nearly all States or municipalities, a commission or a number of special examiners, for the purpose of determining who is a proper subject for State care in an asylum for the insane, so should there exist a commission for the determination of admission to a municipal or State institution for consumptives. Such a commission, composed of a certain number of general practitioners and health officers, should be aided in its work by the charity organizations. Each and every case should be investigated by a combined committee of physicians and laymen, for the following purposes:

"1. To determine the applicant's condition by a medical examination.

"2. To visit his home if he has been found tuberculous, and to institute such hygienic measures as seem necessary (distribution of pocket spittoons, disinfectants, etc.).

"3. To examine the other members of the family, in order to find out if any of them have also contracted the disease, and, if so, to counsel proper treatment.

"4. To report in full to the sanitary authorities concerning the condition of the patient's dwelling. Its renovation or even destruction may become imperative when it is evident that tuberculosis has become 'endemic' there, owing to the condition of the soil or to other sanitary defects.

"5. To determine the financial condition, whether the patient is or is not able to pay, and whether or not by his being taken to an institution the family will become destitute.

"If the latter should be the case, it would become an imperative duty for the municipality to provide for the family. In many cases a letter of inquiry, sent to the former medical attendant of the patient, would materially aid the work of the investigation committee.

"Any individual should have the right to present himself for examination, and every physician should be at liberty to recommend any person for examination to the board of his precinct or district."

The institutions needed to carry out this plan would be:

1. A centrally located reception hospital and dispensary. The dispensary should treat the ambulant tuberculous patients, whose admission into the sanatorium is impracticable or has to be delayed for want of room. These dispensaries should also serve the patient discharged from the sanatorium as a place to seek counsel, and thus aid in his continued improvement and guard against the possibility of a relapse.

2. One or several city sanatoria, located in the outskirts, and if possible in a somewhat elevated region, where the atmosphere is known to be pure. Here all patients should pass through a preparatory sojourn before being sent to the mountain sanatorium. The more advanced cases would all be retained here.

3. One or several mountain sanatoria at no greater distance from the city than three or five hours by rail, at an altitude, if possible of between one thousand and two thousand feet, on porous ground, with southern exposure, as nearly as possible protected

against the coldest winds by higher mountains, and preferably surrounded by a pine forest. A farm in the vicinity, where the thoroughly convalescent patients could do light work, might make the institution in a measure self-supporting. To this place the selected incipient and the improved cases from the city sanatorium should be sent to complete their cure. To the mountain sanatorium there should also be attached a department for children suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis.

4. Several seaside sanatoria for the treatment of children afflicted with tuberculous diseases of the joints and other tuberculous (scrofulous) manifestations.

5. A maternity sanatorium where tuberculous mothers should be received a few months previous to their confinement and surrounded by the best hygienic and dietetic care. They should also remain in the sanatorium for some time after childbirth. It is only by taking away these mothers from their unsanitary tenement homes, and placing them under constant medical supervision in such an institution, some time before and after their confinement, that the fearful mortality among tuberculous mothers after childbirth can be reduced.

The beneficial effect on the woman's and child's constitutions through such an arrangement can hardly be overestimated. Leaving aside the physical well being thus largely assured to mother and child at a period when their organisms need the most tender care, the hygienic training which the mother will have received in such an institution will be of lasting utility to herself and child, to the family and to the community.

These maternity sanatoria need not be situated at a great distance from the city. All that would be essential is that they should be erected on good porous ground, preferably somewhat elevated, and in a locality where the atmosphere is as pure as possible. The buildings should be constructed according to the principles of modern obstetrical science and modern phthisiotherapy. The physician in charge should be experienced in both these branches of medicine.

From the foregoing it will be seen that I am in favor of treating tuberculous patients near their homes, and in the same or nearly the same climate as that in which they will have to live and work after their restoration to health. My reasons for advocating such principles are founded on

the experiences of all modern phthisio-therapeutists, who have demonstrated that the hygienic and dietetic treatment in special sanatoria is feasible and successful in nearly all climates. I know from personal observation that cures of pulmonary tuberculosis effected in our ordinary home climates, which are on the average not considered as especially favorable to this class of sufferers, have been more lasting and more assured than cures obtained in more genial climes. And, with all due deference to the opinion of others, I do not believe there exists any climate which has a specific curative quality for any form of pulmonary tuberculosis. Climate can only be considered as a more or less valuable adjuvant in the treatment of consumption, but not a specific.

It is, furthermore, my firm conviction that for social and economic reasons the majority of tuberculous patients will have to be treated near their homes. Only by adhering to this principle can we expect to cope successfully with tuberculosis—this disease of all climes, but which is most prevalent in large centres of population, where civilization has seemingly attained the highest standard.

That from the presence of properly conducted sanatoria for consumptives not the least danger can arise to the locality where such institutions may be placed, I have demonstrated in several of my previous writings,* from the official statistics concerning the mortality from tuberculosis for forty and for one hundred years, respectively, before and after the establishment of a sanatoria for consumptives in certain villages in Germany. I will only summarize these statistics here.

In the two villages, Goerbersdorf and Falkenstein, where five of the largest sanatoria are situated, the mortality from tuberculosis has actually decreased among the village people more rapidly and more largely than anywhere else, it being now one-third less than before the establishment of those institutions. Thus we see that properly conducted sanatoria for consumptives not only serve as hygienic educators to individuals and families, but as instructors in hygiene to whole communities. The example in scrupulous cleanliness set by employees and inmates of such sanatoria thus bears the best fruits. For, in reality, pulmonary tuberculosis is not a contagious disease; the contact *per se*, the touch of the invalid, is not capable of transmitting the disease;

* "Are Sanatoria for Consumptives a Danger to the Neighborhood?" *Medical Record*, October 3, 1896; *Revue de la Tuberculose*, Paris, Vol. III., pp. 313-319.

it is the ignorant, unclean, or helpless patient, who, by his mode of disposing of his expectorations, endangers the life of others. The breath of a consumptive is not to be feared, it does not contain the tubercle bacilli, nor its spores, nor other dangerous organisms. Thus it is more correct to call pulmonary tuberculosis only a highly communicable disease, and we repeat, from living or coming in contact with a clean, conscientious, tuberculous invalid, nothing whatsoever is to be feared. At that excellent American institution, the Adirondack Cottage Sanitarium at Saranac Lake, under the direction of Dr. E. L. Trudeau, not one of the nurses or medical attendants who have worked in it in the past fifteen years has ever contracted pulmonary tuberculosis.

To create the large number of institutions needed to combat tuberculosis by isolating the hopeless cases in special hospitals, and sending the curable ones to sanatoria, the State and municipal funds are scarcely sufficient at present. While it is to be hoped that the respective authorities will do their share, the need of a number of large sanatoria in this country is so great that we must appeal to the wealthy and philanthropic citizens to come to our aid in establishing sanatoria for the consumptive poor.

In England, Germany and France the government has created some institutions, but the majority of the sanatoria existing in these countries have been created and are maintained by the generosity of individuals. Recently, in England, the Prince of Wales has given the matter his attention. He presided over the first meeting held at Marlborough House, a few weeks ago, for creating and maintaining sanatoria for the consumptive poor. Some of the crowned heads of Europe, such as the Czar of Russia, the Empress of Germany, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Saxony, the King of Sweden and the young Queen of Holland, have placed the sanatoria for the consumptive poor under their high protection, and have opened their private purses for their support. The nobility and the leaders in finance, art, and literature have been eager to imitate the noble example set by their sovereigns, and they, too, have given freely toward the erection and maintenance of such institutions.

Shall this great country, with all its wealth, with its many generous and patriotic philanthropists, remain behind in the onward march of effort to eradicate a disease to which rich and poor, old and young, fall victims by thousands every year? In

no other country has the mortality from tuberculosis diminished in such a marvelous way as in England, where special hospitals for consumptives have been flourishing for over fifty years. The death rate per million of the population of England and Wales from pulmonary tuberculosis was in the years named as follows:

1870	2,410
1880	1,869
1890	1,682
1896	1,307

Every consumptive taken from the tenement districts to a sanatorium or special hospital to be cured, or for the purpose of isolation, means a suppression of a centre of infection. Every tuberculous patient cured means another breadwinner and useful citizen, who might have become otherwise a public charge.

The curability of pulmonary tuberculosis is demonstrated every day. The most frequent and most certain cures are obtained by the hygienic, dietetic, and educational treatment in sanatoria; that is to say, institutions where the open air treatment, the best food, and the thorough hygienic management constitute the main factors of therapeutics. Here the patient is not only cured, but taught how to remain well, and how not to infect others.

The average results obtained in sanatoria for early cases are fifty to seventy per cent. of cures; for the more advanced they vary from fifteen to twenty-five per cent. If I apply Vaughan's estimate for 1896 to 1899, I may say that, of the seventy million people living to-day in the United States, ten million or more will die of tuberculosis, unless something is done to prevent it.

There is much that can and should be done. Let our statesmen work to create a department of public health at Washington, with full power to combat bovine tuberculosis. Let our municipal authorities, with strict but humane laws, reduce the danger of the transmission of tuberculosis from man to man. Let statesmen, municipal authorities, physicians, and philanthropists unite to establish sanatoria and kindred institutions for tuberculous patients, especially for the poorer classes, for from these arises the greatest menace to the public health. Then with the dawn of a new century we may hope to see a satisfactory solution of the tuberculosis problem in the United States.

S. A. KNOPF.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE COLORED SOLDIER.

BY W. THORNTON PARKER, M. D., LATE A. A. SURGEON, U. S. ARMY.

WHEN colored troops were enrolled, soon after the close of the War of the Rebellion, the Southern States were in a chaotic condition. Troops occupied the strategic centres, and "carpet bag" politicians and adventurers swarmed into the conquered territory, their thirst for money making them willing to risk somewhat of safety in order to arrive early upon the field to reap the harvest that cruel war had placed within their reach. The negroes, freed from slavery and intoxicated with the license which they knew not how to use reasonably, were ready for almost anything except wage labor.

The war being at an end, the profession of arms, with the showy uniform and military pomp, offered them a tempting experience. To recruit a colored regiment was therefore not a very difficult undertaking, especially so when ignorance and savagery were no bar to acceptance by the recruiting officers. Hundreds of freed negroes flocked to the recruiting stations and were quickly transformed into recruits for the United States colored regiments. The fiat had gone forth that the freed men were no longer to be merely enrolled as soldiers to do duty as teamsters for the quartermaster's department, but that they were to appear as soldiers, drill, and do guard duty, with equal rights with the white veterans of the late war. In compliance with this idea, an expedition assembled and marched westward from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in the early spring of 1867, over the Santa Fé trail, through the "great deserts," which were then occupied by the active and warlike Indians. Their advent astonished everyone. The frontiersmen looked upon them as a military caricature, the

fruit of some political deal, unexplained and unreasonable. The officers detailed to serve with them were half ashamed to have it known. The white soldiers who came in contact with these recent slaves, now wearing the uniform of the regular army, felt insulted and injured; and their redskin adversaries heaped derision upon the negroes by taunts and jests, and loudly called them "Buffalo Soldiers," and declared they were "heap bad medicine" because they could not and would not scalp them.

Such was the very unpromising advent of colored troops to do service as soldiers on equal terms with regular veterans. A detachment of this regiment was ordered on duty at Fort Craig, New Mexico, and shortly after their relief from quartermaster's duty they were, to the astonishment and disgust of the white troops, detailed for guard duty. This was more than the white soldiers could endure, and so general and open was the opposition that a condition of things bordering on mutiny resulted. Great anxiety existed among the officers as to the outcome, and the gravest fears were entertained.

The threats of vengeance against the "nigger soldiers" were so openly made in the hearing of officers that bloodshed was seriously anticipated, and earnest consultations concerning postponing the colored guard detail were held. It was finally decided, however, that the colored new guard should march on at all hazards, and when guard mount sounded the entire garrison was in a state of anxiety never before experienced. The old guard was assembled and instructed and warned, the men listening in sullen silence. Never before had it been necessary for their officers to appeal to them. They had served long and well together; and respect and confidence were genuinely entertained for each other to a degree almost unknown among the troops east of the Mississippi. These veteran Indian fighters would follow their officers cheerfully and persistently through any danger or hardship, but when it came to being "obliged to salute a nigger in uniform" their proud soldierly spirits rebelled at the thought, and they muttered openly their intense aversion to this innovation. The music of guard mount sounded shrill and forbidding; the guards fell in with a sullen determination on their faces as if they were about to take part in a critical event in their military career. The new guard marched on in a shuffling, shamefaced way, as if they too wished it were over. As they came near the old guard, everyone

watched to see what would happen. Lieutenant ———, whose commands had always been obeyed in the past with cheerful military promptness, took a hasty look at the set faces of his men as the black detail approached. The time had come.

"Present arms!" he ordered, as the guard reached the saluting point, but not a veteran moved a muscle, and the black detail passed without any other recognition than the soldierly salute of the officers' swords. A consultation was held, and the white soldiers were warned that their conduct would be regarded as mutinous if they continued to disobey orders.

Again the black detail marched past, and again the order was disobeyed; not a rifle stirred from the shoulder. The commanding officer now appeared upon the scene and delivered to his veteran soldiers a sharp and stinging rebuke. His decided and harsh tones concealed the sympathy he felt in his heart. He had his duty to discharge, and he informed the men whom he had led in battle, and who had never failed him, that if they refused to salute the new guard, they would be relieved and taken to the post flagstaff, and tied up by their thumbs until they consented to give the required salute.

This was the climax. The whole garrison was in a fever heat of excitement. Would these brave fellows yield? Would men who had records such as theirs in the Indian War, and who had never quailed in danger, give way at the threat of cruel physical torture?

Once more the blacks were moving rapidly to the saluting line. For the third time, the rifles of the old guard were at the shoulders.

"Present arms!" rang out clear and distinct, but not a rifle moved. That settled it. The men were dismissed, and as prisoners marched to the flagstaff. Around their thumbs the cruel cords were tied, and they were hoisted upward until only the toes touched the ground. There was no word of protest, no look of anger. Proudly and firmly, as if in Indian torture, they endured the ignominy and pain of their position. Their officers were with them, beseeching them to yield. The pain became more and more insufferable; they almost fainted. One of the officers suggested to the men that they could pretend to yield, agreeing to "salute the uniform of the United States, even if borne by a nigger." This gave a chance for compromise, the cruel cords were

severed, and the brave veterans were released. They were too lame and injured to hold a rifle then, but it was agreed that thereafter military courtesy should be shown to those wearing the uniform.

This incident at Fort Craig illustrates the discord which then existed between the white and colored troops of the regular army.

South of Fort Craig, beyond the river, stretched the lonely desert known as the Jornada del Muerto, or Journey of Death. Ninety-nine miles, without wood, water, or grass, leads the straight road to Fort Selden. Here another detachment of the 37th was stationed. Continuing the march, the remaining detachments pushed on through sixty-five miles of desert to Fort Cummings, N. M., where they relieved the garrison, consisting of two companies of the 125th U. S. Colored Volunteer Infantry. Here, isolated in the desert, stood a fortress built of adobe. It was designed by General McClellan, and was constructed with strong walls completely surrounding the garrison buildings, a feature quite uncommon among the so-called Western forts. Generally speaking, the forts of the frontier are merely collections of buildings about an oblong space, which serves as parade ground.

To the north of Fort Cummings, Cook's Peak rose in its majestic grandeur, and, beyond, the cañon extended away for miles. Through this a road led in the direction of the Rio Miembres, twenty miles away. But to the west and southwest stretched the limitless prairie, dreary and desolate. The only green things visible in the landscape were the few stunted trees at the spring, half way between the Fort and the entrance to Cook's Cañon. After marching for days and weeks through an enemy's country, with the rough mess-kit of a campaigner, with the horror of a visitation of cholera, to which their brave surgeon and his wife fell victims, these ignorant colored soldiers, who had been buoyed with delusive hopes on leaving the fertile lands of Georgia, found themselves in this dreary, prison-like abode, exposed to all the discomforts of a home in the desert, and to all the dangers of a powerful tribe of merciless Apaches, forever on the warpath. It was enough to sadden the hearts of the best white troops, and it is no wonder that dissatisfaction rapidly spread, until in their undisciplined state a mutinous spirit developed.

The veteran volunteers, with their gallant officers, had marched away; and, with the exception of their own officers and

a squad of the 3d U. S. regular cavalry, there were no white men to give their influence towards preserving order.

In the early days of colored troops in the regular army, it was essential, to get the best results, that they should serve with white troops, so that discipline could be enforced when necessary. It was a decidedly risky experiment to attempt making soldiers of such people. They needed the object lesson of contact with white troops. Naturally of an imitative disposition, the colored man took the white soldier as his pattern, carefully watching every gesture and movement with inquisitive concern. Recruited from the most dangerous and shiftless of the freed negroes, they were naturally lazy, and disinclined to do the work required of them. They spent all their leisure time in gambling, drinking and quarrelling. Every possible punishment employed in the discipline of frontier posts was inflicted upon them. They were stood on barrels, they were "bucked" and gagged, they were marched about the garrison with heavy planks tied to their backs, bearing the word "gambler" in chalk. Everything was done to discipline them, every means taken to make soldiers of them. But so rapidly did the mutinous spirit develop in the command, that only by the merest chance was a tragedy averted.

Through the confession of a servant it was discovered that these colored men had entered into a plot to kill every white man in the garrison, to capture the horses and such property as they might desire, and to carry off the officers' wives as their slaves. The details were so completed that every match was to be dampened so that no light could be made, and the caps were to be removed from every revolver.

With remarkable coolness, the officers prepared to face the terrible situation. A rumor was purposely circulated that the paymaster had arrived. The colored soldiers were ordered to be mustered on the parade without arms. It had been previously arranged that the squad of white cavalry were to secretly occupy the quarters of the colored men and to prevent at all hazards their returning to secure their rifles. The cannon had been loaded to the muzzle with grape and canister, and two of the officers detailed to turn them upon the mutineers should occasion require. The commanding officer, with the officers and white non-commissioned officers of the garrison, appeared before the command, and announced to them that their plot had been fully discovered; and

he demanded, then and there, the surrender of the ringleaders. Immediately the companies broke ranks and started for their quarters, where they expected to find their rifles. They discovered, however, that the doors were closed, and at the windows stood the squad of white cavalrymen with their carbines levelled at them. Turning again, they saw that the officers had drawn their revolvers, and that the cannon pointed threateningly in their direction. In terror many fell upon their knees and begged for mercy, others protested their innocence and pointed out the ringleaders, who were quickly secured with the assistance of the guard, which had been carefully selected from the men who could be depended upon, and the mutineers were confined, and in a short time the disturbance was thoroughly quelled.

Such is a brief chapter in the history of colored soldiery in the regular army in 1867. From such discouraging beginnings has developed a military organization of brave and efficient soldiers, who have since then made excellent records for themselves in many deeds of gallantry in battle with the Indians. No longer do the red men throw taunts at the black soldiers, for they have found them foemen worthy of their steel. No longer do officers consider it humiliating to serve in negro regiments. On the contrary, they are favorite commands to-day. The 24th and 25th Infantry, and the 9th and 10th Cavalry are a credit to the U. S. Army. Post schools and devoted and intelligent officers have developed the colored recruit until he has become a trustworthy, brave, and intelligent soldier.

"They love their uniform and take great pride in it—great pride in their bearing. They love to have everything in first-class shape—chest out, and every button shining, and every strap correct, and they'll follow you everywhere you take them. You know they are always right behind you, they don't care what the danger is, so long as they have a white man for their leader, and they won't follow one of their own color across the street to pick apples—you can't make them." This is what an experienced army officer says of them in a recent number of "The Outlook." The fierce battles in Cuba, in which they gained fresh laurels, have not disheartened them. It is the same old story; they have won again the respect of friend and foe. "The colored troops fight bravely."

W. THORNTON PARKER.

THE AWAKENING OF CHINA.*

BY THE REV. JUDSON SMITH, D.D., FOREIGN SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

NOTHING can be more fascinating than the stirring of new life in a great nation or group of nations. The Crusades belong to the Heroic Age of Europe, when a common impulse of faith and adventure swept over Latin Christendom and precipitated great armies of Europeans upon the Holy Land and the East, and sent a reflex wave of superior culture and widening horizons over the new nations of the West. The Reformation of the sixteenth century was the awakening of Europe to new thoughts and life and hope, and called out heroic deeds and movements of deepest import among the nations. No part of English history is so attractive, reveals the greatness of the people so clearly, or gave to English institutions so sure a hold upon liberty and righteousness, as the epoch of the Puritan Revolution. That greatest of modern states is still living in the strength of those heroic days. A new sense of national unity, consecrated to liberty, sprang into quick and conscious being in the war for the Union and is still the dominant note in our national life.

During the last thirty years, Japan has emerged, or, come forth from its seclusion, put off its outworn institutions, renewed its life and set out on a national career full of noble aspirations and of wonderful resources. And the spectacle has commanded the admiring attention of the civilized world. In spite of events in Europe and America of the deepest import and the most surprising sweep, this Sunrise Empire has held the eyes and fascinated the thoughts of the nations, and has found a frank and hearty welcome as she has sued for a place in the circle of the great Powers of the age.

* This article is based upon a visit to China made by the author during the past year.

And now, after the sleep of centuries, we look upon the awakening of China, the stir of new life among her rulers, the impact of new forces upon her social and intellectual institutions. It has been long in coming, many obstacles have been encountered, many more yet remain to be overcome; but the crisis is at hand, and the movement has begun. The forces that have wrought to this end have come from many sources, some without, some within; they have worked without collusion, without mutual recognition, but they have conspired to one end.

The contact and encroachment of foreign powers by commerce and by war; the travels and studies of leading Chinese in foreign lands; the natural effects of freer diplomatic intercourse with other nations; the long, widely spread, persistent and increasing influence of Western missionaries, teaching, embodying and exemplifying their faith and mental culture and spiritual life; these, and things like these, have wrought their work and reinforced each other, and made a steadily deepening impression upon the mind and heart of this vast people. And, at last, the war with Japan, so brilliantly successful on the one side, so humiliating and stunning on the other side, made further inaction impossible, let loose the convictions slowly gathering strength, and demonstrated that new ideas, new forces, new modes of life, must come or the nation sink in ruin. The shock, though rude, was necessary and wholesome, and we are looking upon its first results.

It would be folly to say that all the attention now given to China and the unfolding of her destiny is disinterested; obviously the great powers of Europe are more bent on making their own fortunes than on aiding China in her need, on guarding their own standing and future than on maintaining any interest of China. Nevertheless, the spectacle of China's awakening, which is an open fact, commands the eyes and thoughts of Europe and America. Even though the movement is at the beginning and it is still doubtful whether the Celestial Empire can retain her autonomy and independent development, we cannot turn away our eyes, or draw off our thoughts, or cease to speculate, to hope, to fear, as we consider what issues are involved and what the outcome may be.

This world-wide interest is only just and natural. When we remember the territory involved, more than four million square miles, fronting the sea by a coast line of three thousand miles,

within the temperate zone, of singular variety, fertility and resources; when we recall the people, four hundred millions of souls, one-fourth of the human race, a people of great powers, noble history and rare endurance; when we note these things, it is not strange that our minds are fascinated as the destiny of this great land and people unfolds before our very eyes. No drama of deeper meaning or wider interest has ever been enacted on the great stage of the world's history, and in few has the stake of other nations been so great.

The political elements that enter into the movement are only a part of the whole; the question at issue is not simply who is to possess the soil and rule the people of China. What are the Chinese to become, what part are they to play in the future, what share are they to have in the life and intercourse and thoughts of coming ages? It were strange, indeed, if questions like these were not to stir our hearts and touch our minds with an enduring interest. For the nations of the earth have a common life, and share a common destiny. No nation liveth to itself, and no nation dieth to itself. It deeply concerns America, England, Russia, Germany, France, what becomes of China and her hundreds of millions; in truth, these nations, severally and together, have no small share in determining the fortunes of this oriental world.

Many things conspire to show that the old order is changing, that a new life is rising in this land of seeming stagnation and death. Some of them are due to outside forces acting upon the government or the people, some spring from within, from new thoughts and hopes that agitate the foremost minds of the land. First among these, we note the opening railways in different parts of the Empire. The time is not remote when the effort to lay a railway in China was met by popular uprising and the complete demolition of everything connected with the enterprise. But that time is forever past, and the hand of the imperial government would sternly crush any popular attack upon the railways now building or in actual operation. A road three hundred miles in length, from Peking to Tientsin and thence to the sea, and to extensive coal mines in the northeast, has been built for some years, runs many trains a day and carries thousands of passengers, native and foreign. A line connecting with this, from Peking to Paoting-fu, a hundred and ten miles, has just been completed and put into operation. Shanghai is now connected with its sea-

port, Woosung, by rail. Many other lines are projected, and some of them are sure to be built; from Paoting-fu eight hundred miles southward to Hankow, an interior trunk line, connecting the capital with the rich and populous valley of the Yang-tse-Kiang; from Hankow nine hundred miles southward a continuation of the trunk line from Peking to Canton through the very heart of the Empire; from Paoting-fu some five hundred miles westward to the vast coal measures and iron mines of Shansi, giving these mineral riches access to the sea and to many other provinces; from Tientsin five hundred miles southeastward to Chin Kiang, traversing the fertile and crowded province of Shantung; from Peking three hundred miles northeast to New Chwang, connecting with the great Russian transcontinental line. It is foreign capital that is building these extensive lines; but the Chinese government favors the enterprises and forbids popular molestation. Nothing indicates more sensibly the awakening of the nation, nothing aids and intensifies it more directly. The straight lines of the iron road will compel a readjustment and limitation of the almost omnipresent cemeteries of China, and will pay small respect to the sensibilities of the Dragon god outstretched beneath the ground; the shriek of the whistle, the roar of the trains, will break effectually the sleep of ages, and will set the pulses of the people beating to new feelings and purposes; travel will widen the thoughts of men, and correct ignorance and cement a real unity of life and interest between all parts of the land. The navigation by steam craft of the great interior waterways of China, which is already revolutionizing passenger traffic and the transportation of freight, still further serves the same purpose, and belongs to the same order of things.

Closely related to this quickening of communication is the introduction of manufactures and mining operations. A half-dozen cotton mills, in dimensions like those of Lowell and Manchester, running with full power night and day, are already in operation at Shanghai, a significant beginning of new industries in the Empire. An Anglo-Italian syndicate has obtained a concession for exploiting the vast coal measures and iron mines of Shansi; and the railway projected thence to Paoting-fu will carry their products to the markets of the world. Foreign capital and enterprise are also occupied with these undertakings; but they create a great demand for native labor, they will multiply the

rewards of labor and the comforts of life on a wide scale; they are an incessant assault upon ignorance, and a spur to mental activity and life. That they can exist at all is clear proof that a new spirit has come over the land; their continued existence and growth must shatter superstition in its very centres and give the nation a forward impulse.

A second interesting fact is the appearance of schools of high grade, recognized, if not supported, by the government, in which English is taught, and Western science and history form a part of the curriculum. The Imperial University at Tientsin is an example, where the president and two of the professors are Americans, and where two hundred and fifty students are gathered from many parts of the Empire, and subjected to a discipline essentially the same as that which is given in the colleges of our land. A school of high grade for Chinese girls has recently been organized at Shanghai, where English and science will be taught, with a foreign lady as principal and missionary ladies in the Board of Counsel. These schools are of recent origin, and denote the heightened esteem in which the outside world is held, and are the open windows through which the light of the world's best culture and civilization is streaming in.

Another interesting sign of the times, closely related to this, is the desire for Western learning, and the growth in the number of educated Chinese who are reading Western books. It is well known that the Emperor has ordered to be brought to the palace everything published by the mission presses in the Empire—the Bible, school books in science and history, and other specimens of the world's literature—and that he has read these books. Not a few of the men high in government circles are seeking eagerly for the knowledge which the literature of the world conveys, and are keeping pace with the progressive thought of the times. Even in the anti-foreign province of Hunan officials are found who are caught with the new learning and are eager to explore its treasures and gather its fruits. There is actively at work in China to-day a society for the diffusion of Christian and general literature, translating into Chinese the best things in the literature of the world and circulating them widely among the learned and official class. Its sales are already very considerable, and they are steadily increasing. And a new sentiment toward the outside world, toward government and education, and life itself, is springing up

wherever these fertilizing streams are flowing. This is an agency of revolution and improvement of the very first importance.

The edicts of reform issued within the year by the Emperor are perhaps the most striking evidence of the reality and character of the awakening that is abroad in the land. They indicate remarkable insight into the causes of China's weakness, and equally remarkable courage in applying the needed remedy. The new regulations in regard to government examinations made an absolute revolution in the educational and intellectual standards of the country. Hereafter every candidate for a government degree, all who ever expect to have a share in the government of the Empire, must sustain an examination in the sciences and history of Western nations. This at once created the necessity of schools to teach these branches. A central university is to be opened at Peking, under two presidents, one a Chinese, the other Dr. Martin, many years a missionary of the American Methodist Board. Dr. Martin is charged with the duty of finding teachers for the new subjects and of directing the work of instruction. He must bring in at once twenty or more highly educated foreigners, either missionaries or men of like culture and sentiments. The best men trained in our mission colleges will be in great demand as teachers in the affiliated schools all over the Empire. Temples are to be placed at the service of these secondary schools, the priests to be turned adrift, and government fees support the schools. In all this we have the public recognition that Chinese learning as heretofore regarded is found wanting, and that the learning that thrives in the Occident, which has yielded Japan such resources, which the missionaries have embodied and taught for many decades, must hereafter be the light and mainstay of this mighty nation.

The enforced resignation or imprisonment of the Emperor who sent out this edict will not entirely abolish it or strip it of its power. The Empress, though a powerful woman and the head of the conservative influence, is not believed to be strong enough permanently to arrest this new and progressive force, even if she really desired to do so. The nation is astir with the movement from Burmah to the Great Wall, from the ocean to the Hindoo-Koosh, and the old order can never return.

Other progressive edicts are equally aimed at deficiencies in the political, economical and intellectual conditions of the

land, and propose appropriate remedies. It is marvelous that the Emperor, trained and surrounded as he has been, was led to see these things, to conceive the needed corrections, and actually to give them the support of imperial edicts. Had he measured the forces necessary to carry his plans into effect as wisely as he discerned the needs of the Empire, and had he provided the supports of the new order as skillfully as he applied the needful remedies, he must have led a splendid and successful national transformation. Even as it is, it may be safely said that he has struck out the path that reform must take, if the Empire retains its unity and life.

An editorial in the *North China Herald*,* gives a succint summary of these decrees, and points out the striking fact, which most writers have failed to discern, that every one of them has respect to a radical weakness of China and proposes the true remedy, that no selfish or personal aim attaches to any one of them, but that they seek the public welfare in ways of high intelligence and wide vision. They are not more radical changes than have occurred in recent Japanese history, and if they could have been steadily put into operation the Empire would have reaped a great and lasting advantage. And it is not clear yet that some of the most important changes will not be effected at once, and others, in part at least, after no long delay. Whatever happens, two things have occurred full of significance and hope. A Chinese Emperor has shown himself capable of taking bold and well considered steps toward the thorough modernizing of his government and people. He was supported in these things by a band of the most enlightened and capable of his subjects, who have suffered temporary disabilities with him for their patriotic purposes. A wide and influential circle of men in official positions have sympathized with his aims, and still desire to see the nation guided along these paths of reform. Their numbers and their courage are astonishing, considering the past history of China, and they create a great hope for the future. The reaction that has set in does not represent the best or most vigorous elements in the nation, and it cannot long hold its own. It takes counsel of the fears and superstitions of the people, not of their hopes and aspirations, and it is essentially weak. As Athanasius said of the violent reaction of Julian the Apostate against the new-born Christian faith of the

* October 31, 1898, Shanghai.

Roman Empire, so we may say of the *coup d'etat* which has put the Empress Dowager temporarily in power: *Nebecula est, transibit.* Meanwhile, the capacity of the Chinese to conceive and put into execution great measures of reform has been demonstrated beyond question or doubt.

One additional source and evidence of China's awakening is found in the spread and success of missionary work. This is a liberalizing influence of incessant and unmeasured activity; it is exerted on large numbers, mainly the youth, in all grades of society from the lowest upward, and over a great extent of country. It is a training in knowledge and virtue, according to the world's highest ideals, under conditions favorable for deep and lasting results. It is a leaven cast into the bosom of society, not for a day or a year, but for generation after generation, slowly but surely leavening the whole mass. It reaches further and penetrates deeper, and abides more permanently than any merely external influence. By its very nature the Christian society tends to increase and gather strength, and overcome opposing strength, and become the controlling and inspiring force. Already at not a few points this potent social influence is in the ascendant, in many others it is steadily advancing to the supremacy. There are no minds so eager for the best things, so devoted to the nation's welfare, so proud of China's true glory or so able to lead her on to win and possess it, as those which have been trained in the mission churches and schools from one end of the land to the other. In these centres of aggressive life new China has her camps, her captains and her soldiers of the line. They are making ready to do for her what the churches and schools of Canterbury and Winchester, of London and Oxford, of Lincoln and York, did for England in the seventh and eighth centuries. Any study of China at the present time that leaves these out of the account fails to grasp the whole problem.

Nothing could be more interesting or more important, as revealing the motives and development of the political drama enacted in Peking during the last six months, than a recently reported interview with one of the leaders of the Reform party, Kang Yu Wei, who was fortunate enough to escape the fate which overtook his associates, and reached Hong Kong in safety, where this interview was given. This young Cantonese, well educated, deeply imbued with Western learning and with the ideas of re-

form, belongs to a group of educated Chinese of official rank which has for some time been studying the history and institutions of the outside world, and favoring measures of reform. He has had free access to the person of the Emperor, has conferred with the Emperor about the needs of China, the improvement of the administration and the necessity of important changes. He has, at the Emperor's request, memorialized the throne from time to time on these subjects, and set forth at length practical measures for the betterment of the government and the increase of China's power. He and those for whom he has spoken have gained the confidence of the Emperor, and have encouraged and shaped his growing purpose to reform the government and put China by the side of other nations.

The edicts lately issued by the Emperor, which have betrayed so clear a sense of China's weakness, so sure an instinct of the true path of reform, have embodied many of the points included in these conferences and memorials. The Emperor was taking steps to emancipate himself from the control of the Empress Dowager, to dismiss the old and conservative ministers, who, with the Empress, wished to throttle all attempts at reform, and to call into service younger and progressive men, who would co-operate with him in allying China with the civilization of the West. The substitution of Western science and history for the Confucian classics in the government schools and in the examinations for degrees, may have been prematurely attempted; but it was a magnificent ideal, and applied a radical remedy to the political evils of the Empire. In the intellectual world it is what the railway is in the physical world, the death blow of superstition, the powerful stimulus of progressive life and thought, the open channel of a new national life, and a vital bond between the Celestial Empire and the civilization of the world.

This interview sets Kang Yu Wei before us as a wise student, a far-sighted statesman and a true patriot; he seems to have cherished no personal aims in all his plans, but to have sought his nation's deliverance and strength. The Emperor is also disclosed in an attractive light, as discerning the weakness and needs of the Empire, as seeing how these are to be overcome, and as heartily welcoming the benefits which the Western world has to bestow in its arts and sciences, its learning and faith.

The inherent weakness of the throne is revealed by the course

of events, and it is one of the sacredly cherished aims of Kang and those who share his views, to rescue the Emperor from his present thralldom and to help him reorganize the government upon a sounder and more permanent basis. The letters he has received from the Emperor since their last interview, which he makes public, are pathetic and inspiring. If there is any way by which the present dynasty can be made serviceable to China and the Empire saved from decay, it must be through such plans and measures as this reformer cherishes, reinforced, if need be, by the aid of friendly foreign powers.

The Chinese move slowly, and some have mistaken this fact for inability to move at all. But many things combine to show that changes are firmly maintained if once they have been intelligently made. And the process of educating the Chinese mind in the facts and principles of modern life is now going on upon a wide scale. The outcome of the war with Japan has compelled the governing class to inquire into the causes of Japan's victories, and to study the arts and sciences of the West. The multiplication of scholars in the government schools who know English and are thus brought into contact with the life of progressive nations, tends to the same end. Diplomatic intercourse with the great nations of the world is a constant stimulus to wider knowledge and more liberal views. The efforts of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Literature have multiplied the number of readers of Western books in all parts of the Empire. The influence of the various schools and other labors connected with missionary work has wrought silently, widely and steadily to create enlightened views and to introduce modern ideas of manners and laws and life. And a goodly company of men and women around the numerous and widely scattered mission stations is already in active sympathy with these forces that are awakening the thoughts and modernizing the life and institutions of this great Empire. In this respect, as in so many others, the Emperor's thoughts pursued the path of reality and recognized facts, when he contemplated the substitution of Christianity for the state religion, as the mother and cherishing atmosphere of the best life and arts for the nations.

Everyone who considers the matter carefully must be deeply impressed by the evidence here given that the sentiments of reform have so considerable a hold on the educated young men of

China, and that they are animated by a pure patriotism and high personal aims. It is said that the six companions of Kang Yu Wei who have suffered death at the hands of the Empress, all of high rank and position, friendly to reform, familiar with the life and learning of other nations, might have saved themselves if they had preferred life to honor and country. One of them, Kang Kuang Jên, a brother of Kang Yu Wei, being offered protection in a foreign Legation, is reported to have replied: "No reform can succeed but by the shedding of blood; I am ready to die." Their death for devotion to reform and what they deemed the welfare of the nation, sheds a real lustre on the Chinese name, and adds to the common wealth of the world. A cause for which such men are willing to die cannot perish in their destruction; others will arise with the same spirit to take up their cause, and in a happier time, under more favoring conditions, perchance, will see it carried on to victory, as the principles of the Puritan Revolution, which seemed to be overwhelmed in the Restoration under Charles II., under the tyranny of James II., emerged and reasserted themselves, and set the throne of England permanently in harmony with the freedom of the nation and with righteousness.

The friends of China, nay, the friends of liberty and progress in the earth, must desire to see the autonomy of this great people preserved, their government freed from superstition and inherent weakness and adjusted to the new sentiments and relations of these later times, and its future development carried on under a native dynasty. When we consider this remarkable country—its vast extent, its enormous resources, its imperial position; and the people themselves—so numerous, so capable, so industrious, so fitted for great deeds, with a history prolonged through three thousand years; the reformation of their government, the universal spread among them of the best learning and institutions and faith of the world seem things to be ardently desired, freighted with blessings of supreme import to the world and the ages.

JUDSON SMITH.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE.

BY THE HON. SERENO E. PAYNE, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

"WHOSOEVER commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world, commands the riches of the world, and consequently the world itself."

The fathers were early imbued with the wisdom of these words of Sir Walter Raleigh, and at the very beginning of our national existence adopted measures for the upbuilding of the American merchant marine. They had experience under the restrictive laws of Great Britain, which allowed American ship yards to build nothing larger than sloops that could not take part in the ocean carrying trade to any great extent. Under this policy, prior to the adoption of the Constitution, we were carrying only about eleven per cent. of our foreign commerce in American ships. The First Congress passed an act imposing discriminating duties upon goods imported under a foreign flag. They also imposed enormous tonnage taxes on vessels sailing under foreign flags. On the first of September, 1789, Congress provided that none but American built vessels should receive an American register and carry the American flag. This act has remained in full force until this day; an exception only having been made in the case of the "New York" and "Paris" in 1893.

This last act has afforded complete protection to the coasting and lake trade. Under its fostering influence this commerce has increased to immense proportions. No other nation has any domestic trade that equals it. It furnishes the lowest water transportation in the world. It has been the most potent influence in keeping alive the shipbuilding industry in this country during the last half century.

In 1794 Congress passed an act imposing an additional duty of ten per cent. upon the goods imported in ships or vessels not of the United States. This act, or one substantially like it, has remained on the statute books down to the present day. But it has long since lost its effective force by reason of the treaties made with the different maritime nations of the world.

Down to about 1840 vessels engaged in commerce were built of wood. This gave our nation great advantages. Our forests furnished the raw material for the building of ships at a far less cost than that attainable by any other nation. Once our ship yards were established, this advantage enabled us to build ships cheaper than could any other people. Under these fostering influences, we were soon able to carry from eighty to ninety per cent. of our ocean commerce in vessels under the American flag.

Feeling secure because of this advantage in the cost of building ships, our law makers began to yield up the various protective measures which Congress had enacted. By various treaties, commencing with Great Britain in 1815, we surrendered discriminating duties on imported goods. This was followed by the act of 1828, which provided for the discontinuance of discriminating tonnage duties whenever a reciprocal arrangement of the same nature could be effected with foreign nations. Smaller maritime powers took advantage of this act at once. Great Britain soon followed, and now nearly all the maritime nations have relieved themselves from the burden of this legislation.

In 1838 the practical importance of steam navigation first appeared, with a force which has since revolutionized the ocean carrying trade. Great Britain was quick to see this opportunity. She could build ships equipped with steam power more cheaply than it was possible for us to do in this country. She entered upon a policy of subsidies, and made her first contract for the Cunard line in 1839. The contract provided for four steamships at a yearly subsidy of eighty-one thousand pounds. Increased advantages were given to the Cunard Company in 1846, 1854 and 1858. To offset the effect of this action on the part of Great Britain, Congress passed a subsidy bill in 1845, which continued in force until repealed in 1858. Under these varying conditions, although Great Britain had made considerable inroads in capturing our carrying trade in later years, still we held sixty-six per cent. of it in 1860. Then followed the War of the Rebellion, which drove

half of the American ships from the ocean. Since that time the change in construction of vessels from wood to steel, the cheaper construction in British yards, and the almost entire absence of any legislation to encourage the American merchant marine, has caused a gradual and pitiable decline, until now we carry only about eleven per cent. of the commerce of the United States.

This has entailed a great loss upon our people. The estimated annual freight receipts in our foreign carrying trade is placed at a low figure at one hundred and seventy millions of dollars. This condition means much to all our people. It means the drain of that much gold every year. Could it be distributed in this country, it would add this vast amount toward national wealth. It would go to the artisan, the merchant and the farmer.

The attention of thinking men has been directed for many years to the decline of American shipping and the problem of its restoration. Just now our attention is called to it in a striking manner by the development of Asiatic trade. Japan is furnishing such a market that we are unable to charter ships under any flag sufficient to carry the steel, cotton and other goods required of us. Hastening events are opening wide the doors of trade in China. Now is the opportunity to get into these new markets of the world.

Trade follows the flag. We are ready to compete with the world in everything made from iron, steel and cotton, and a hundred other things. We want a market for the cereal products of the Northwest and the Pacific slope, without sending them to Liverpool, and paying toll to Great Britain, before they reach Asiatic ports. The same is true of the South American markets, both on the Atlantic and the Pacific. To reach these markets now we must send our mail, and often ship our goods, by the way of Liverpool. This is a terrible handicap to our trade. American vessels, manned by Americans, would result in great advantage in marketing American goods. All admit the desirability, from a purely commercial standpoint, of building up our merchant marine.

In case of war between Great Britain and Germany, the ships that carry our commerce would be driven from the sea. We cannot estimate the interruption to commerce, the inconvenience and loss to our foreign trade that would follow. The ad-

vantage, in time of a war of our own, in having great ships that may be turned into cruisers and transports was demonstrated in our late affair with Spain. The four auxiliary cruisers from the American line, thoroughly manned with experienced seamen and engineers, ready for duty at a moment's notice, saved us many times all the money we have ever paid to maintain this line. Panic in our coast marine service followed the starting of Cervera's fleet. The sailing of our merchant cruisers, and the fact that they could locate and report the Spanish fleet, in ample time for Sampson to intercept them, restored confidence and saved our coastwise trade.

The necessity being demonstrated, the question presents itself, What course shall be adopted? Some of our citizens suggest free ships. That would open the door and allow vessels built in a foreign yard to be registered and sailed under the American flag. It is unquestionably true that a steel steam vessel costs more, built in the United States, than on the Clyde. The materials from which it is made, in the advanced state of manufacture at which they are laid down in the ship yard, cost about the same here as in Great Britain. But the difference is in the cost of labor. On the Clyde, the material constitutes about two-thirds the cost of the ship and the labor one-third. In the best ship yards in America, the labor in the yard equals one-half the cost of the ship, while the material equals one-half. In other words, labor here costs fifty per cent. more than the price abroad. Could we employ our American yards to their full capacity, this difference would be greatly reduced. Go further, and give Yankee ingenuity and inventive genius full play in our American yards, and the time will soon come, as it has already come in all processes for the manufacture of iron and steel, when the improved method and machinery will counterbalance the greater wage paid in this country. Already the use of pneumatic tools, an American invention, is doing much to reduce the cost in American ship yards. Certainly it would not seem wise to reverse our policy and close our ship yards with the admission of free ships, just as we are getting in a way to make the best ships that float.

But free ships would not overcome this difficulty. It costs more to run a ship under the American flag than under a foreign flag. Statements made by owners of vessels similar in char-

acter, sailing under the American flag and under foreign flags, giving the details of expenses, show that the sailor of an American vessel receives about double the wages paid to those sailing under the foreign flag, and that by the same owner. A foreign sailor will cross the dock from an English or a Norwegian vessel, and, shipping under the American flag, will demand double wages and the full American bill of fare. Our navigation laws require a better and more expensive fare, and every charge of maintenance is increased. If our ship owners could buy to-day where they please, it would not tend in the least degree to solve the problem.

A return to the discriminating duty of ten per cent. upon all imported goods is suggested. This worked well at the beginning of the century, but conditions have changed. In the first place, we would be required to abrogate all our treaties, for in them we have agreed to make no discrimination of duty. This, by the provision of each treaty, requires a notice of at least twelve months; in many of these it requires a notice of at least two years. It would take over two years to get such a law in operation. Meanwhile, British and German merchants, sending their goods under their own flag, would have become firmly intrenched in the Asiatic markets; and the present opportunity would be lost. Close following upon the abolition of the treaties would come retaliation. Discrimination would be restored against us, if not in tariff, in tonnage and other dues. This method of relief seems impracticable.

Another suggestion has been made, that we pay export bounty upon all the commodities sent out of the country in American vessels. Here, again, we are met with treaty obligations that must be abrogated. But even if these were abrogated, each other country could impose an import duty equal to our export bounty, just as we are to-day doing in our tariff laws upon all bounty paid sugars. Such a provision as this could be so easily met that it is not worthy of consideration.

This leaves, then, as the only alternative, a proposition to equalize the conditions of running American built vessels under the American flag, by the Government paying a sufficient compensation to the owners to make up for the increased cost of seamen's wages, provisions, and so forth, in sailing an American vessel under the American flag. We have already seen that an American built vessel costs more than a vessel built elsewhere.

Having determined what this difference in cost is, we must compensate for the interest on the investment (generally borrowed capital, for which the owner must pay interest), for the insurance, which will cost six per cent. annually on the additional cost, and for the depreciation of the vessel by age, on the basis of the difference in cost. We must add to this the difference of the running expenses of the vessel under the American flag. When we have done this, we have simply equalized the conditions. Nor does this meet the whole question. France is paying a general bounty to all her vessels. Germany is paying large subsidies, both to her lines engaged in the American trade and, by recent contract contemplating the construction of a number of new vessels, a large subsidy for the lines engaged in the Asiatic trade. Great Britain pays large mail subsidies to certain lines, amounting to about five million dollars a year, lines with which our new American merchant marine would come into direct competition. These countries not only have the advantage of cheaper labor, but their shipping has the advantage of these subsidies.

The bill proposed, and now pending in the House of Representatives, "to promote the commerce and increase the foreign trade of the United States, and to provide auxiliary cruisers, transports, and seamen for government use when necessary," has been carefully framed, with a view to meeting the conditions arising from the increased cost of building and sailing an American vessel. With such aid as this bill affords, it is believed that American capital will come forward to meet the requirements of the situation. The bill provides that contracts may be made under it, to run for a period of twenty years, securing payment to owners of vessels plying under the American flag, in annual sums sufficient to equalize the difference in cost of American and foreign ships, and the expense of running them. American ship yards are not prepared to meet at once the emergency and provide sufficient tonnage required for the present condition of affairs in the South American and Asiatic trade. The bill, therefore, allows the registering of foreign built vessels to a limited extent, to receive the benefits of the act, providing that American built tonnage is added in a proportionate amount during the reasonable time named in the bill. It requires of the vessel owners, in return for this compensation, that they carry the United States mail at all times free of charge; that they carry at least

twenty-five per cent. of Americans in their crew; and that the vessels may be used by the Government in times of war. It also requires the instruction of a number of American boys as sailors.

The expenditure under the bill will not be large for the first year. The Commissioner of Navigation estimates that it would amount to about five million dollars in the fifth year, and to eight million dollars in the tenth year of its existence. By a proposed amendment, no contract can be made under the bill after ten years from its passage. The latter figure, eight million dollars, represents the total expenditures of France for a similar purpose in 1897. Great Britain spent as much as six million dollars a year as late as 1870 for a similar purpose, and is spending more than five million dollars now. She spent two hundred and fifty million dollars in fifty years.

The result aimed at is one to be greatly desired. The saving to this country in money paid as freight, would amount to many times the expenditures under this act. The saving in money which must necessarily be paid in carrying our mails, especially as the result of our growing commerce, would prove a large offset to the amount paid under this bill.

As a matter of national defense, the expenditures under the bill will accomplish far more than the like amount of money spent in additions to our navy.

In 1793, Mr. Jefferson, after speaking of the value of the merchant marine from a commercial standpoint, added: "But it is as a resource of defense that our navigation laws will admit neither neglect nor forbearance."

Mr. Arthur Sewall, in advocating this bill before a committee of the House recently, said: "Pass this bill and dot the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific with busy ship yards. Never mind your navy; with the facilities afforded us by these ship yards, we could build a navy in ninety days."

We have reached the period of a new development in American industries. The beginning of the next century will see this nation making giant strides toward capturing the markets of the world. The conditions are all favorable to this. We have reached that stage of perfection in manufacture where our goods recommend themselves. We can make the best. In many lines we can make them at the lowest price, and by improvements in meth-

ods we are swiftly reaching that point in all lines. Brought face to face with the problem of cheap production in supplying our own market, the American mechanic is thinking out the best methods, the best machinery, and is accomplishing the best results.

But we must provide the means of transportation under the American flag.

When we do this, our commercial victory is won, and there can be no limit to our commercial achievement.

SERENO E. PAYNE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE EXISTING COURT-MARTIAL SYSTEM.

THERE is an old saying: "Courts Martial are organized to convict." Recent events in the experience of at least one country across the water, have lent some color of justification to the remark. To the honor of America, be it said that no stigma akin to the Dreyfus outrage has ever scandalized our military courts. To the civilian mind, however, the constitution and procedure of courts martial present some strange anomalies. It is with no desire to criticise that the writer feels impelled to call attention to some of them, but rather with the purpose of asserting the right of a military defendant to the same privileges and safeguards guaranteed to a civilian on trial for alleged offence against the law. Theoretically, there obtains in courts martial the same right to a trial by jury as in courts of law, and the same rules of evidence are adopted; practically, the operation is far different.

First, let us consider the constitution of the court. Once selected by the appointing power, right of challenge is allowed for cause only; military law does not seem to contemplate, nor does the practice, so far as the writer has been informed, permit any preliminary examination prior to the statement of the cause of challenge. It will readily be seen that unknown or latent circumstances affecting the fitness of a member, the presence of which would be revealed only by preliminary examination, are apt by this method to be concealed; and the defendant is at disadvantage in consequence.

Second, the court exercises a dual function: In its judicial capacity, it passes upon all propositions of law; as a jury, it passes upon all matters of fact. It is an anomalous system, which adopts as its basis the rules of evidence as defined by Mr. Greenleaf and other standard legal authorities, and leaves the interpretation and application of those rules to a body of laymen; and whatever may be the ability of the members of the court in their own profession, the system is no less anomalous. No one would expect a lawyer, in the absence of special training, to enter the field of therapeutics and undertake to expound the application of medicine to disease. Why, then, should a soldier or a sailor undertake to interpret the law and apply it to the facts? A good judge, just as a good physician, is the product of many years of exclusive devotion to his profession. Why, then, should a body of gentlemen, whose entire time has been spent in other lines, be invested with judicial functions calling frequently for the most delicate legal distinctions? A lawyer witnessing a parade drill could hardly be expected to pass judgment intelligently upon matters involving the construction of Upton's tactics; no more could a life-long

soldier weigh and pass upon nice distinctions, the drawing of which requires minds trained for that special work. The finest architect in the world would not be competent to decide at a naval review close questions involving nautical tactics. Why, then, should a sailor, whatever his proficiency in his own line, be expected to intelligently pass upon all those nice judicial distinctions, the proper understanding of which has required the closest study of the brightest minds since courts first existed?

It seems strange to a civilian that, in matters involving so much as is frequently at stake in courts martial, good name, or even life itself, the individual who has so much at hazard should be denied that protection which an upright, learned bench in civil courts always affords to a defendant, however petty may be the matter in dispute. Assuming that the military and naval officers composing courts martial are always conscientious, diligent and at the head of their professions, the disadvantage of a court martial defendant as compared with the defendant in criminal or civil courts still exists.

In this connection it may be proper to refer to another factor entering into court-martial decisions, and I do so with all proper respect. Officers in the army and navy have a very sensitive and punctilious regard for all matters of professional etiquette and the traditional amenities of their official life, the violation of which so often forms the basis of courts martial. It is well that such a sentiment exists; the writer is not complaining of it, but merely calling attention to its existence as a factor entering into this discussion. Members of courts martial are human; they are as apt as other men of like probity and moral stamina to be influenced unconsciously by preconceived ideas born of special education along the lines just referred to; and such ideas are quite liable to ripen into opinions, even before the trial occurs. It therefore follows that, unknown to themselves, the members of a court martial may enter upon the trial with a latent prejudice against the accused. Repugnance against the offense has developed into repugnance against the alleged offender. The very fineness and delicacy of this sense of official etiquette has thus become an obstacle to the free operation of justice; and the stronger the moral tone of the subject, the more unconsciously this influence works, and the more difficult it is to locate and resist it. An additional reason is thus seen why men so situated should not be made judges of the law as well as of facts; some check should be provided, such as the civil courts afford, and this brings us to the next point in our discussion.

Third, the Judge Advocate has a dual function. The defender of the present system will doubtless say at this juncture that the legal rights of the accused are preserved by the Judge Advocate. Now, the Judge Advocate, when accused has no counsel, arranges in proper shape the evidence of the accused, and presents the same, and in all cases advises the court on points of law, and acts as prosecutor also, which is his first and chief duty. This is a difficult *rôle* for the most upright man, however well poised he may be intellectually, and whatever his professional ability. In order that this peculiar conjunction of duties may not operate disastrously to the defendant, the Judge Advocate must be a perfect man. Prosecutor he is, first and chiefly, in practice at least, whatever he may be in theory; he is also, as his name implies and his duties confirm, a *quasi* judge advising upon points of law—these two always; and sometimes, also, the protector of the accused, when no counsel is present. In law courts, ethics, as well as common sense, forbid a man to be counsel on both sides of the case. The

reasons are too apparent to require discussion. Furthermore, a judge will not sit on a case in which he has at any time been counsel. Thus careful and delicate is the law, in drawing the line for the protection even of property interests, however small, as well as in matters wherein the higher claims of name, fame and life itself are involved. Why should the position of a defendant in a court martial be less advantageous than that of a defendant in a court of law? As I have intimated, if all Judge Advocates were perfect men, then, and only then, would the present system operate fairly to the defendant. We may assume that a Judge Advocate is subject to the frailities and motives characteristic of the race. Now an advocate is a partisan; and so also is a prosecutor; a judge must not be a partisan, whatever else he may be. The Judge Advocate's functions are incongruous, when considered even theoretically; when considered practically, they are not only incongruous, but dangerous to justice as well. A prosecutor desires conviction; a lawyer wants to win his case. When a prosecutor is invested with semi-judicial functions, so that he may advise the court as to the competency or relevancy of testimony introduced by himself, as well as by his opponent, and is still expected to at all times discharge that function properly and righteously, a difficult task is set for human brain and human heart.

Again, a good advocate requires one order of intellect; a good judge requires another. Few names which are luminous on the bench shine with equal brilliancy from the bar; and *vice versa*. Human experience has shown how widely different is the endowment for a judge from that required for an advocate; and that wide difference constitutes a gulf which should forever divide the one function from the other. For one man, whatever his endowment of mind or soul, to be clothed with both functions in the same case, is to ignore the lessons of human experience and to gravely imperil the administration of justice. A perfect man could hardly respond to the demand; and Judge Advocates, it may be assumed, are not perfect.

But it may be argued that, while the Judge Advocate may advise the court on matters of law, the court is not bound thereby, but has full power to decide all questions for itself. It is true that such power exists, but it exists without the proper legal knowledge necessary for its accurate and intelligent exercise; and power without knowledge is the most dangerous kind of power; it is worse than impotence. The power of a mob is power without knowledge. The good name, liberty or life of no American citizen should hang upon such a slender thread.

It is not the province of the writer, or necessarily within the range of this discussion, to indicate the remedy for these apparent evils. A few suggestions, however, may not seem altogether out of place.

First: Extend the right to challenge members of the court, and alter the rules of examination permitted, so as to have a system similar to that in civil courts.

Second: Abolish the judicial functions of the members of the court, and confine them strictly to the jury function.

Third: Let the Judge Advocate be a prosecutor only.

The adoption of the above suggestions would involve provision for certain conditions arising as a consequence of the changes. For instance, the judicial function denied to the members of the court must be represented otherwise. In trials for offences reaching a certain magnitude, the nearest Federal judge might be called in to pass upon points of law; in trials for

lesser offences, some person skilled in the law might be regularly employed by the government to act in the judicial capacity, and with that as his sole duty; or other courses might be pursued, such as should seem best calculated to procure the results desired. We have to do with the abolition of the evil, not the suggestion of a remedy; for the evil once clearly recognized, the government will discover the remedy and be quick to apply it.

We have the most superb army and navy on this earth: in courage, in *morale*, in proficiency, intelligence and patriotism, no finer bodies of men exist anywhere. Their achievements gleam like stars in the firmament of our national glory; they deserve the best we can give them in all things—the best ships, the best guns, food, clothing, the best protection. And the best protection means not only armor for their ships and walls for their forts; they are entitled to protection in life, liberty and reputation. These men did not leave behind them all these things, so dear to every citizen, when they entered the army or navy; in proceedings where all or any one of these three jewels of American citizenship are involved, the soldier and the sailor should be given the same privileges and should be hedged about with the same safeguards as are demanded by the law for the protection of all other American citizens.

EARL M. CRANSTON.

HOW HOLLAND HELPS THE HELPLESS.

THIS is an age when man has assumed the office of his brother's keeper more vigorously, perhaps, than at any previous period. Sociology—the science of living so as to obtain for all and from all the best results of living—engrosses public attention as much as it did in that theory vortex of the French Revolution, with this difference—the application of theories is insisted upon more strongly than their evolution. It is well, then, to turn our eyes to an object lesson presented by the most practical nation on earth. The difficult problem of assisting the poor without pauperizing them seems to have been successfully met by the Dutch. A model in miniature exists of a community where those who have lost their hold on prosperity are re stored to at least a semblance of self-support, family ties are preserved, education is afforded the young, and, in short, the utmost possible is made of the most unpromising material.

The Poor Colonies of Holland, four in number, are not, as might be supposed, a government institution, though at one time co-operation with the government was attempted which resulted quite injuriously to the undertaking. These colonies owe their origin entirely to a Society of Beneficence ("*Maatschappy van Veldadigheid*"), organized in 1818 to meet the exigencies of destitution entailed on Holland in common with the rest of Europe by the wars of the Napoleonic era. After passing through many vicissitudes and various stages of growth, the charitable enterprise at present consists of property to the amount of a little over 5,000 acres of land in the heart of the country, Steenwyk, the nearest town, being five miles distant.

Every subscriber or group of subscribers paying into the treasury of the Society the sum of $20.40 annually, is entitled to send a family to one of the four colonies, which are named respectively Frederiksoord, Wilhelminasoord, Willemsoord, and, wherefore is unknown, Colony Number Seven. The necessitous individual forced to enter on life as a beneficiary of the Society is provided with a home for himself and his family; also with the

immediate necessities of living, and, above all, with work, from the proceeds of which he begins to repay in small weekly installments the advances made to him. Wages such as are current at the time in the neighborhood are paid weekly, and there is deducted from them, as an installment on the debt, house rent, not exceeding twenty cents, one cent infirmary fee for each inmate of the home, four cents for a clothing fund, and a sum amounting to ten per cent. of the gross earnings for a reserve fund against family emergencies. A valuable contribution to each household is the ewe sheep provided by the colony, and also to be paid for by due economy. Its milk, equal to goat's milk in quality, supplies food, and its wool is woven into garments. The family, it will be observed, is always maintained in its entirety, the importance of the family life being, as is known, ever highly esteemed in Holland, while the large infusion of Jewish blood into the Dutch is believed to have also a strong and favorable influence upon the system.

"No idleness" is the watchword of the colony. Children even while apprentices are taught to make salable articles, which are purchased from them, the compensation being proportioned to the excellence of the workmanship, and each child, when not engaged in learning a trade, must attend school. It is a curious fact that, though the free school originated within the borders of Holland, school attendance is compulsory in these colonies only, so dear is the liberty of the individual held.

Two years of successful probation as a workman on the farms of the colony, or in its shops or factories, entitle a man to an individual farm, of 7.7 acres (small enough in our eyes, but in Holland large enough and fertile enough to support a family), and to the franchise of the colony. That of the State is his inalienable right, in common with every other descendant of "the free Frisians," but he thus becomes a voter upon the affairs of his little world—a "vrijboer" in fact. If his occupancy of his farm should begin in mid winter, the new farmer is furnished with fodder for five months, enough rye to sow 2.4 acres, and 33 bushels of potatoes—these being charged to him on account. At other times he inherits some planted crops.

The best advice as to the character of produce to which his land is adapted is constantly at hand, for the government has located one of its agricultural experiment stations within the limits of the Society's domain, and inspectors of the colony visit him to see if the utmost possible is being obtained from the farm. A cow is also supplied him, and the manure, if carefully husbanded, will save him the expenditure of $14 yearly for fertilizers required by the regulations. For rent he pays $20 annually, and $4 upon his indebtedness. For each payment tendered before it is due a remittance of 10 per cent. is made, and every inducement is held out to encourage thrift and stimulate industry.

The farmer is lord of his own land, with the understanding merely that he will use it to the best advantage, and he has a vote in the election of the four delegates to the council of the colony which co-operates with the Director, Secretary and Treasurer in the management of its affairs. His tenure is life-long, except in the case of flagrant misconduct, and widows have frequently retained farms and continued to work them.

The Society endeavors to have all the houses alike and each plot of ground as desirable as every other. After the Holland fashion, the stable, barn and house of the farmer are all under one roof, but they are all subjected to the proverbial Dutch cleanliness. The combined structure

shelters the family, the cow and the products of the farm. The dwelling part has two rooms—one being the kitchen and dining-room, and the other the parlor and bedroom. The bedroom feature is concealed, for, according to the local custom, the beds are shelves in a closet, so that when the closet doors are closed during the day no suggestion of a bed appears.

That the colonists are happy and contented is shown by the fact that during 1894, out of 284 heads of families living under the wing of the Society and, in a measure, on its bounty, not one farmer left, and only three laborers failed of their promotion to the dignity of a farm.

The average expense to the Society for each member of the colonies yearly is $9, and in many cases the amount is less. In 1895 there were 1,826 residents in the four colonies, of which 199 families belonged to the farmer class and eighty-five families to what may be called the probationary. Thirty-five births had taken place during the previous year, twenty-four deaths had occurred, and forty-six young men had left for work outside.

And here we come to the most important feature of the colony—the future of the children born or brought into it. Charity has made further provision that the helplessness of the parent shall not handicap youth in its preparation for the battle of life. In addition to the public schools established by the State, technical or professional schools exist, endowed by General Van Swieten as a memorial to a departed son. And a nobler gift never was known, for in these institutions agriculture, horticulture and forestry are taught, there being 943 acres of forest land within the bounds of the colonies, and pupils are paid for work done in the course of their education. Thorough training in forestry, as is well known, is almost security for a position in Europe, and, in addition to profit, many refining influences enter through the cultivation of flowers. And every year there are competitive exhibitions of produce, stock and general farm conditions, in addition to floral displays, with prizes for the winners. The best results, as a rule, are obtained with colonists coming from rural districts or from the smaller towns, and, it may be added, that proportionately more money comes to the charity from the same sources.

The people who come to avail themselves of the benefactions of the colony have generally led a life of hardship and privation, so that they early reach a helpless old age. To minimize their sufferings an "Old Folks' Rest" has been built, which is supported in part by the Society and in part by the more thrifty and generous of the colonists.

The reader must not assume that this novel Dutch experiment of directing the poor in ways of industry and economy has become as yet self-supporting. Such is not the case. At the close of each year each individual under its protection owes the Society $1.54, besides what has been supplied him on account; or, if this debt also be included, he owes about $12. But the condition of the average tenant has been greatly ameliorated. He has been able to command many comforts and some luxuries which are ordinarily beyond the reach of the very poor, and his children have been taught habits of thrift and a degree of self-reliance, self-respect and ambition which, but for the friendly guardianship of the Society, they would never have known. Whether the constant expense which the enterprise entails upon its generous sponsors will be diminished as time passes is uncertain; but all friends of good order and good government may well ask themselves the question whether the destitute of any land can be cared for less expensively. In any case, the prime consideration is its compre-

hensive humanity and the serious and momentous fact that, instead of multiplying beggars, this charity multiplies citizens, the children of the first tenant almost always acquiring an energetic and provident spirit which renders them independent of all assistance.

BESSIE B. CROFFUT.

OUR FISH SUPPLY AND ITS DEFICIENCIES.

LAST year, according to Cousin Bull's sombre publications, aptly termed blue books, there were landed upon his shores nearly 800,000 American tons of fresh fish, but for our knowledge of Uncle Sam's supply we must await his census; he enlightens us only once a decade. London's consumption of fish in 1896 was nearly 221,000 tons, whereof two-thirds was haddock. We prodigal Americans do not itemize our transactions so particularly, there being no figures, census or otherwise, indicative of the consumption of Greater New York. Its approximation, however, to that of the British Metropolis is unlikely, despite the superiority of our table fish, our two favorites, cod and bluefish, excelling in such regard the lowly haddock and herring, that respectively lead in London. Popular choice, however, is governed by its purse, but no European epicure has our command of such marine delicacies as Spanish mackerel, pompano, sheepshead, shad, red snapper and whitefish, all ordinarily of moderate price. Nevertheless, the British flatfish are worthy objects of our envy, especially the turbot, brill, and, above all, the peerless sole, with which we have nothing to compare. Our repeated efforts to establish this gastronomic treasure in our waters have been abortive, but it is regularly imported, retailing at seventy-five cents a pound. In our off-shore waters there is no lack of fine flatfish, but beam trawling, as practiced by the British, is expensive, and we have so many other species of fish that are finely flavored, abundant and cheap that it will not pay to drag the sea bottom, even for the rich harvest that awaits such gathering. Among these choice objects of our neglect is the pole flounder, practically unknown in our markets, but which, in flavor and quality, almost equals the kingly sole. Some day our score species of nearby flatfish, together with other neglected but easily obtainable deep-sea species, will be accorded their meed of public favor, and vast stores of finny provision, now lying undisturbed, will enlarge and vary our dietary. With a diversion to the fisherman of a due proportion of the profits now absorbed in inefficient marketing methods, a long-hoped-for and not improbable reform, our many fallow fishing grounds can become the basis of profitable operations.

The alimentary value of fish is indisputable; it is wholesome and nutritious, and in its wide range of quality and flavor affords gratification to the coarsest as well as to the most refined palate. Moreover, in primary cost, it is the cheapest of flesh foods, and should, therefore, be the universal aliment, everywhere a staple dish upon the family board. To most, however, it is substantially a luxury; in many localities it is not obtainable fresh, and so falls into public disfavor; but even where presented in acceptable condition, the accommodation is usually effected with difficulty and expense, involving a corresponding limitation of sale. Thus it is that the consumer is dissatisfied, the dealer is not content, and the producer, the poor fisherman, rightly bewails his lot, for he profits least. It can be truthfully said that there is no branch of civilized effort wherein the producer receives so small a proportion of the ultimate or consumer's price, as does the toiler

of the sea for the unchanged product of his labor. Our New England fisheries have declined one-third in value within the last fifteen years for lack of a remunerative market, and yet proper facilities of distribution would enable the thriving millions of our inland population to absorb the entire catch at advanced prices. The meagreness of the returns will be appreciated by the following quotations of recent wholesale prices: In 1897 the average price of haddock in London was about two cents a pound, the rate in Boston and New York closely approximating the British, and in the two American cities cod has frequently been quoted at the same figure. Abroad, the marketing of catches of herring for less than a cent is a common occurrence, and in this country so scant is the pecuniary return that a portion is converted into fertilizers. All that the Irish fishermen received last year for their catch of mackerel was, upon an average, less than one and a half cents. At the height of every season upon the Columbia River shad falls to a cent, much of the catch being thrown away, a common disposition of fish that fails to command a remunerative price. In July and August last the following staple fish, in prime condition, were more or less frequently quoted at a cent a pound—bluefish, weakfish or squeteague, porgies or scup, pollock, mullet and yellow perch; and from such prices the inefficiency of our marketing methods may be inferred.

It should be remembered that this is the day of the refrigerator car, the cold storage warehouse and the chill chambered ship; that from Chicago and from remote Argentina, Australia and New Zealand many millions of carcasses of beeves, sheep, rabbits and poultry annually reach London in excellent condition, and finally, that such portion of the carnal aliment as is transported in a chilled, rather than a refrigerated state, is received by the British consumer in even better flavor and quality than when first embarked upon its voyage of thousands of leagues. The great mass of the American people are ignorant of the excellence of their many varieties of marine fish, and are denied the opportunity, for lack of obtainable facilities, of giving them the appreciation that is their due. Nor does the limited fraction of the public that is so favored command its finny luxuries at a reasonable price; every housekeeper is sensible that her market bills diverge widely from the average rates accorded the retailers, whose rendered accounts never hint at a tumble of bluefish to a cent a pound.

The fishmonger is the public's servant, and it must be said, in justice to him, that his master is capricious and exacting, indisposed to go out of his way to secure any advantage of service, but, whenever the humor seizes him, must be accommodated at his very door. Co-operation with the factor in marketing a big catch is not to be thought of; the customer will not be troubled in any way, and, if incommoded, easily avails himself of a varied market to effect a satisfactory substitute. The business talent and splendid organization that have so amazingly developed the meat industry of Chicago and of the West could probably achieve results almost as wonderful if directed to the systematic distribution of our fresh fish. Not only would millions of our vast population be thus benefited by their easy attainment of a cheap, wholesome and palatable flesh food, but the declining fisheries of our Atlantic seaboard would be revived, inland transportation and other distributive industries would be stimulated, and capital find a field of profitable as well as beneficent employment. France expends annually immense sums in bounties to her fishermen, with the object of maintaining a nursery of seamen for her naval marine. It would seem judicious to provide for the

probably increased future requirements of our navy, not by wasteful subventions to our fisher folk, but by promoting the establishment of a home market for the much-needed product of their languishing industry.

It is the fastidiousness of the appetite of civilization, perhaps equally with increase of population, that excites the concern of thoughtful men as to the adequacy of our future wheat supply. For the civilized world is becoming a hive of bread and meat eaters; it is forsaking the food staples of its fathers and cleaving unto new idols; it is the nicer taste, in addition to the multiplication of its peoples, that causes consumption to tread so closely upon the heels of a production that has discernible limits. Half a century ago potatoes were the mainstay of the mass of the Irish people, oatmeal was the earlier dependence of the Scotch, and to-day as yet unjoined to the ever swelling army of breadeaters, we find, even in our Southern States, a frequent retention of the ancestral "hominy and hoe cake" to the exclusion of the modern staff of life. The rate of individual meat consumption has increased as markedly as that of wheat, but it is likely that the limit of the production of edible flesh will be sooner attained than that of the leading cereal. The ultimate absorption by our steadily increasing population of the large surplus of wheat now exported seems certain, with the inevitable result of establishing a higher range of prices. No food return from land is so scanty and unprofitable as that derived from the raising of cattle, and the conversion, therefore, of much grazing into cultivated land, with a consequent meat scarcity, may be anticipated as the natural outcome of a probable permanent advance in wheat. From the inexhaustible sea we could, however, continue to reap a harvest of unfailing abundance, for in its depths lie, as yet undisturbed, vast reservoirs of excellent but unfamiliar food fish. We have ventured only to the threshold of the treasure house of the deep, but its future revelations of novel alimentary wealth will enrich the dietary of our posterity, and form an ample store of varied sustenance.

The popular preference for meat, while to some extent due to its variety of culinary adaptation, is based in greater degree upon a confidence in its superior sustaining and stimulating power. This confidence is probably not misplaced, for the tendency of a meat diet to make animals savage, as well as the greater restlessness of carnivora in general, would indicate that it was a greater nervous excitant than fish, the latter being served as fodder to cattle in Norway and formerly also upon Cape Cod, without apparent impairment of the animal's temper. Upon human beings unused to meat its effects are more noticeable, and as to the confirmed eater of animal flesh it is asserted that his pulse is quicker and his average life shorter than that of the total abstainer. While a larger consumption of fish would perhaps be to the dietetic advantage of our nervous civilization, it is more evident that land adapted to the agricultural support of human beings cannot be indefinitely devoted to the raising of cattle. Such wasteful occupation will cease whenever the multiplication of humanity demands the fullest cultivation of its available soil, and thus it may reasonably be anticipated that meat and not fish will occupy the subordinate place in the dietary of the future civilization. We know not how the problem of the sustenance of its ever-increasing millions will be faced by our posterity, but we may rest assured that while the maintenance of an adequate food supply may absorb more of human effort than at present, it will not be until that effort is relaxed that gaunt famine will stalk through a decaying world.

A. H. GOURAUD.

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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE.

BY DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

HOWEVER slow or intermittent the process may prove, there is no longer any reason for doubting that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire is inevitable, and that, in the least changeful land of "the changeless East," a new constitution, a new method of maintaining political life, as it were, has to be devised or discovered. China, unlike Japan, has put off the reform of her own house so long that the chance of executing it in her own manner, and without losing independence of action, has passed away irrevocably, while the problem itself as to how the three or four hundred millions of the Chinese race are to be brought into line with the rest of humanity has been rendered more difficult by international competition, and by the acute stage to which that competition has been brought through the consequences of the Japanese war. Five great powers are already in occupation of portions of Chinese territory, and it is notorious that the points acquired are regarded chiefly as bases from which further aggressions may be committed, or zones, more or less exclusive, of commercial and mining rights secured. If there were any indication of vigor in Chinese life, or even of the possession of that fatalistic courage which obtained for Turkey the other day a fresh period of existence, the presence of the aspiring inheritors

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of the Middle Kingdom at the door of the death chamber would not matter, because it would not hasten the fatal moment. But under the actual circumstances it is different. It is not merely that what has been taken has whetted the appetite for more, but that the ability to strike quickly when reparation has to be obtained for the hostility of Chinese mobs, the perversity of the mandarins, and even the sluggishness of the central government, has brought into vogue new methods of diplomacy that must accelerate the process by which China will gradually break into pieces. The murder of a missionary or a merchant, in a remote province entirely beyond the control of the central government, may now well entail the loss of a whole province and hasten the arrival of the general cataclysm.

As to how the dissolution of China will be effected, or among whom the immense carcass of the moribund empire will be divided, it is too soon to speak; but I have thought it right to place at the front of this article the main conclusion to which my study of the question has led me, and that is that the dissolution of the Chinese Empire is inevitable and not remote. It is from that point of view that I would ask the American public to consider this great question of our far East, which they are now for the first time seriously approaching from their far West, and with regard to which they cannot help being an important and perhaps a deciding factor.

At a moment when words of peace are on the lips of the masters of armed millions, it is proper to note that the change that has come over the fortunes of China is entirely due to operations of war, and that in an exceedingly short space of time it has been debased from a position of proud, and seemingly secure, isolation into one of such utter prostration and helplessness as to be the apparent prey of the first or the boldest adventurer. The Japanese war exposed the military weakness and unpreparedness of China, but the most severe blow it dealt the security of that country was in showing that there did not exist any real patriotism among its inhabitants. The American war with Spain is also not without its influence on the ultimate fate of China, for it has placed the American people in possession of the great Philippine archipelago, which will justify, and even necessitate, the United States Government in asserting a voice in the decision of China's destiny. Even international peace conferences will not secure for

China gentler treatment than she can establish a right to, and in the contest of pretensions those who would be moderate will be forced by the more exacting into measures of aggrandizement. Thus, for instance, it is clear that the British Government has reached the limit of patience with which it can regard the progress of French influence in Southern China. If France, with or without adequate cause, obtains further concessions in Kwangsi and Yunnan, England will in her turn have to secure compensation in Yunnan and Szechuen itself, so that the road of Anglo-India to the Yangtse-Kiang shall not be barred. But for China the result must be a double loss of territory and diminution of authority.

Passing from a general consideration of the question to specific points, we find that Russia enjoys a position more favorable than any other power for the absorption of large portions of Chinese territory on the dissolution of the old empire. Whereas other governments will have gravely to consider how far the acquisition of Chinese as subjects may be regarded as beneficial, or even as prudent, Russia has fear of no such questions in the early stages of her operations, for the regions that lie immediately at her disposal are thinly populated. In Kashgaria and Mongolia, Russia has to conquer an expanse of territory, and not a closely packed people; even in Manchuria there is, despite Chinese immigration of late years, no dense population. Russia knows very well that no Power is likely to make the occupation of any of those Chinese dependencies a *casus belli*, however much several Powers may insist on obtaining compensations at the expense of China for those Russian spoliations, when secured. Her decision to carry these projects into effect will depend on the stage reached by the great Trans-Siberian Railway and by her other means of communication in Asia. She has planted by sea her strong garrison at Port Arthur, but she will not be disposed to move until she has completed the railroad linking it with Europe. When she does move, we must recognize that she will not need to strike a blow for the whole of the Chinese posssessions outside the Great Wall to fall into her lap. Russia will be as firmly planted on the vast trans-mural possessions of the Empire as the maritime Powers will be on the sea, when the final break-up takes place. This prospect is the more certain of realization because England has not the will or intention to prevent it, and Japan has not the power.

The possession of this exceptional position by Russia, coupled with the deflection of the Siberian railway from the original Vladivostok route to the one traversing Manchuria and Liaotung, was the root cause of China's break-up. It becomes, therefore, the imperative duty of those who have a vital interest in preventing China's becoming a Russian dependency, to neglect no means of averting so dire a calamity for the rest of humanity as would be the passing into the hands of an aggressive military power of the largest, and perhaps the finest, recruiting ground in the world. What, it may be asked, are the other States interested to do, when it is admitted that no one is likely to oppose Russia in the early stages of her operations? The answer to this question is very simple. While Russia is preparing the way for the conquest of China, those who are bound to hope for the failure of her plans can either themselves absorb some of the provinces of China, and thus anticipate her, or, better still, they can either undertake themselves the defence of China or co-operate with some new Chinese government in that object. For the execution of this arrangement it is only necessary that England, the United States and Japan should come to an agreement and form a plan for concerted action. The moment for proceeding to action has not arrived, but the hour for planning and agreeing as to what the action shall be is certainly with us.

There is the choice of two courses. We can take that of indemnifying ourselves, at the expense of China, for the ambitious acts and intentions of Russia. In that case England will take under her protectorate the provinces between Shanghai and Hankow watered by the Yangtse-Kiang; America will secure some point, perhaps Foochow or Amoy, perhaps both, and claim the hinterland; Japan will appropriate Tientsin and Pechili. In respect to a policy of indemnification, such seizures of territory would be a very solid compensation for anything Russia could obtain on her side; and, as the three countries would bind themselves to defend each other's possessions, Russia would find herself in face of a formidable triple alliance. There are, however, serious objections to this course. In the first place, the three States would voluntarily and precipitately commit themselves to a policy of conquest, which may indeed become inevitable, but for which none of them, it can truly be said, is eager. In the second place, the annexation, or even the severance from Peking, of such

large parts of Chinese territory would signify the break-up of the Empire, without giving the inhabitants of many parts of it—those provinces that would lie outside the sphere of Anglo-American-Japanese action—any better government in the place of that destroyed. Each Power would have to extend its operations over a much wider area, and to embark on adventures that it had never contemplated. The establishment of European systems of government among the millions of Chinese, by conquest, is a problem difficult and dangerous enough in itself, but practically hopeless of solution if attempted in a partial or half-hearted manner. Russia, with Oriental ways and no scruples, may be impelled to make the attempt; but even she would only succeed on the condition that she merged herself in the subjugated Chinese, at the same time that she increased their administrative efficiency and military power, without raising them to a much higher level in the scale of civilization.

For these reasons, the policy of the actual occupation of parts of China, or, to use simple words, of partial conquest, is likely to be held in reserve, until it be seen whether there are not some means of saving China by and for herself. This latter attempt can the more reasonably be put into effect because, even if it fails, it might constitute the first stage of the more vigorous and definite policy.

A policy of saving China against complete and irretrievable dissolution can only hope to meet with success by the exercise of patience, and by clearing the ground. It is quite clear that China cannot be saved by means of the existing Chinese government and Manchu dynasty. Both are hopelessly decayed and moribund. The ruling caste stands pledged to opposition to reform, and the whole of the Imperial Manchu clan is thinking of nothing but the preservation of its own privileges and allowances as a first charge on the resources of the State. The Empress Dowager is the proclaimed enemy of reform; Li Hung Chang, the champion of sham reforms, has no influence, and will never possess any again; all the Manchu princes are leagued in a solid phalanx against British influence, because under that head is classed the efforts, or at least the suggestions, being made for the regeneration of China. The young Emperor made his effort as a reformer in company with Kang Yu Wei, and it sealed his fate. When he ceases to live, a child will be placed on the throne, so that those

in power may remain undisturbed. The first point to be cleared up is that the existing government of the Manchus is beyond reclamation. It is moribund in itself, and the sooner some other institution is discovered to take its place and do its work the better it will be for China and for us. There is neither obligation nor necessity for us to contribute towards its downfall, but we have to accept the fact of its weakness and unworthiness as the justification for our search for something better in the way of an administration and a responsible government in China.

If the dynasty and existing *régime* cannot be utilized for the benefit of China's true interests, it necessarily follows that nothing can be accomplished at Peking, which is entirely in their hands. Russia will be supreme there, because her policy is to pander to the people who wish to keep China in a weak and disorganized state. To concentrate our efforts on that spot of the Chinese Empire would be to play the game of Russia, and one, moreover, from which she would be sure to emerge as victor. Peking has always been the capital chosen by a northern race of conquerors, and the national Chinese dynasties hâve always fixed the seat of their authority far to the south, and more often than elsewhere in the valley of the Great River. It is nearly twenty years since General Gordon advised the Chinese to transfer the capital to Nanking, which is for many reasons the best site that could be selected in China. It is central, it occupies a splendid position on the finest navigable river in the country, and it possesses traditions as the residence of the Ming dynasty which would make it a popular selection with the Chinese. The Chinese have to be encouraged to devise for themselves a new government, and the first step is to provide them with a rallying point. Shanghai, but for international claims and competitions, would be the best choice, and under all the circumstances preference must be given to Nanking. The reader must not suppose these are theoretical propositions; they are indications of what will be attempted, and I may even go so far as to say that has been begun.

If Manchu influence is supreme in the north, such is not the case in the Yangtse Valley. At Nanking and at Hankow are installed two Viceroys who are not Manchus, or the slaves of the Empress Dowager, or the tools of Russia. Liu Kun Yi and Chang Chih Tung, the Viceroys at those two places, are not perhaps the men of blood and iron of whom China stands in need, but they

are honest and well meaning, and they realize the dire straits to which their country is reduced. It is uncertain, and Lord Charles Beresford's mission has not cleared up the point, whether they have yet been brought to see that the acceptance of English advice and the co-operation of British officers furnish the best means toward insuring an improvement in the lot of the whole nation. However alarmed and anxious, they are still typical Chinese, wedded to the past; they shrink from so bold a measure as rebellion against the constituted Imperial authority. On the other hand, they know that that authority has at this moment no real value, that the young Emperor is a prisoner in his own palace, if he is not in his coffin, and that the directors of the ship of state pay no heed to its course or its security. They have also their personal grievances. Their advice has not been heeded, and their provinces have been saddled with the charge of the whole of the Anglo-German loan of sixteen millions. Notwithstanding these considerations, they may still decline to take the lead in a new movement. They are free in this matter to follow their own judgment, but they will be obliged to come to an immediate decision on the practical point submitted them—that is, the training by British officers of a small body of Chinese troops at both Hankow and Nanking. It is to the formation of such a contingent in the Yangtse Valley, at Wei Hai Wei and Hongkong, that we must look as one of the first and best means of insuring China's stability. The precedent of the Ever Victorious Army is there to show that the Chinese can be converted into excellent soldiers.

At the same time, the creation of the modest military force referred to, supplemented by a British river flotilla, is not enough for the occasion. Russia has not yet broken over the frontier, but if we wait until she has actually done so it will be too late to form any plan. The Philo-Chinese Powers, of whom England, by her position, takes the lead, are bound to be ready in good time. The contingent should be formed with regard to political considerations, as well as on a military basis. It might be made the nucleus of a political and social, as well as of a military, reform. As the force would be practically independent of the Peking authorities, it should have a distinctive badge, and none would be more effective for the immediate purpose, or for that of increasing the confidence of the Chinese in the advent of a new era, than the

selection of one that would signify a social development. For two centuries and a half the pigtail has been the badge of conquest. The new force should give up the token of defeat and subjection and, like the Taepings, be allowed, or, rather, compelled, to wear the hair long. The consequences of this simple project would be far reaching, and the reformed troops would be the forerunners of a civil reform propaganda which would include the abolition of the contortion of women's feet, and of an antiquated system of education and public examination.

Enough has been said on this branch of the subject to show that there is no necessity yet to think of the conquest of China. We have to develop the latent sources of strength in it for the purpose of its preservation, and the task need only be abandoned when experience has shown it to be futile. Two movements of an exactly opposite nature may be looked to, to accelerate the progress China will make towards either deliverance or subjection. The first is the introduction of foreign capital for the construction of railways, the working of mines, and for other public works of a remunerative or promising character. Not merely will such enterprises develop the resources of the country, but they will bring foreigners into parts of it where they would otherwise not think of going. There will certainly be a railway from Canton to the Yangtse, and another inland from Shanghai. The French say they are going to spend eight millions in a line from their Annamese possessions into Yunnan. They may carry these words into effect, but it is quite certain that their immediate consequence will be to expedite the railway from British Burmah into the same province. There is to be a great mining undertaking in two of the most important and least known provinces, Hounan and Shansi, and this will bring us into direct collision with the prejudices of the people in regard to the disturbing of cemeteries and the assumed injury of the Feng Shui, or spirits. It is probable that disorders and contests must arise from this cause, as there is no reason to suppose that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners has been exaggerated by the mandarins, or that they have any desire to cultivate our friendship. As it always has been, at every stage of the Chinese question, the Western races are forcing themselves on the inhabitants of China and endeavoring to wring from them the admission of the principle of equality. It is only natural to assume that experience will show the necessity of our having *points*

d'appui much nearer the scene of commercial or mining activity than the sea coast. Formerly, the acts of the people brought us into collision with the government, but in the future our troubles will be with the people themselves. Whatever the troubles and their consequences, one must be the tightening of the cord binding the Chinese in the family of nations.

The second accelerating cause is totally distinct from that just referred to, and is quite independent of the proceedings of foreigners. For some time past an insurrection has been simmering in the southern provinces, and from time to time the authorities at Canton have published accounts of the successes they have obtained in the field. But the insurrectionary movement continues, and it is now declared that the rebels have left Kwangsi and are marching northwards through Hounan. If this step has really been taken, it would be curious as showing how closely the present insurgents are imitating the proceedings of the Taepings half a century ago. We know very little about the resources, aims and leaders of the still unnamed rebellion, beyond the fact that the bulk of its fighting force consists of the Black Flag bands who fought so well against the French at Bacninh and Sontay. It would therefore be useless to speculate on its chances of success. But we do know that this body of armed and disaffected men is marching into provinces where the Secret Societies are most numerous and best organized, and we cannot overlook the fact that it was an alliance between similar insurgents and secret plotters which produced that Taeping rebellion, which would probably have entailed the downfall of the Manchus but for the active intervention of the Europeans and the military genius of General Gordon. The point of immediate importance is that there are in progress in China independent movements, arising from discontent or ambition, that aim at the subversion of the existing government. These have to be watched. They undoubtedly aggravate the situation and make the problem more difficult of treatment, but at the same time they may contain the germ of better things, and eventually the best, because the most natural, solution of China's troubles. From all these causes it is clear that the rate at which the internal reorganization or disorganization of affairs in China will progress is likely to accelerate, with the consequence that the action of those foreign Powers who are interested in her fate will have to be far more prompt, vigorous and decided.

It is at this juncture in a great human question that the United States of America are called upon to step into the arena and play their part like men in a difficult and dangerous contest. They may feel sure at the outset that the regulation of the Chinese question will entail strenuous action, and, it may be, considerable sacrifices on the part of those who claim, and, indeed, cannot forego, a voice in the matter. Their conquest of the Philippines is only the first step. That group of magnificent islands will, under wise administration, reward the fortunate owners. If Americans will only take as their example Sir Stamford Raffles, whose work in Java was of a very similar nature to that lying before them in the Philippines, they cannot fail to realize the value of their new possessions, and that within a brief space of time. I would the more wish to draw the attention of the great reading public of America to the career of Stamford Raffles, because he has never been appreciated in his own country. As an administrator and statesman, I do not hesitate to place him on a level with Clive and Warren Hastings, while as a philanthropist and benefactor of infirm races he stands alone among all the Pro-Consuls, past or present, of the British Empire. In four years he increased the revenue of Java seven-fold, and I have no doubt that similar methods will produce similar results in the Philippines. I published, little more than twelve months ago, a detailed biography of Sir Stamford Raffles, with much unpublished official correspondence; but, although no book could have been more extensively or more uniformly commended, it has hitherto met with only a *succès d'estime.* Sir Stamford Raffles is not yet one of the heroes of the British public; he is a neglected worthy. Perhaps it is reserved for the American people, who are planting their feet on the skirts of that archipelago where his genius soared supreme, to place him on his true pedestal.

The possession of the Philippines, which the American people are never likely to allow to become such a *damnosa hereditas* as Formosa is proving for the Japanese, will not merely entitle, but will even oblige, the Americans to participate actively in the settlement of Chinese affairs. At first that participation will no doubt be confined to the moral support of Great Britain in its endeavor to keep the commercial field open for the whole world, and at the same time to prevent a great military power like Russia from acquiring the control of the vast resources of China, with which

she would have no difficulty in obtaining the mastery of the world. On the same side in this alliance, formed for no selfish or excluding purpose, would be and is Japan, the country destined, no one can doubt, to civilize and reform Corea. In the early phases of the question England and Japan will necessarily have to take the lead; but their action will be inspired by greater confidence, and will prove more efficacious in the result, if it is assured that they enjoy the moral support and diplomatic co-operation of the United States, and that when the need arises there will be naval co-operation too.

The natural development of the latent resources of China will offer abundant and profitable opportunities for the capital of both America and England. Each country has an equal interest in preventing their diminution or contraction. Neither can tolerate the idea that Russia is to be allowed to establish her right to regard China as her preserve. Travellers bring back from Russia the tale that all intelligent Russians, with scarcely an exception, do not conceal their hope and their conviction that they will seize the whole of Asia. Peter the Great aspired to conquer India and to control the wealth of China. His descendants are even more ambitious and insatiable. Nothing less than the whole of Asia will suffice, even if a hollow peace conference is necessary to procure for them the halting place needed for the final and irretraceable spring.

The American people are entering into the contest of commercial and political equity—I will not use the hackneyed phrase of supremacy—in China at a highly interesting moment. Not merely is the problem, which has been more or less on the carpet since the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, in a most interesting phase, but the period cannot be far remote when the momentous decision will have to be made as to the point at which the further progress of Russia will have to be arrested. The advent of that crisis is inevitable. Let it not find those who would suffer by the triumph of Russia unprepared. In the temporary break-up of the Chinese Empire, which is inevitable, Russia can appropriate a vast expanse of territory without risk, because the population is scanty, and the only obstacle in her path will be the space she has to cover. But such successes will leave the real Chinese question untouched. There is still time left to approach it deliberately and to solve it in a worthy manner. The dissolution of the

Chinese Empire, which I foresee, and with regard to which I have offered a few suggestions, is one that, if we are wise and vigilant, need not prove more than temporary—a passing episode in the life of the oldest state in the world; and perhaps it might even turn out the means of solidifying and strengthening that empire. The object of Americans and Englishmen should remain as long as possible the saving of China from foreign annexation. Let it break in pieces if it must, but let each of us preserve the fragments, so that in time some true Chinese reformer and leader may rivet them together once more. That will be an honorable and a safe policy. If it does not work, we must try another; but until we have tried it we cannot pronounce it a failure. It should not be a failure if Russia is indeed the only wolf preying on the Chinese fold, for then the dogs could easily keep her off.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

NECESSITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

BY ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND, AUTHOR OF "THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE MORAL INSTINCT."

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH'S notice in a recent number of the REVIEW of my book on the "Origin and Growth of the Moral Instinct" is not only kind, but very generous. One half of it, however, is occupied with a reply to what he calls my paradox, "that the absence of free-will does not imply absence of responsibility." I gather from the tenor of his remarks that the chapter I have devoted to the subject has failed to make itself clear to him.

The point is one that ought to be discussed until a greater lucidity of thought emerges than is now prevalent. People generally abandon it with a feeling that it is a hopeless quandary. Here, as they feel, is modern science, more and more inexorably thrusting upon us the necessitarian belief, and yet, at the same time, the needs of society demand a strengthening and not a loosening of the claims of responsibility. In this there seems to be a fundamental inconsistency.

But the purpose of the chapter in question was to show that there is no such inconsistency, and that in truth the doctrine of necessity belongs to the domain of philosophic theory, while that of responsibility belongs to the realm of practical expediency, and that the two never should come into the least collision.

First, a few paragraphs as to the growing triumph of the doctrine of necessity. Professor Goldwin Smith seems to admit that the scope of free-will is being steadily restricted by the extension of science. Scores of domains wherein men once thought themselves to be free agents, are now found to be subject to the laws of cause and effect. Speaking of the influence of our early home training on our characters and careers, he quotes Butler with ap-

probation, as one who "would probably have insisted that this did not extinguish, though it limited, his moral freedom."

But scientific thinkers are nowadays accustomed to see domain after domain swept away in which free-will was not so long ago held to have full sway. The process has crept from the physical world to the intellectual; and now it is creeping on into the moral. The man whose father was a negro, and whose mother was a negress, has no choice but to be a negro; and that not only in the color of his skin, but also in the various weaknesses and strengths of his mind. He will be a negro, not only in body, but also in the general tone of his intellect, and in those emotional susceptibilities that underlie his moral character.

But there are hosts of people who grant the full prevalence of causal relations in the physical, and even in the intellectual, domain, who yet strenuously combat the application of the same principles to the moral domain. They allow that our stature, color, sex and so forth, are fixed for us by stern necessity, and that no amount of discontent with them on our part will effect a change. They allow that our mental capacity is beyond the scope of our choice; that it is not open to any of us, by merely willing it, to sit down and write a "Macbeth" or an heroic symphony. They allow that the fundamental features of our intellects are matters of birth. But, in the realm of morals, they apply utterly different standards. They see the son of a vicious father and a mean-spirited mother, and tell us that, if he only chooses, he can be a frank, generous, high-souled man, of the noblest moral type.

Educated men who hold these views now say, like Professor Goldwin Smith, that, while much is fixed beyond our power to alter, there is, nevertheless, a margin left for the play of free-will. The negro must have a dark skin; but he may dress himself becomingly to suit his dark complexion. The schoolboy may be no Newton; still, he may do much to overcome his natural defects by means of assiduity and zeal. The boy or girl may be born with a mind incapable of reaching the heroic virtues of a Washington or a Florence Nightingale; but it is possible by honest endeavor to improve. Yet these people fail to see that the taste to dress becomingly, the zeal and industry that try to make the best of indifferent mental gifts, the desire to imitate the most virtuous models, are all inborn qualities. People born without them are unable to create them for themselves. External motives may do

much to cultivate the growth of them, but when we make due examination of the influence of heredity, and of these external motives, both of them beyond the control of the individual, we find that the margin left for free-will shrinks and shrinks till it practically vanishes.

In morals, as in physique and intellect, to heredity we must ascribe the primary influence. It determines the species to which each of us belongs. Environment will only so far modify us as to settle whether we shall be fine or inferior specimens of our type. The genuinely frank and honest nature can never, by any circumstances, be made essentially a deceitful crawling creature, unless actual brain degeneration has occurred. But a person born to be selfish, tricky and mean, will remain so in spite of the accidents of his education. These will determine only the phase that will be presented by his inherent meanness; whether it is to pick pockets and live on the base earnings of women; or to promote bogus companies, and lie volubly to electors; or, perhaps, to intrigue for selfish ends upon church committees; or, it may be, to palter with principle in order to retain a pulpit. When you see a man change suddenly from a libertine to an ascetic, you think that a fundamental revolution has occurred in his character. But, if you knew him thoroughly in both conditions, you would find him to be as much an egotist in one as in the other. Circumstances modify the specimen, but they do not radically alter the type. The seed will determine the kind of tree, but, if dropped into the soil of Labrador, it will be stunted and poor; if planted in Yucatan, it will be a giant of the forest. So, too, the moral type to which we belong has been settled for us by heredity, profound though the influence of our environment may be. Darwin and Pasteur under no conditions could have emulated the crimes of a half-witted anarchist; and the anarchist, on his part, is by birth incapable of reaching their moral standard.

But when we say that to heredity must be ascribed the primary influence, it is not by any means meant that we reproduce our parents' character. In a majority of cases the disposition of father and mother will be largely blended in the offspring. But each of us had 1,016 ancestors of the tenth degree, all living about 300 years ago. They have bequeathed to each individual their own characteristics in one most intricate blend; and how these are distributed, which is predominant, depends on causes not yet as-

certained, though workers like Francis Galton are making some interesting first approximations.

But, at any rate, this is certain; that the basis of our moral characters is as much fixed as that of our bodies and of our mental capacities by the transmitted qualities of our progenitors. In so far, then, we are creatures not of free-will, but of strict necessity.

And now as to the influences of environment. They, too, are independent of our free-will. It is not of our own choice that we were born in these modern times, and not in mediæval Europe; that we were born in this country, and not in that; that we imbibed in youth the prejudices of one faith, and not of another; that our parents sent us to a particular school, to be under the influences of this teacher and not of that. And the person who seems to fight against his circumstances and raise himself out of them, does so by virtue of traits in his character to which he was born, and by the attractiveness of motives outside of him which he never created, any more than he created the affinity that exists between them and his innate disposition.

In short, we must apply to the domain of morals the same law that is known to be in force in all others, that every effect arises out of some cause, and that that cause had its antecedent cause; and that so we may trace backward and backward, through our lives, till we find the whole train of actions rooted in some cause or other that is exterior to ourselves. Thus we are in no sense free-will agents, but creatures of necessity.

But, on the other hand, if all this be true, what shall we say of that sense of responsibility which is felt to be the very basis of social order? If the thief has been born with the nature that makes him steal, how can we, with any pretence of justice, punish him? And yet we must. It is this consideration which makes so many people fidget and grow unhappy when they clearly perceive that there is no escape from these necessitarian principles. But the idea of justice in connection with punishment is merely a popular misconception, groundless, though useful. When I slap my kitten for stealing my cream, there is no real justice in the process. Given the kitten nature and the cream temptation, the result is sure to follow, unless there operate some counterbalancing motive, and this motive will be the memory of that slap and the fear of another.

When a child of nine months has disobeyed me, I do not scold

it because there is any justice in so doing. I know that it will often have motives for disobeying me, and that, in these cases, its only motive for obeying me will be the fear of my displeasure. A large part of the early years of that child's training will consist in my expression of displeasure. And that expression is made proportional, not to any abstract sense of justice, but only to the temptation there may be to a repetition of objectionable acts. If a look is sufficient to insure that a certain thing will cease and not be repeated, then a look is the proper expedient. Or a frown may be necessary; or, perhaps, a sharp word; or a serious reprimand; or some form of disgrace; or, if all these fail, it may have to come to whipping. But, at any rate, the business of punishment is only to act as a counterbalance to temptation. There is no more inherent justice in punishing a child than there is in breaking in a horse. I bring the lash down on the horse's flanks, not because of justice, but because, if he is to be of any use, I must be his master. Society sends the criminal to gaol, not because there is justice in gaols, but because it is bound to keep a firm control of criminals. And that degree of punishment is proper which is the least that will, in the great aggregate of people, prevent the doing of an act that is inimical to social needs.

All responsibility rests on a basis of possible punishment, and its nature is this. Every man is bound to act as the sum total of the motives he is conscious of impel a mind of his particular description to act. But, into that sum total of motives, society introduces the motive of responsibility. To hold a man responsible for his acts is, therefore, no denial of the necessity under which he lay to act as his motives impelled him. It is only concerned with the due balancing of these motives, and if a man has a wish to murder, and no counterbalancing motives of sympathy or duty to prevent him, then society supplies him with a proper make-weight motive. If a red Indian, both by birth, training and tradition, is impelled to take a white man's scalp, we may allow the necessity under which he moves; but then white men confess that, when they see a friend or neighbor scalped, they are under an equal necessity to put a bullet into the scalper. Hence the red Indian refrains from the intended gratification. Not that he is a free-will agent, but that among his motives there has entered a new and dominant motive.

And in no case is the practice of holding people responsible

for their acts inconsistent with the philosophical truth of the necessity under which they act. Responsibility and the punishment that may accompany it are no more than the practical expedients whereby society so bends round the resultant of a man's motives as to make his actions conduce to the general welfare. Suppose that a cashier has come to the parting of two ways; this way is integrity, that way embezzlement. Toward the downward path certain money troubles and the solicitations of opportunity strongly move him. To the path of honesty he has other attractions. If these latter are sufficient to bring out the balance on the right side, there is, in his case, no need of punishment, or even of a threat of punishment. But, where the balance is less fortunate, society inserts its various make-weight motives. For want of straightforwardness, there is the reprimand from his employer; for small peculations, there is dismissal; for large ones there is the gaol. That cashier will, of necessity, act as the influence of all these varied motives on a mind of his particular class will determine. He is a creature of necessity; but society holds over him the influence of responsibility merely as another element of that necessity.

The man who is half convinced by these inevitable facts often angrily shakes himself clear of a logical conclusion. "What," he says, "would you reduce me to the level of a mere automaton?" And he feels the same indignation as he felt thirty years ago when told that he was the descendant of inferior mammals. But these arguments of mere personal vanity, mighty though their weight may be for a time, continually tend to disappear, as people brace themselves up to face the truth. Science is more and more humiliating us in our unwarrantable prides, while it gives us better grounds for newer, if humbler, self-satisfactions. The Castilian sort of pride that made our ignorant, and often dirty, ancestors of mediæval times regard themselves as the pivot round which suns and stars revolved, has gone by for all men of sense. So, too, the time is passing when a man of any education will throw his arms wildly about and say, "I, at least, am no automaton. I do all that entirely of my own accord." He will perceive that there was a cause for every movement, obscure though it may have been, and realize that he too in all respects complies with ordinary causal relations.

The steamer that crosses the ocean seems at first sight to choose

her own path. The steersman controls her. But the steersman is controlled by the skipper, and the skipper by a few main influences and a large tangle of obscurer ones. The man who chooses to walk on the right side of the road, instead of the left, is moved thereto by causes that sway him, even when he thinks his choice is arbitrary. We never move a finger but the act has sprung from some cause which itself was the effect of another cause, the links receding into that inconceivable past which we call eternity. Responsibility is only an added motive, which arises from the perception that we must abide by the consequences of our acts—among which consequences is to be numbered the resentment of society, if we harm it.

There are other topics which Professor Goldwin Smith introduces in his paper; but, though I think that they could be successfully argued from my point of view, I shrink from the appearance of bandying words with a veteran writer of his eminence. But the subject of necessity and responsibility has wide-reaching practical influences. More and more each year it tends to thrust itself insidiously into our law courts; and eventually the question must be fought out between the lawyers and the doctors; between those who point to the shape of a murderer's head and those who insist upon the safety of society. And if the doctors win while preaching the doctrine of necessity, the lawyers can also, with perfect consistency, win on their side, while holding that the practice of responsibility is essential to social existence.

ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE SUGAR CANE INDUSTRY.

BY CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

THIS country is now confronted with a problem of the greatest difficulty—the assimilation and development of a large extent of tropical territory, inhabited by alien races, and impoverished by ages of misrule, in such a manner as to secure the material prosperity of the new peoples, without endangering in any way the interests of our own citizens. Notwithstanding the fact that this problem has occupied the arena of public debate since the close of the war, calling forth the most diverse ideas from eminent authorities in political economy, the most important point of view has been wholly neglected. The solution of the problem of successful colonial expansion by the United States will be found in the rehabilitation and development of the tropical sugar cane industry.

The United States of America is the largest consumer of sugar in the world, with the single exception of Great Britain. Of the world's total production of seven million tons, we absorb over two million tons, of which only three hundred thousand tons are of domestic production. We send abroad annually over eighty million dollars for this food product, so that it is our largest single item of foreign expenditure. With the hope of diminishing this drain upon our resources, the Government has for many years fostered the domestic production of sugar, and not entirely without success, for the Louisiana industry has greatly improved, and the beet industry, under the encouragement of the Department of Agriculture, has made considerable progress and obtained a firm footing in California. To sorghum sugar we must bid a fond adieu, sad though the parting may be to those of us who spent many years of labor in its behalf.

But the growth of domestic production, for various reasons which we will not now discuss, has been slow and unsatisfactory, and promises little better for the immediate future; the country cannot wait for it, especially as the means are at hand for attaining the end in view in a few years, which could not otherwise be accomplished in as many decades.

The territory of which we have lately come into possession is the natural hibitat of the sugar cane. With the exception of Porto Rico, where the value of the coffee crop somewhat exceeds the value of the sugar crop, the principal production of all the new possessions is sugar. Collectively (here, as hereafter in this article, no distinction is made between actual and potential possessions, and the Hawaiian Islands are included with the islands wrested from Spain), they furnish about one-half of the total cane sugar product of the world. The inference is obvious, and the bearing of these facts upon the problem under consideration must be plain to the veriest tyro in national economy. The commodity of which we stand most in need is produced in the greatest abundance in the new possessions; it is only necessary to stimulate the production of sugar in the colonies to the point of supplying our needs, and the entire amount of our expenditure for this food product, instead of going to Germany, Austria and France, as at present, will flow into Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, bringing back the equivalent in trade for our exports.

And this is only the threshold of the inviting prospect now opening up before us. American enterprise will never be content to stop at the production of sufficient raw sugar to supply our home consumption; but it will continue the process of development, until raw sugar shall become an article of export instead of import, and cane sugar shall reassert its supremacy over beet in the markets of the world. In order to understand fully the possibilities of the situation, it will be necessary to take a hasty glance backward over the history of the production of sugar, and especially to consider the past of the two rival agricultural sources, the tropical sugar cane and the European sugar beet.

Sugar is a constituent of most plants, in greater or less degree, at some period of their growth. Its exact position or function in the metabolism of plant tissue is still a matter of theory among chemists, but its wide distribution is becoming more and more evident, as time goes on. Even the cereal grains, formerly sup-

posed to be merely storehouses of starch, have lately been found to contain notable quantities of sucrose or saccharose, the specific name used by chemists to distinguish the substance in question from its congener carbohydrates possessing a sweet taste. The popular name for this substance, however, cane sugar, indicates the plant containing it in sufficient abundance to first attract the attention of mankind. This plant, *saccharum officinarum*, probably originated in Asia, whence it has spread gradually to all tropical regions, its easy propagation from eyes on the cane itself assisting materially in its dissemination. The cultivation of this plant for its sweet qualities stretches far back into the past, "sweet canes" being mentioned in the Hebrew Scriptures, and its use in China probably antedated even this mention; yet the extraction of sugar from its juice, and especially the use of the substance as a separate article of food, is a matter of comparatively recent date. For centuries it was used in Europe only as a confection or as a medicine, and it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century, a hundred years or more after it was first cultivated in the Eastern hemisphere, that it began to be an article of commerce and was imported to any extent into Europe. Once begun, however, its modern development down to the present day, when it constitutes one of the world's greatest industries, the product of which reaches the consumer for the greater part as a chemically pure article, is little short of marvelous; in truth, its history cannot be surpassed in interest by that of any line of human endeavor.

Of this story of industrial progress, probably the most interesting chapter is furnished by the rise and development of the beet sugar branch of the industry. Until the beginning of the present century the cane reigned supreme as a source of sweetness; then began the first struggles of the lowly beet to make a place for itself in the field wholly occupied by its towering rival. Aided by the lifelong devotion of Marggraf and Achard in Germany, and by the despotic decrees of Napoleon in France, slowly but surely it made its way; until the end of the century finds its proud but indolent superior entirely dethroned, and the once despised beet occupying the coveted position of the leading sugar producing plant in the world. The story of the contest has often been told and need not be entered upon in detail here; yet a repetition might well be forgiven in view of the general ignorance on the subject

in America. How many persons may be met here to-day, men of intelligence and information, who are not even aware of the single pregnant fact that nearly two-thirds of the world's consumption of sugar is obtained from the beet root? This ignorance is due partly, perhaps, to the fact that the industry is practically a foreign one, having obtained a bare foothold as yet in this country, so that its dimensions are not so forced upon public attention here as they are abroad; and it is also largely due to the relatively rapid development of the beet industry. It was not until 1887 that it passed the cane industry in preponderance of production.

If inquiry be made into the causes which have contributed to the remarkable result just indicated, we will find there is no good and sufficient reason for supposing that the present advantage of the beet will be other than a temporary victory, or that the sun of prosperity will never shine again for the tropical plant. The development of the sugar beet industry has proceeded, as is well known, along two distinct but parallel lines, agricultural and mechanical. When first taken in hand by the manufacturer, the root contained only four or five per cent. of sugar, of which but one-half could be extracted as finished product. By the application of scientific methods to its culture, the cross breeding of varieties and the selection of seed with reference to the sugar content of the mother beet, this amount was raised to an average of 15 or 16 per cent., and modern methods of economical manufacture obtained 13 or 14 per cent. of the weight of the raw material as crystallized sugar.

When we seek for evidence of like progress in the cane branch of the industry, what do we find? In the factory, absolute stagnation and adherence to primitive methods for years, which gave place to action at least only when the industry was threatened with total extinction by the increasing pressure of the beet competition. Even then, the advancement consisted chiefly in the adoption of the improved methods which had been devised and perfected by the beet workers. Not a single important improvement in methods of manufacture is native to the sugar cane branch of the industry. In the field the comparison is still more discreditable. The sugar cane is probably no richer in sugar now than it was in its wild state; at least, there has been no apparent improvement in recent years. Indeed, it is often called, in contempt, "a tropical weed" by the scientific admirers of the European plant. The discovery in Ja-

maica of fertile "arrows" or seeds, and the rearing of new varieties from them, is an indication of possibilities in the future; but it has accomplished nothing as yet, and the same may be said of some promising experiments in Louisiana in the selection of seed cane with reference to sugar content.

Yet the cane is infinitely superior to beet as a sugar producing plant, from both an agricultural and manufacturing standpoint, even in its present undeveloped condition. It can be grown at less expense under the proper climatic conditions, and the sugar content can be obtained at a smaller cost of manufacture; and, while the beet has, probably, almost reached the climax of its development, the margin of possibility in the case of the cane is wide and inviting. By the expenditure upon it of one-tenth of the study and energy which have been devoted to the service of the beet, the cane would soon overtake and outstrip its pudgy rival in the race for supremacy.

The beet owes its present success solely to the fact of its being grown in a temperate climate, where the talents and enterprise of an energetic race can be applied to the problem of its improvement. When the ingenuity and "push" of the American nation are added to the natural advantages possessed by the tropical plant, there will be formed a combination which will indeed prove "hard to beat." Some hint of what we may accomplish when we turn our hand to sugar cane culture may be found in the Hawaiian Islands, where the yield, both in tons per acre and pounds per ton, exceeds that of any other cane growing country. In Louisiana, likewise, the results achieved are remarkable in many respects, when the great obstacle of climate is taken into consideration. The question of the relative merits of the two plants has also another side which is worthy of consideration. There is something very persistent and repulsive about the natural taste and odor of raw beet sugar. It is "of the earth, earthy," and even the refined product often retains traces of this, as will be manifest to any one who will try the simple experiment of opening a can or close receptacle containing beet granulated. Raw cane sugar, on the other hand, has a most agreeable flavor, second only to that "confection of nature," maple sugar, as will be readily conceded by those among our readers whose memory goes back to the days of hogshead sugar from Louisiana or the West Indies. Raw beet sugar absolutely requires refining to fit it for use, while raw cane sugar is

perfectly palatable, and should be used much more than it is. Some day, perhaps, the present vogue for the hard granulated article may change, and the laboring classes, at least, become more sensible and decide to use, instead, high grade raw cane sugar, such as is produced on the plantations in Louisiana, and which is practically identical with the granulated article except for a slight tinge of color, the removal of which furnishes our refineries their immense profits. Brown refining sugars, however, are a delusion and a snare for the consumer, as they contain a large amount of water, and often as much raw beet sugar as can be masked by the cane flavor.

The official report of a disinterested observer, the British Consul-General at Havana, Mr. Gollam, on the sugar producing capacity of Cuba, is worthy of consideration.* After giving statistics which show the ruin wrought to the industry by the war, reducing the output from a million tons in 1895 to a pitiful two hundred thousand tons in 1896, he says:

"Cuba in normal times may be said to be one of the most favored countries of the world for the economical production of sugar. The present condition of affairs greatly burdens the sugar industry, owing to the necessity of protecting the estates, the loss of cane through incendiary fires, and the difficulty at times of getting enough hauled to the works to use them to their full capacity.

"Under normal conditions, the contrast between the Cuban industry and that of other West Indian Islands, or any American sugar-producing country, is remarkable. The total sugar crop of any other island is equal only to the output of three or four of the largest Cuban manufactories, and, with the exception of Demerara, all these countries show considerable inferiority to Cuba in methods of manufacture and in the class of machinery in use. The neglect of the other West Indian planters to advance with the times is the main cause of this lack of prosperity at the present moment. Of the other cane-sugar countries of the world, Java is the only one which comes within 50 per cent. of the amount of sugar produced annually in Cuba in normal times, and Java and the Hawaiian Islands are the only ones which are generally advanced in the process of manufacture.

"Until a very recent date the manufacture of sugar and the growing of cane in Cuba were extremely profitable undertakings, and the reasons for their prosperity may be stated as:

"1. The excellence of the climate and the fertility of the soil, which allow of large crops of good cane. The rainfall, about 50 inches, is so distributed that irrigation is not a necessity, though it would in many cases be advisable.

"2. The great movement toward the centralization of the estates which took place in the early eighties; planters have understood the value of large sugar houses and overcome their difficulty in this way.

"3. The proximity of the United States, affording, as it does, a cash market for the sugar.

*Foreign Office Annual Series, No. 1880, 1897.

"In spite of the above advantages, the size of the sugar crop is a surprise to many, while elsewhere the industry must be fostered by bounties. The agricultural adaptability of the country, however, counts for much; the cost of labor is low, and the sugar houses have a larger daily capacity than those of any other country."

We may now pass to the consideration of the ways and means by which the desired end, the rehabilitation of the cane sugar industry, may best be promoted and accomplished. The first and foremost step should be the granting of some measure of protection to colonial sugar, in the shape of a discrimination in favor of its importation. This is absolutely essential to any scheme of development, and must not be objected to on the ground of its being political, and therefore artificial, aid. Fire must be fought with fire, and sugar has been entangled with politics from the time of the first Napoleon down to the present day. It is from her inability to adopt such methods, on account of her free trade policy, that England's sugar producing colonies have fared so ill, as evidenced by Jamaica's half expressed threat to knock at our portals for admission. We have already made the precedent in recent tariff acts by discriminating against bounty-fed sugar. This is the thorn which is rankling in Germany's side, and which is well known to be the chief cause of her unfriendly attitude toward us of late years. Cane sugar already enjoys the benefit derived from the discriminating section of the present tariff just mentioned, by virtue of which beet sugar pays an additional duty equal to the bounty it has received from the country of production. An additional protection, in the shape of a colonial differential of half a cent a pound for a limited period, would be no more than fair for the new possessions, and would still leave an ample margin for the protection of domestic growers in our own country. Hawaii should, of course, be placed upon exactly the same basis as the other colonies.

Next in importance comes the establishment of an agricultural experiment station in each of the colonies, to study the special problems of soil, climate and cultivation presented there, and all to combine in the scientific improvement of the plant. Local conditions, pertaining to the cost of labor and of land, density of population, transportation facilities, etc., will determine the best plan to pursue in each case; whether the wholesale agricultural methods of the West shall be used to produce a heavy yield at a low cost, or whether the careful and painstaking methods of Eu-

rope, with the practical divorce of the grower and manufacturer, would give best results in the end; but many other questions of development can be determined only by a careful comparison of results obtained under diverse conditions. If the initiatory assistance of the Government be given to the extent indicated above, a half cent difference in duty and the establishment of agricultural experiment stations, the further solution of the problem may safely be left to American capital and enterprise. The talent for invention, which seems to be the birthright of the American manufacturer, may be relied upon to overcome in time the temporary handicap which the careful and economical methods of the beet technologist have given him.

It may not be considered as too wide a digression from the subject to say a few words in closing upon the subordinate problem of the retention of the Philippines. The bearing of the proposed solution of the sugar question upon the minor problem is obvious, and it is highly important that it should receive consideration at the hands of the Congress, upon whom rests the responsibility of its settlement. At first sight, it would seem that the influence of the sugar expansionist would all be cast upon the affirmative side of the argument. The Philippine Islands enjoy excellent advantages in respect to climate, soil, etc., for the growing of cane, yet, of all the raw cane sugar product of the world that comes to the refineries their's is probably the crudest and worst; their methods, both of culture and of manufacture, are the most primitive. They offer, therefore, the greatest margin for development, and would seem to be the most attractive field of operations on this account. But they are so far removed from our shores, the conditions of living, of labor and of transportation are so inimical, that the possibilities of development are nearly, if not quite, overbalanced. Internal discord and civil war are disastrous to any industry, but doubly fatal to the sugar industry, as is evidenced by Cuba's present condition. This arises, of course, from the nature of the work, which requires the erection of costly machinery in places remote from the centers of population, where they are at the mercy of the outlaw and guerrilla. No country, however great its natural advantages, can offer a fitting home to modern sugar making, unless it is able to guarantee absolutely permanent peace.

Another point to be considered is the high degree of special

training required of the superintendents, engineers and many of the employes in the factories. A large number of such specialists cannot be obtained at once, and the rate of development of the industry will probably be more retarded by this difficulty than by any other single cause. It would be the part of wisdom, therefore, to concentrate our energies upon the West Indies, which are right at our doors, rather than to waste effort by spreading it out over so large an extent of distant territory. The proposed exchange of the Philippines for the British West Indies would be a most admirable settlement of the problem from a sugar producing standpoint, and is certainly not without its advantages in other respects. It is all the more a matter of surprise that the misguided and shortsighted natives should assume an attitude of hostility to American domination, whether permanent or temporary. The future prosperity of their country depends upon the development of their chief industry, which they may soon accomplish as America's ally—never as her rival.

CHARLES A. CRAMPTON.

THE THREE PHASES OF COLORED SUFFRAGE.

BY WALTER C. HAMM.

Two events of recent occurrence are accepted as marking the beginning of a new phase of the colored suffrage question in this country. One is the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States affirming the validity of the suffrage clause of the Mississippi Constitution. In this decision the Court declared in substance that a State can limit the exercise of the suffrage, although the restrictions imposed are expected to apply to the colored race only. The language of the Court was this: "Restrained by the Federal Constitution from discriminating against the negro as a race, the Mississippi Constitutional Convention discriminated against its characteristics and the offenses to which its weaker members are prone."

The other notable event is the election of November 8, 1898, in North Carolina and the spirit in which the result has been received throughout the country. The election is acknowledged to have been revolutionary in its character, but, while there is criticism of the methods by which the object was accomplished, there is no disposition manifested to interfere or to question the permanence of the result. This spirit is strikingly different from that shown in past years when similar revolutions occurred in other Southern States, and, taken in connection with the decision of the Supreme Court on the Mississippi Constitution, it must be accepted as a sign that colored suffrage has entered upon a new phase. It is pertinent, then, to review the subject from the beginning, and discover if any progress has been made towards a solution of the race problem.

The most difficult question which confronted Congress when it came to settle the status of the seceding States was the condition

of the colored people. To set them free and leave them without the means of protecting themselves in their civil and political rights appeared unjust to the negro and unsafe for the nation. This apprehension was strengthened by the disposition shown by the Southern whites towards the new freedmen. In nearly every one of the seceded States the Legislatures, meeting before the reconstruction acts went into effect, passed what are known as "black codes" and vagrancy laws. Mississippi gives one illustration. The vagrancy law enacted in that State provided that no colored man could leave the county where he last worked without the consent of his last employer; and in case he had not hired himself within the first twelve days of the new year his labor for the ensuing twelve months was to be sold to the highest bidder. This was apparently the re-establishment of slavery in all but the name.

But what form national protection of the ex-slaves should take was the occasion for long and serious debate. The first plan suggested was a constitutional amendment granting universal amnesty to all who had participated in the war against the Union in return for universal suffrage. This proposition was, however, rejected by the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Congress, known as the Reconstruction Committee. Then the fourteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution was passed by Congress and sent to the States for ratification. The purpose of this amendment was to induce the Southern States themselves to give the negro the ballot, by threatening them with a loss of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College in proportion to the population denied the suffrage. Tennessee, however, was the only one of the eleven Southern States, treated as having been in rebellion, which accepted the amendment. The refusal of the other ten States to ratify apparently convinced Congress that radical steps must be taken to protect the colored people. The reconstruction act was accordingly passed March 2, 1867, providing a method by which the seceding States could be restored to their position in the Union. This act established equal suffrage in the ten un-reconstructed States, and gave the negro an equal voice with the enfranchised whites in framing the new constitutions under which these States were to be readmitted to the Union. The fifteenth amendment, which was passed by Congress in February, 1868, and declared a part of the Constitution March 30,

1870, applied to the whole Union the same suffrage rule which the reconstruction act had applied to ten Southern States. The present period of negro suffrage, then, may be dated from March, 1867.

The first phase of colored suffrage lasted ten years, or until the spring of 1877. It is not a decade to which any man or party can look back with encouragement or satisfaction. Had the Southern whites themselves undertaken in patience and sympathy the political leadership of the colored people and not left them to become a prey to the adventurers who swarmed into the South from the North, the story of negro suffrage might have read differently. But as it is, it is a story of incompetency on the part of the black man, and of extravagance and corruption on the part of the white man, who used the ex-slaves for selfish purposes. There would in any event have been an era of demoralization in the South following the war for the Union. Business had come to a practical standstill, the old order of society was broken up and political alignments were disarranged. In such a period crime and corruption are sure to flourish. And as this period of change in the South was coincident with negro control, all the evil results occurring then have been charged to black supremacy. But, making full allowance for this, there is enough left to mark this period as one of the most humiliating in modern history. One proof of the extravagance and corruption prevailing is the increase in the debts of the states which were at any time ruled by the blacks. The following table shows this increase:

States.	Debt at close of war.	Debt at end of negro control.	Increase.
Alabama	$7,945,000	$52,761,917	$44,816,917
Arkansas	2,084,719	19,398,000	17,313,281
Florida	370,617	15,797,587	15 426,970
Georgia	2,670,750	42,500,500	39,829,750
Louisiana	11,000,000	40,021,734	29,021,734
North Carolina	12,689,245	34,887,464	22,198,219
South Carolina	4,407,958	22,480,516	18,072,558
Texas	2,000,000	14,930,000	12,930,000
Virginia	33,248,141	47,090,866	13,842,725
Totals	$76,416,430	$289,868,584	$213,452,154

Two-thirds of this increase of $213,452,154 in the public debt of these nine states can be justly charged to the extravagance and corruption prevailing under negro-Republican rule, and a fair idea of the capacity of the negro to govern can be gained from it.

South Carolina offered the most humiliating illustration. Its public debt was increased fivefold and its Legislature was at one time composed almost wholly of blacks. This condition of things earned for it the title of the "prostrate State." In all the states subject at any time to colored-Republican control taxation increased also at such a rapid rate as to threaten the virtual confiscation of property within a few years.

But this condition of things could not continue. It was unnatural and intolerable. The pyramid of society was poised on its apex and the law of gravity was sure to assert itself. The political balance between ignorance and corruption on one side and intelligence and property on the other had to be restored. But the way in which this was done created another condition as bad as the one it superseded. The remedy was no better than the disease. Instead of using moral force, brute force was chosen as the instrument for securing white supremacy. White violence and fraud were pitted against black ignorance and corruption, and the former won. The colored voter was intimidated by the night-riding Ku-Klux-Klan and frightened away from the polls by threats on his life. This was called "bulldozing," a word which came into the vocabulary along with negro suffrage and the use of which ceased when the need ended. Ballot boxes were stuffed with tissue ballots and forgery on tally sheets was freely committed. In this way State after State was reclaimed by the whites, until in 1875 only four Southern States remained under negro-Republican control. These were Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina. In 1875 Mississippi was reclaimed from negro rule by what has since been known as the "Mississippi plan," and in 1876 the same "plan" was successfully used in the three remaining States. And when in 1877 President Hayes recognized these white state governments the whole fabric of negro-Republican rule in the South crumbled to the ground.

The second phase of negro suffrage began with the whites in control in every Southern State and determined to perpetuate that control. The means used to insure this were violence and crime against the blacks, and political, social and business ostracism against the few whites who persisted in adhering to the Republican party. The late Colonel H. C. Parsons, who was a native of Virginia and who served in the Army of the Confederacy, but was a Republican in politics, left an account of the disadvantages un-

der which a Southern Republican labored. The following is an extract from his statement describing conditions in the South as late as 1892 :

"Never was usurpation so entrenched as that of our Bourbon Democracy; never a party so perfect in organization, so methodical and merciless in the use of power. The most effective of all its agencies to-day are the boycott and the social ban. These twin monsters guard the avenues of escape. So little does this seem to be understood in the North, I am constrained to explain the situation in Virginia, where it is less severe than in States further South. There is here an organized and understood conspiracy that reaches every place where men seek credit, or a market, or employment. Every Southern-born white man who takes the New York *Tribune*, or the Philadelphia *Press*, or the Cincinnati *Commercial* is marked as an enemy of the South. He cannot buy on credit, or borrow at the banks, or obtain employment on as favorable terms as other men. In the proud city of Richmond, by a resolution of its Council, no man who votes the Republican ticket can work for the contractor on the streets. Eight years ago there was a short crop and much distress among farmers. "Fertilizer notes" for hundreds of thousands of dollars were maturing. A circular was sent by at least two great houses in Baltimore through our banks not to renew any notes of men who voted for Blaine. Four years later our State papers, by order of the Democratic committee, called upon every country merchant to stand at the polls from the opening to the close; and every man knew without telling that he could not buy another pound of coffee without cash if he voted for Harrison. There are white counties and mining districts, there are cities like Roanoke and Pocahontas, and communities near Washington like Falls Church, where this rule has been changed, but from the Blue Ridge to the sea, through sixty counties, in the great cities of Richmond, Petersburg, Danville and Lynchburg, a man cannot trade or practice a profession as successfully and vote a Republican ticket. There is not a white church in which, if it was stated that the preacher had voted against the Democratic party, pews would not be vacated."

The Southern Republicans, however, were not the only ones deprived of their political rights by the means adopted to maintain white supremacy in the South. The North was also denied its rightful influence in the direction of national affairs. Representation in Congress being based on the total population, it follows that if one-third or one-half the population is denied the right to vote a greatly increased political power is gained by the other one-half or two-thirds that retain their suffrage rights. They vote for themselves and the disfranchised also. The States in which such conditions exist exert a political power and influence in the nation out of proportion to their enfranchised population, and the other States are deprived of their just proportion of power and influence. This is the situation which has actually existed since 1877. The colored population in the South is counted in apportioning members of the House of Representatives, but its

vote is largely suppressed. This has added an additional and disproportionate value to every white vote cast in that section. How great this increased power is can be seen in the following table, which gives the white and colored population in the eleven Southern States in which the blacks are numerous, according to the census of 1890, and the number of Representatives in Congress apportioned to each class of population :

States.	White population.	Congressmen representing whites.	Black population.	Congressmen representing blacks.
South Carolina.....	462,008	3	689,141	4
Mississippi.....	544,851	3	744,719	4
Georgia.....	978,357	6	858,996	5
Alabama.....	833,718	5	679,299	4
Louisiana.....	558 395	3	560,192	3
Virginia.....	1,020.122	6	635.858	4
Florida	224.949	1	166.473	1
North Carolina....	1,055,382	6	562.565	3
Tennessee.....	1,336,637	8	430,881	2
Texas..	1,745,935	10	439,588	3
Arkansas.....	188,752	5	309,427	1
		56		34

Thirty-seven per cent. of the representation of these eleven States in Congress is based on the black population, but as colored suffrage is practically nullified in all of them the political power of the white vote is increased in national affairs by just so much per cent. In South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia, taken together, a white vote counts for as much as two votes in the North in determining the complexion of Congress and in deciding who shall be President.

But the political wrong done to the Southern blacks and the Northern whites by the suppression of the colored vote was not the worst result of the methods employed to maintain white supremacy in the South. Open acquiescence in fraud on the ballot boxes and in deeds of violence against the negroes worked endless demoralization among the Southern whites themselves. The public conscience was debauched and the moral sense of the people blunted. It is only natural for men to argue that if crime is excused for a political purpose it will be excused for all purposes, and that if an oath known to be false is accepted by courts as evidence of the correctness of an election return, a false oath will be accepted in a civil suit. So great is the confusion wrought in this way that the leading newspaper of South Carolina was compelled a few years ago to instruct the rising generation to make a distinction between the nature of an election oath and an oath in any

other case. Other evidences of the harm done to society in the South by the methods used to maintain white supremacy are the propensity to mob law and the large number of defaulting State Treasurers, by whose dishonesty the Southern people lost millions of dollars. From all these causes the level of civilization was sensibly lowered, the industrial progress of the section checked, life and property made insecure and a carnival of crime begun.

This condition of things could not be the permanent solution of the colored suffrage question. The methods employed involved too great a strain on the public conscience. The social demoralization was too great. The political injustice to the North and the violation of law were too evident. To go back to negro control was unthinkable. One way out was to find some method of legalizing the suppression of the colored vote which would not conflict with the Federal Constitution. Mississippi took the first step towards reaching this end by framing a new constitution, the suffrage clause of which can be interpreted so as to discriminate against the ignorant colored voter and in favor of the ignorant white voter. It says that every elector "shall be able to read any section of this constitution, or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation thereof." It is this clause which the Supreme Court declared valid. It is easy to see how this clause can be manipulated, as it is manipulated, against the illiterate colored voter and in favor of the illiterate white voter.

The Mississippi constitution was framed in 1890. In 1895 a convention met in South Carolina and adopted a constitution the suffrage clause of which gives the right to vote to all who can read the constitution or explain it when read to them, provided they were registered before January 1, 1898. But all who were not so registered must be able to read and write or pay taxes on property valued at three hundred dollars, at least. In 1897 Louisiana followed by adopting a constitution which provides that electors must be able to read and write or be the owners of property valued at not less than three hundred dollars. But this is qualified by the provision that every person who was entitled to vote January 1, 1867, in any State of the Union, and his sons and grandsons who were twenty-one years of age or over in 1897, shall also be allowed to vote, provided they were registered previous to September 1, 1897.

The adoption of these constitutions and the probability that other States will follow marks the beginning of the third phase of negro suffrage. It is too early to determine what the result will be or how long this phase will last. As yet there is no apparent reason to suppose that these educational requirements have stimulated the illiterate whites and blacks to greater efforts to qualify themselves for the suffrage. Nor is the immediate effect on the whites themselves beneficial. A widespread and perilous indifference to their political duties has followed among the whites in each of the three States which have adopted constitutions eliminating the colored vote. This is evident from the following table, which compares the vote cast in 1876 with the poll of 1898 :

VOTE OF 1876.

States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana	75,315	70,508	145,823
Mississippi	52,705	112,143	164,848
South Carolina	92,081	91,540	183,621
Totals	220,101	274,191	494,292

VOTE OF 1898.

States.	Republican poll.	Democratic poll.	Totals.
Louisiana	5,667	27,629	33,296
Mississippi	3,573	23,804	27,377
South Carolina	2,823	28,970	31,793
Totals	12,063	80,403	92,466

THE TWO YEARS COMPARED.

	Republican.	Democratic.	Totals.
Vote of 1876	220,101	274,191	494,292
Vote of 1898	12,063	80,403	92,466
Difference	208,038	193,788	401,826

According to the census of 1890 there were 757,249 males of voting age in these three States, of whom 354,016 were whites and 403,233 were colored. The natural increase from births and emigration must have brought the total up to 900,000 and the white voters to about 400,000. The Republican vote may be considered as solidly black and the Democratic vote as solidly white. And as only 80,403 Democratic votes were polled in the three States only one white voter in five felt enough interest in the election to go to the polls. A similar result will doubtless follow in every Southern State which takes from the colored man the right to vote. Such political apathy cannot be viewed with unconcern. If it becomes

permanent it must lead inevitably to the formation of a small voting class and to the establishment of government by an oligarchy. Such conditions are not healthful in a country where the purity and efficiency of the government depend upon an alert and informed voting constituency. The present situation cannot, then, be considered as the final solution of the colored suffrage problem.

But what will that solution be ? To be permanent it must be based on right and justice to all races and to all sections. One answer to the question is that by waiting until the negro has become fitted for citizenship by education and discipline the problem will solve itself. It is probably true that in process of time, covering two or more generations, the elevation of the negro may solve the race problem, although there are high authorities claiming that the whites and blacks can never live on terms of political equality in the same country. But conceding for the moment that time will bring a solution, what in the meanwhile is to be the situation while the solving process is going on ? The South insists that it will not be ruled by ignorance. That is correct. But is it right for the South to take the ignorance which it discards in its home governments and use it as an aid in gaining political powers in the nation ? Is this reasonable ? Is this just and fair ? And yet this is exactly what the South is doing when the colored population is counted in apportioning Representatives in Congress and votes in the electoral college, and the colored vote is suppressed. The South asks the nation to permit in the country at large what it will not permit in its local affairs. This the nation cannot consent in justice to all sections to allow. The South demands that intelligence shall control in its local affairs. Is it unjust for the nation to ask the South to submit to the same rule in national affairs ?

There is one straight road out of the embarrassments into which colored suffrage has brought the country. This is through a constitutional amendment making ability to read and write a requirement for the exercise of the suffrage, and also making literacy the basis for the apportionment of members of the House of Representatives and, consequently, of votes in the electoral college. This method will bring the only lasting solution of this problem. Other methods are but patches and poultices applied to a sore on the body politic. The results of such a solution are worked out in a table following. The Federal census of 1890 does

not give the number of people in the country able to read and write at the age of twenty-one years and over. But it gives the illiterates twenty years and over, and from these figures the literates in each State can be obtained. Taking the literates twenty years of age and over as a basis and giving one Representative in Congress to each 80,000 of literates, and allowing an additional Representative to States with the largest fractions, representation in Congress and in the electoral college can be easily ascertained. Such a scheme is presented in the following table:

States.	Total Population.	Literates 20 years of age and over.	Representatives in Congress.	Representatives in Electoral Col.	Loss or Gain.
Alabama	1,513,017	381,256	5	7	— 4
Arkansas	1,128,179	350,653	4	6	— 2
California	1,208,130	697,667	9	11	+ 2
Colorado	419,198	159,506	2	4	none
Connecticut	746,258	442,134	6	8	+ 2
Delaware	168,493	80,472	1	3	none
Florida	391,422	127,348	2	4	none
Georgia	1,837,353	474,631	6	8	— 5
Idaho	84,385	44,796	1	3	none
Illinois	3,826,351	1,974,306	25	27	+ 3
Indiana	2,192,404	1,101,678	14	16	+ 1
Iowa	1,911,896	969,998	12	14	+ 1
Kansas	1,427,096	691,214	9	11	+ 1
Kentucky	1,858,635	691,347	9	11	— 2
Louisiana	1,118,587	275,311	3	5	— 3
Maine	661,086	389,693	5	7	+ 1
Maryland	1,042,390	468,804	6	8	none
Massachusetts	2,238,943	1,326,543	17	19	+ 4
Michigan	2,093,889	1,107,096	14	16	+ 2
Minnesota	1,301,826	643,431	8	10	+ 1
Mississippi	1,289,600	299,810	4	6	— 3
Missouri	2,679,184	1,234,687	15	17	none
Montana	132,159	85,918	1	3	none
Nebraska	1,058,910	527,579	7	9	+ 1
Nevada	45,761	26,233	1	3	none
New Hampshire	376,530	227,453	3	5	+ 1
New Jersey	1,444,933	788,152	10	12	+ 2
New York	5,997,853	3,441,117	43	45	+ 9
North Carolina	1,617,947	450,922	6	8	— 3
North Dakota	182,719	90,508	1	3	none
Ohio	3,672,316	1,936,957	24	26	+ 3
Oregon	313,767	173,073	2	4	none
Pennsylvania	5,258,014	2,722,472	34	36	+ 4
Rhode Island	345,506	191,424	2	4	none
South Carolina	1,151,149	259,529	3	5	— 4
South Dakota	328,808	162,905	2	4	none
Tennessee	1,767,518	575,051	7	9	— 3
Texas	2,235,523	788,561	10	12	— 3
Utah	207,905	94,598	1	3	none
Vermont	332,422	191,528	2	4	none
Virginia	1,655,980	526,525	7	9	— 3
Washington	349,390	209,988	3	5	+ 1
West Virginia	762,704	305 559	4	6	none
Wisconsin	1,686,880	821,841	10	12	none
Wyoming	60,705	37,365	1	3	none
			361	451	

The census of 1900 would make a few minor changes in the

scheme, but its general features would remain the same. It would base representation and the government of the nation on the education and intelligence of the country, where it should permanently rest. It would be fair and just to all sections and so would give a final solution to the vexatious colored suffrage question. The South, surely, could not offer any opposition to it, for it would only apply to the whole country the rule which the Southern whites claim must prevail in that section. The weightiest arguments that can be brought against it are the facts that it will require a constitutional amendment, and that the conservative character of the American people makes the work of changing the constitution slow, tedious and doubtful. But if there is no other method so quick, sure and permanent it is worth while to make the effort. If the South, however, will not consent to a scheme so fair, then the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution should be rigidly enforced. And the second clause of that amendment says "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such State being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion in which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

This question of colored suffrage involving, as it does, the capacity of the dark races to improve and rise to the level of the white races, has a broader significance than its effect upon this country alone. If the late Charles H. Pearson was correct in his "Forecast" the time is near when the dark races are to enter more actively into the world's affairs, and on their capacity to improve and to keep equal step with the white races depends in a great degree the safety of what has been gained for civilization already and what further advances are to be made in the arts and sciences. All of Mr. Pearson's premises may not be well based, and so all his conclusions may not be warranted. But it is evident to the most superficial observer that the progress of events is bringing the white race into closer and more constant relations with the dark races, and the more profound thinkers are seriously question-

ing what the result to civilization is to be. Will this more intimate contact be followed by the elevation of the dark skinned man or by the deterioration of the white skinned man? It was Mr. Pearson's forecast that the latter was the more probable result.

But a lowering of the aggressive qualities, mental, moral and physical, which have enabled the white man to subdue to his purpose every country and clime he has invaded, cannot be contemplated with serenity. These qualities are absolutely necessary to progress and the preservation of civilization. They must be saved at all hazards. But the question whether they can be saved if the white races attempt to lift to their own level the dark races has still to be answered. The test now being made in this country as to the capacity of the black man to develop and reach the highest civilization must throw needed light on this problem. And in any event the training and disciplining that 8,000,000 or 9,000,000 colored people are receiving in this country cannot fail to exert a profound influence upon the future of the dark races all over the world. And it must add to the value of the result reached that this training and discipline is being acquired under the best available conditions and in a way to develop most quickly and fully the capabilities of an important branch of the dark races. If this attempt succeeds many apprehensions will be quieted and the future of civilization and progress will be more secure.

However skeptical De Tocqueville may have been of the capacity of the white and dark races to live together in the same country on an equal footing, he was generous in his praises of the nation that has done more than any other people to ameliorate the condition of the dark skinned man. The greatest and most praiseworthy achievement of the English, in De Tocqueville's opinion, is the conquest and peaceful government of India. It may have been to work out one other phase of this problem of the dark races that the negro was brought to this continent and placed in contact with the most virile branch of the Anglo-Saxon family. Viewed in this light, the experiment in colored suffrage and its results assume an aspect more than local or even national. It becomes world-wide in its significance. It may strenghten the patience of the American people and encourage them to persevere in the task set before them to know that they are helping to work out one of the greatest problems of the human race.

WALTER C. HAMM.

THE SOURCES OF NATIONAL REVENUE.

BY THE LATE NELSON DINGLEY, JR., CHAIRMAN OF THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND AUTHOR OF THE DINGLEY TARIFF BILL.

THE strength and prestige of a nation are measured largely by its available material resources and its ability and disposition to draw from them abundant revenue to support the government and maintain the national credit.

The Confederation of States which preceded the Union failed largely because it was denied the power to impose and collect taxes, the right to make requisitions on the States proving to be too uncertain a reliance for revenue to carry on the government.

When the Convention which formed the Constitution met and addressed itself to the vital subject of conferring upon the Union the power of levying taxes to provide means of supporting the Federal Government, it found many States objecting to the surrender of any part of the direct taxation of property upon which they relied for the support of their State governments, and some States, which had large receipts from imports, insisting that they should not be called upon to surrender all of this revenue to the nation.

The adjustment of Federal taxation was finally secured by one of the compromises of the Constitution, by which the Federal Government was given:

1. The exclusive right to impose duties on imports; the power to impose export duties being withheld from both the States and the Union.
2. The concurrent right with the States to impose excises, imposts and indirect taxes, with little indication as to the line of demarcation between direct and indirect taxes; and
3. The right to impose direct taxes on persons and property, provided such taxes should be apportioned among the States according to population.

When the Federal Government went into operation, Hamilton was by general consent made Secretary of the Treasury, and he at once addressed himself to the great problems of revenue and the adjustment and funding of the debts contracted by the Confederation and the States in the war for independence, aggregating $85,000,000, or nearly twenty dollars per capita. And this great debt—a burden far greater, in proportion to the wealth of the country at the respective periods, than the debt of the civil war—and the expenses of inaugurating and carrying on a new government, could be met practically only by such indirect taxation as duties on imports and the limited excise taxes then available in dealing with a sparse population of limited means, mainly devoted to agriculture, lumbering and fishing, and unused to taxation by any authority other than the State or municipality.

The task which faced the great finance minister was one which might well appal the stoutest heart; but Hamilton proved equal to the exigency. Conscious of the jealousy of national authority, and especially of national taxation, entertained by the extreme States-rights advocates, he moved cautiously but firmly.

In his first communication to Congress, he recommended (1.) the imposition of duties on imports and (2.) the imposition of an excise tax on distilled spirits.

To the first recommendation Congress responded favorably and with entire unanimity; for while, on the one hand, the Federalists regarded customs duties as the most important resource of national revenue, the Anti-Federalists insisted that any other resource should be avoided, which would bring national tax collectors into the States to assess and collect taxes for the maintenance of the national government.

Madison promptly reported, and Congress on the 4th of July, 1789, passed, a bill imposing duties on imports; the preamble reciting that the object of the measure was "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and the encouragement and protection of manufactures."

It is noteworthy that a question which has in the last half century divided parties—to wit, the constitutionality and wisdom of so adjusting duties on imports, in the raising of revenue, as to encourage home industries—should have been accepted by general consent by every member of the first Congress, many of whom had taken a leading part in framing the Constitution, and even

distinctly affirmed in the preamble of the first tariff enactment.

The opposition to an excise tax on distilled spirits was so determined that nearly two years elapsed before Congress, impelled by stern necessity, favorably responded to Hamilton's recommendation.

Three years later (June 5, 1794), Hamilton, in spite of the strong opposition of the Anti-Federalists, succeeded in persuading Congress to extend the excise taxes to tobacco, snuff, carriages kept for pleasure, dealers in liquor, sales at auction and the manufacture of refined sugar, with stamp taxes on certain legal instruments.

Thus, after five years' labors, in the face of enormous difficulties, the great finance Secretary saw the successful fruition of his unceasing efforts; the revolutionary war debts adjusted and funded; the interest provided for and the principal in the way of final payment; the expenses of the government amply met; and the credit of the nation successfully established.

The next year Hamilton withdrew from the Treasury and retired to private life, carrying with him the gratitude of the people whom he had served with such masterly ability, and meriting, in the judgment of thoughtful men, the splendid tribute which Webster bestowed upon this great finance minister, in the fervid eulogium familiar to every political student:

"Hamilton smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the public credit, and it sprung upon its feet. The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

I have thus dwelt on the revenue policy successfully set in operation by Hamilton, because it has been the basis in whole or in part of all Federal revenue legislation since his day; and his papers on the source of national revenue under the Constitution, and the most effective methods of reaching these sources for taxation, still remain among the most valuable literature on the subject.

The only source of revenue open to the national government under the Constitution which Hamilton did not venture to lay hold of, was direct taxation apportioned among the States according to population; and he did not, obviously because of the fact

that the constitutional requirement for its apportionment necessarily makes it so unequal that it will never be resorted to except in supreme need.

Wolcott, who succeeded Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, when the French war cloud of 1798 appeared, recommended, and Congress imposed, a direct tax of two millions annually, levied on houses, lands and slaves, and apportioned among the States according to population; but the tax proved so unpopular and the returns were so unsatisfactory that it was repealed after one assessment. The direct tax was temporarily employed again in the war of 1812, with less difficulty, because the States were allowed to assume and collect their several quotas; but the tax was repealed as soon as the exigency passed. And the third and last time that this tax was employed was at the opening of the war of secession in 1861, but with so unsatisfactory results that only one assessment was made; and even that, so far as paid, was subsequently refunded.

The excise taxes imposed on the recommendation of Hamilton were bitterly condemned by the Anti-Federalists, both at the time of their enactment, and subsequently; and when the Anti-Federalists came into power in 1801 one of their first acts was to sweep them all from the Statute Book.

Thus from 1801 to 1812 the sole sources of revenue drawn upon to meet the expenditures of the national government were duties on imports (increased or modified twelve times between 1789 and 1813), tonnage duties and receipts from the sale of public lands. From 1800 to 1808 imports increased so rapidly that these sources of revenue sufficed, but under the embargo the receipts from customs fell off so rapidly that there was a deficiency in 1809, 1810 and 1812, notwithstanding the liberal receipts from the sale of public lands.

When the war of 1812 broke out, Gallatin, who was Secretary of the Treasury, and who had set his face against excise taxes in the partisan contests of previous years, undertook for nearly a year to carry on the war by loans, without additional taxation; and the inevitable result was that the credit of the government collapsed, and our bonds fell first to 80 and then to 60 cents on the dollar.

The situation became so serious that, by the summer of 1813, President Madison was alarmed and convened an extra session of

Congress, which speedily threw theories to the winds and re-enacted the excise taxation which Hamilton had recommended and which had been overthrown in 1801, going further in 1814 than Hamilton had gone, by imposing heavy taxes on the manufacture and sale of a long list of articles.

When the war closed the excise taxes were prematurely repealed—the repeal to take effect in 1817—although the debt had been increased $127,000,000, with the result that, if it had not been for the large receipts from the sale of public lands (14¾ millions in 1835 and 24¾ millions in 1836—more than the receipts from customs), there would have been a deficiency of the revenue required to meet the ordinary expenditures and pay the interest on the debt in every year but five from 1818 to 1844; and, even with these receipts from the sale of public lands, there was a deficiency in sixteen of the forty-two years between 1818 and 1860.

The war with Mexico was successfully carried on in 1846-7 by borrowing, without additional taxation, a course made possible by the brevity of the contest, the small force required to wage it, the large receipts from the sale of public lands between 1846 and 1856 and the increased revenue induced by the Californian and Australian gold discoveries and the Crimean war.

The financial and business depression which followed the reduction of the tariff in 1857, resulted in so large a falling off of the revenue in the three years preceding the opening of the civil war as to cause a deficiency exceeding forty millions, which, with the alarm arising from threatened secession, so weakened the national credit as to make it necessary in 1860 for the government to pay from 8 to 12 per cent. interest on the loans required to meet the public expenditures. Indeed, in February of that year, six per cent. ten-twenty bonds of the United States sold in limited quantities at an average of $89 per one hundred dollars; and in December the Secretary of the Treasury invited proposals for five millions of interest-bearing Treasury notes, and finally succeeded in disposing of only four millions at 12 per cent.

The difficulties encountered by the government in providing adequate means to carry on the war for the preservation of the Union, from 1861 to 1865, are so burned into the memory of the survivors of that gigantic contest that it is only necessary to refer to them so far as may be useful for an adequate consideration of the sources of revenue of the national government in a great

exigency; for the necessities of the nation were so great in that struggle for existence that after 1863 every resource of taxation open to the Federal authority was laid hold of. Indeed, one resource of the State—the income tax—since declared by the Supreme Court to be unavailable for Federal purposes, was seized upon by the national authority without serious objection, in view of the needs of the hour.

The only criticism, outside of the issue of legal tender demand notes without a redemption fund to maintain them at par, which can justly be ventured in the light of subsequent events—and even this is excused by the general expectation at the outset that the contest would be brief and restricted—is that there was too great delay in imposing the taxation necessary to maintain the public credit and provide means for a war which, up to 1866, cost over 4,200 millions, and up to the present time nearly seven billions.

Commencing with a revenue of only 41½ millions in 1861 and 52 millions in 1862, the receipts rose to 112 millions in 1863, 243½ millions in 1864, 322 millions in 1865, and culminated with 520 millions in 1866—or $15.73 per inhabitant—of which 179 millions ($5 per capita) were derived from customs and 311 millions ($9 per capita) from internal taxes.

Of the latter, 73 millions came from the income tax on persons and corporations; 55 millions from the tax on the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquor and tobacco; 127¼ millions from the tax on manufactures and products; 15 millions from the stamp taxes on documents, proprietary medicines, etc.; 14 millions from the special taxes on occupations; 4 millions from sales at auction and by brokers, etc.; 1¼ millions from legacies and successions; 11 millions from gross receipts of railroad, express, ferry, insurance and telegraph companies, etc.; 1¾ millions from plate, carriages, pianos, billiard tables, etc.; and 3¾ millions from bank circulation, slaughtered animals, etc.

This great annual revenue—nearly three times the per capita revenue of the national government in the ten years preceding the Spanish war, and more than twice that now being raised for both peace and war uses—was secured with much less sacrifice on the part of the taxpayers than might naturally have been expected, although the duties on many imported crude articles and foods not produced in this country, transferred from the free to

the dutiable list to secure additional revenue from customs, and the internal tax on nearly all manufactured and other products, often duplicated, seriously burdened the industries of the country, until they were repealed between 1868 and 1883.

Our experience, in the last years of our civil war and for a few years thereafter, with internal taxes on manufactures and products was so unfavorable that it is doubtful if they will be hereafter resorted to unless in a great extremity, except in the case of luxuries or articles of voluntary use.

Without imposing internal taxes on production beyond the manufacture and sale of distilled spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, it is feasible to raise by import duties and by excise taxes limited to these three sources, supplemented by existing miscellaneous receipts, a revenue of $6 per capita, which is $1 per capita more than the average peace expenditures of the past ten years.

Excise taxes on distilled spirits, fermented liquors, tobacco, snuff, cigars and cigarettes, and special taxes on dealers in liquors (permanent since 1861), have become one of the most important sources of revenue in all civilized countries. Such taxes are easily collected, at the minimum of cost, by a permanent and experienced internal revenue bureau; the revenue from them is less liable to fall off in times of business depression; they are taxes which need not be incurred at all, or only at the convenience of the taxpayer; and so far as they fall on industries or business, they affect those less disturbed than others by unfavorable industrial conditions.

It was for these reasons, among others, that when the Spanish war came upon us in April, 1898, in order to provide means to carry it on (the revenue at that time, under the legislation of 1897, being sufficient to meet peace expenditures), Congress doubled the low excise tax on fermented liquors and tobacco—the tax on distilled spirits already being as large as could be collected—thus increasing the revenue by fifty millions from these two sources, and restored about two-thirds of the adhesive stamp tax of 1865 on documents and medicinal, proprietary and trademark articles, and on cosmetics and perfumery, estimated to yield about 40 millions, as well as the special taxes on bankers, brokers, etc., and legacy and succession duties—additional taxes which in the aggregate will yield the present fiscal year about 100 millions.

Whenever the extraordinary expenditures arising from the

Spanish war will admit of a repeal of any of the additional taxes imposed by the War-revenue act of 1898, it is probable that the first to be dispensed with will be a part or all of the adhesive stamp taxes, as they are in many respects annoying and in some cases burdensome.

The excise taxes on spirits, fermented liquors and tobacco, as they stand now, will produce, it is estimated, 220 millions in the next fiscal year; other internal revenue taxes, outside the adhesive stamp tax, about 20 millions, miscellaneous sources (the receipts from sales of public lands having dwindled to a paltry sum) 20 millions, and customs duties, 205 millions—an aggregate, outside the adhesive stamp taxes, of 465 millions, or $6 per capita. If all the adhesive stamp taxes should remain, it is estimated that the aggregate revenue would be increased to 510 millions, or $6.50 per capita.

As the peace expenditures, on the basis of the expenditures of the ten years before the opening of the Spanish war, were about $5 per capita ($2.50 for the ordinary civil, military and naval establishments and $2.50 for pensions and interest on the war debt, which basis would give a total of 385 millions as the peace expenditures for the next fiscal year), it will be seen that there would be a balance of nearly 125 millions, in case all the war taxes should remain, to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war, including the increase of the navy and army, and to apply to a reduction of the war debt.

No discussion of the sources of national revenue can be satisfactory, which does not take into consideration the possible effect of the rapid multiplication and enlargement of our domestic industries in diminishing our imports of manufactured articles, and consequently our revenue from imports of such articles. Indeed, it is one of the objections to the protective tariff policy that it tends—in fact, that is its object—to encourage the manufacture and production at home of such articles as can be made or produced here without natural disadvantage, instead of importing them from abroad.

It is not my purpose to enter into any discussion of the tariff beyond what is required by my topic, which confines me to the question of revenue; and to this extent I may go without trenching on the field of partisan debate.

Theoretically, it would seem to be probable, if not unavoidable,

that, the more we produce or make at home of articles similar to what we formerly entirely or mainly imported from abroad, the smaller would be our aggregate revenue per capita from imports; and, consequently, that it might be expected that a tariff adjusted so as to encourage home industries would impair revenue to the extent to which it accomplished its purpose.

But practically this has not been the result thus far, although it is easy to see that the sudden introduction into the Union of tropical countries capable of producing all our consumption of sugar, for example, might disturb all calculations.

The revenue from customs in 1790 (when we had few manufacturing industries in this country) was $1 per capita; in 1810 it was $1.10; in 1820 it was $1.75; in 1830 it was $1.75; in 1840 it was $1; in 1850 it was $1.75; in 1860 it was $1.80; in 1870 (with the war tariff) it was $5; in 1880 (the year after the resumption of specie payments) it was $3.50; in 1890 it was $3.50; in 1895 (tariff in 1894) it was $2.18; and in the present fiscal year (tariff of 1897) it will exceed $2.50 per capita.

If one were disposed to accept bald statistics as the whole truth rather than a part of the truth, he might point to these suggestive official figures as a demonstration that more revenue is secured by protective than by so-called revenue-only tariffs.

But this is not the scientific conclusion that the careful student of all the facts will draw. He will conclude, and without successful contradiction, that the largest revenue from customs is always yielded when all our people are at work, when prosperity reigns in all parts of our country, and consequently when our consumers have the most to buy with.

He will also conclude that, so far as tariff legislation may have an influence on the prosperity of the country, that which tends to open up the largest opportunities for our own people to use their own labor to the best advantage, and produce or make at home what can be made here without natural disadvantage, inevitably gives them the greatest prosperity and the largest purchasing power; and that, when our people have the largest purchasing power, they always purchase not only more of our own products but also more of the products of other countries not produced here, and especially more of the luxuries of foreign countries, which the well-to-do will always seek in proportion to their income.

It is in conformity with these observed facts that the tariff of

1897 has yielded more revenue from customs alone, and millions more revenue from customs, internal revenue and other sources (outside of war revenue) in the calendar year just closed—notwithstanding the unfavorable effect of the Spanish war—than was yielded in the last calendar year (1896), when the tariff of 1894 was in operation, unaffected by either anticipatory or deferred importations.

While the Constitution practically restricts the national government to indirect taxation—duties on imports and excises—and, therefore, makes the discussion here or elsewhere of the question as to whether direct taxation on property is not fairer and wiser, an academic rather than a useful exercise, yet the universal use of such indirect taxes, even by nations which have no limitations on their taxing power, indicates that they have been justified by experience.

Duties on imports, as a source of national revenue, are justified not only by the fact that they are generally taxes ultimately paid at the convenience of the taxpayer, without the solicitation of the tax collector; but also by the fact, known to business men, that, although they are in form a tax on consumption, yet in fact the duty paid the government on an imported article is rarely added in full to the price when a similar article is produced or made here, and frequently added only in part when a similar article is not produced or made here.

Theoretically, it might have been affirmed, without contradiction, that the placing of a duty of ten cents per pound on tea at the last session of Congress would have increased the price of tea to the consumer in this country ten cents per pound; yet the wholesale prices current show that tea has risen only 5 cents per pound. The foreign producer and importer are practically paying one-half the duty, in order to hold their customers; and the consumer pays only half. Absurd as it may seem to the theorist, the foreigner is paying half of the $10,000,000 annual estimated revenue from the duty on tea.

There is another beneficial revenue result of a tariff adjusted on the policy of imposing high duties on imported luxuries or articles of voluntary consumption, low duties or no duties at all on articles of necessary consumption not produced or made here, and protective duties, equal to the difference of cost of production or manufacture here and abroad, on articles that may be produced

or made here without natural disadvantage, which should not be overlooked; and this is, that a large part of the revenue under such a tariff policy is paid on imported luxuries and articles of voluntary consumption by those well able to pay the high duties, and very little or none on such articles as are required by the masses of the people.

At least 100 millions of the 200 millions of revenue that will be yielded by the duties on imports in this calendar year will come from such articles as champagnes, wines, tobacco, opium, laces, kid gloves, silks, fine linens, fine cottons, fine woolens, chinaware, cut glass, and articles of adornment, and, so far as they are a charge on our people, will be paid almost entirely by consumers of ample means.

It is not within the scope of my subject to discuss the controverted effect of duties on imported articles of general consumption, the like of which are or may be made or produced here to the extent of our wants without natural disadvantage—whether, as the free-trader claims, such duties permanently increase the cost of such articles to the consumer to the extent of the duty without material advantage to the revenue; or, as the protectionist claims, the ultimate result of such duties is to cheapen their cost to the consumer by the competition set in motion through the establishment and development of the industry in this country (although the temporary result may be otherwise), and also to swell the revenue through the increase of the ability of the people to consume imported luxuries and articles not produced here, as the opportunities to profitably use their labor multiply.

I must confess that the longer I live and observe, the more I come to feel that the highest statesmanship is marked not by vain endeavors to adjust the operations of government to bald theories, which, however sound in an ideal state, are subject to many modifications in the actual and varying conditions that confront the legislator and administrator; but by the skill with which the executive and the law-maker from time to time adapt legislation and administration to meet and, as rapidly as may be, improve existing conditions, holding constantly in mind that "an ounce of experience is worth more than a ton of theory;" and that what practically works well in any country is more likely to be safe and wise than any theories, however fine-spun, that have not succeeded in like conditions.

Tried by the test of experience, whether in its revenue-producing qualities, its influence on our export trade, or its influence on the general prosperity of the country, I am sure that the present tariff policy, as it existed from 1861 to 1894, and as it has existed since 1897—modified from time to time to meet changing conditions—is justified by its fruits.

If I mistake not, the business men of the country, who have seen the unfavorable effect of frequent tariff changes, whatever may be their belief as to tariff policy, have come to the conclusion that tariff repose for the present and near future, is indispensable to the best interests of the country.

It may be safely affirmed that no other nation raises its revenue for national purposes in a manner which, on the whole, works out fairer or less burdensome results than are worked out by our system of taxation under the Constitution. I do not wish to be understood as affirming that any of our revenue legislation cannot be improved in details under the enlightenment of actual administration; and especially I do not desire to be understood as saying that the War Revenue act, particularly those provisions imposing stamp and special taxes intended as a temporary measure, and necessarily subject to the correction of experience under existing conditions, cannot and should not be readjusted in many directions according to the suggestions of such experience, whenever this can best be done, if it shall seem probable that these taxes must all continue much beyond the fiscal year in order to provide means to meet the extraordinary expenditures arising from the war.

Although the expenditures of our national government have been largely increased per capita since the adoption of the Constitution, and especially by the gigantic war for the preservation of the Union—rising from $1 per capita in 1790 to nearly $2 in 1820, $2.25 in 1850, $2.50 for ordinary and $4.50 for war expenditures in 1870, and $2.50 for ordinary and $2.50 for pensions and war debt interest in 1890 and 1897—yet, even with an increase for the time being of taxes equivalent to $1.50 per annum on account of the Spanish war, our taxation to-day is only at the rate of $6.50 per capita—$2.50 for the ordinary civil, military and naval establishments, $2.50 for pensions and interest on the war debt, and $1.50 for the Spanish war—while the similar national taxation of the United Kingdom and of Germany is, each, $10 per capita, and of France $15 per capita.

While it is impossible to forecast the future of our Republic, yet it is not difficult to see that, whether we desire it or not, we have entered upon a new era, in which the world recognizes that the United States has become one of the Great Powers, whose influence is to be second to that of no other power for weal or for woe; and that this position in the family of nations will impose upon us, not simply increased expenses requiring an enlarged revenue, but also an increased responsibility.

NELSON DINGLEY, JR.

A REPUBLIC IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

If we are a Christian people believing in destiny, we must regard the war of 1861-65 as pivotal in our national career. The preservation of the Union and the enforcement of the laws of the country made possible all of the marvellous changes that have been wrought among us since that time. Our population is now two-and-a-half times as great as it was then; we have increased our working power threefold, and have added three hundred per cent. to the nation's wealth; we have constructed 150,000 miles of new railroad, more than half of it in the region west of the Mississippi River, and we have formed six east-and-west transcontinental lines connecting with ocean steamships at both ends.

The rapid development of our industrial energies naturally increased our mechanical power greatly in excess of the country's needs, and correspondingly diminished the demand for labor, resulting in idleness, debt and doubt. Hence came the "army of the unemployed" and the exciting campaign of 1896. Fortunately, the unusually large foreign demand for our agricultural products in 1897 was accompanied by heavy crops and good prices at home, begetting hope, stimulating industry, and creating demand for labor. The large majority vote at the election indicated plainly the trend of public opinion on the money question, while the enormous increase in the output of the gold mines measurably at least, and for the time, supplied the demand for metallic money; business revived, trade began again to flow in its accustomed channels, money appeared to be plenty, and the country got on its feet again.

But this condition could not last long under the old *régime* without some outlet for the surplus of the things we have to spare. We should overflow again. Panics have been periodical.

The causes which brought dangers to our doors—dangers arising from lack of employment for the people—would bring them again if new channels of trade were not opened, new markets found for our growing commerce, and new employment procured to engage the brains and hands of our industrious and enterprising people.

Providentially, as it would seem, the war with Spain affords us opportunities of which we have but to avail ourselves in order to relieve the situation at home and improve conditions abroad. With Cuba on the way to independence under American escort, with Porto Rico controlled by American ideas and policies, and with the beginnings of a Philippine republic in charge of American builders, a new commercial tide will set in, carrying a reciprocal trade that will occupy much of the time and attention of our citizens and will to that extent relieve the strain on the working forces; it will solve the money problem to the satisfaction of those at least who demand the use of a metallic basis, for it will enlarge the use of gold and silver coin; it will suggest profitable uses for large amounts of money now idle and seeking opportunities for safe investment, and, what is better than all these, it will place and keep Americans in the lead planting republican institutions in the islands of the sea.

And we are well equipped for just such work as this. We are full with the vitalizing forces of a young and powerful people, with motive power far beyond our necessities, with production vastly in excess of home requirements, with narrow profit margins multiplying industrial combinations to maintain prices, with constantly increasing production of our gold mines and idle money accumulating in the public treasury and in private bank vaults, with much of our labor compulsorily idle all the time and demanding work, with our best lands all claimed under private ownership—with all this congested energy, backed as it is by men and women capable of leading great enterprises, persons specially qualified by training in their own country to sow the seeds of democracy and grow republics in darker portions of the earth—we are prepared to assume the responsibility.

In our moral and intellectual equipment for the work proposed we are, if possible, stronger and better prepared than in the particulars just recited. The improvement in the condition of our manumitted slaves and their descendants has been phenomenal. They have developed men of learning and character—

physicians, lawyers, preachers, priests and bishops. While the great body of them are employed chiefly in manual labor (which is true also of their white neighbors), there are among them many who are capable of discharging responsible duties in affairs of government. Their soldierly qualities were recognized in the War of the Rebellion, and they were severely tested in recent battles and campaigns. These docile people are even now prepared to furnish useful helpers in all the work which the nation has yet to do.

The Indian problem has been solved, and we shall have the red man's aid in the years to come. It is only sixty-four years since all of our national territory west of the Mississippi River, except Missouri and Arkansas, was set apart by act of Congress as the "Indian country," and no citizen of the United States was permitted to travel or trade there without written authority from the Government. Since 1860 nearly all this fruitful region has been carved into States. The "Indian country" has disappeared. The small remnant in Indian Territory is being allotted, and soon it will be all owned by individual persons. The five civilized tribes there have among them many men and women of education and refinement, some of them qualified for any of the ordinary work of legislation and government. The few remaining of the more savage tribes are located on reservations in States or Territories, where schools have been established for the education of their children, and at several places in the older States government schools of higher grade are conducted, where the best scholars from the reservations may continue and complete a special training to fit them for the more responsible duties of civilized life. The Indian has already proven himself capable of reaching a high level and of maintaining himself in trying positions. He, too, is ready to perform his part in the country's future.

Woman has come to be an important factor in all the work of the time. From a few of the widows and daughters of our citizen soldiers, employed as clerks in the Treasury Department at Washington during the earlier years of the sixties, the working sphere of woman has been so enlarged that she is now found in all the departments of the national and State governments; she assists in public offices in all our great cities, and there is not, probably, a mercantile house of importance in the country conducted without the aid of women. They have invaded the professions, they occupy chairs in some of our higher institutions of

learning, and they compose two-thirds of the teachers in the public schools. Women now manage the business affairs of large bodies composed wholly of their own sex—notably the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's Relief Corps, the latter having a membership of upward of 145,000. Women do now lead in many of the reform movements of the day. In some of the States they are legal electors and hold public offices. As workers in the missionary field their zeal is none in advance of their fitness and capacity. Man's truest and safest counsellor is now ready to carry the lamp of Christian civilization forward, and aid in working out the troublesome experiments in the years ahead of us.

Still another and the most powerful factor in the situation is the unification of the country's citizenship. We were never one before the year 1898. We had tories among us, even at the end of our successful war for political independence. We were divided in the war of 1812; we were not united during the war with Mexico, and it required the raising and equipping of armies and fleets in 1861-5 and four years of desperate war to prevent a separation of eleven States from the Union. But the war of 1898 afforded opportunity to try the Americanism of the people. The official record of their conduct certifies to their unswerving loyalty. The prompt response of all classes—rich, poor, high, low, white, black, mulatto, red and yellow, male and female, from North, East, South and West, the "Johnny and the Yank," the plutocrat and populist—to the President's call for volunteers, testified to the universal patriotism of the citizens; and their blood, shed in actual battle on land and sea, dissolved the colors of blue and gray into red, white and blue in witness of the covenant that the people of these United States constitute a nation—one undivided, indivisible Union—with one flag and one destiny.

Here, then, in addition to the united forces of men usually considered in estimating a nation's strength, we have the children of the slave to help us in all we have to do; we have the educated Indian in our ranks, and we have beside us for inspiration and counsel the incomparable American woman—all together a mighty people with 15,000,000 men of military age capable of bearing arms, and quite as large a number of young persons enrolled in the public schools. When such a people enter new fields to reproduce their own wonderful history and duplicate their

own progressive institutions, surely the world's redeeming agencies will be strongly re-enforced.

In this condition of readiness for united action, we find ourselves suddenly face to face with new and grave conditions affecting our relations with other parts of the world, and we see plainly enough that our political horizon has been greatly enlarged. We have been forced into the world's arena by events occurring outside ourselves, and we must perform the leading part. There is no escape from this position. We have entered a new era in American politics, not from choice, but "in the course of human events."

It has been the way in all the ages of the past that when any people became cramped or thought themselves so, the bolder of them sought new regions to dwell in and thus opened a drain for the overflow. The history of all great countries, as far as it has been recorded, testifies to this fact—they were first settled, perhaps conquered, by emigrants from other parts, and commerce spread its civilizing influences in the wake of the settlers. The pioneer, the preacher, the trader, the merchant, the banker, the lawyer, statesman and soldier, builded modern Europe, and their children have made North America what it is. Australasia, India and South Africa show the rich handiwork of these conquering heroes. The history of civilization in England includes a record of principal movements everywhere else. Her colonies have developed into the highest forms of self-governing communities, one of them a republic whose name, like that of Abou Ben Adhem, leads all the rest.

If anything can be said to be established in the Father's business of improving the world, it is that the best communities, states and nations are bred from imported stock and improved by the infusion of new blood. To "replenish the earth and subdue it" requires that stronger and better men should "go out into all the world," and do and teach better things than had been done and taught there before. Blindly, it may be, but none the less certainly, in the long run, do men follow this law of progress. Proof of the great fact is everywhere so abundant that particular instances need not be cited. Barbarism passes out of sight as Christian settlement comes into view. The worse yields to the better in the final conflict. The weaker gives way to the stronger, through assimilation or decay. Obedience to this law of civiliza-

tion, though most frequently yielded ignorantly, becomes a duty when the obligation is recognized. Men are to a great extent their brothers' keepers and owe them a brotherly oversight. If this be not true, why is government necessary ?

It is the duty of this republic, now that opportunity is present, to enter the Philippines and grow a new nation there. It is no answer to this to say that there are yet untouched resources at home, enough work here at our doors to occupy the time and attention of our most competent leaders. No answer because, if for no other reason, we cannot undo what was done during the last year. A great war has been fought, and we find ourselves in military occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippine group. The latter we have to dispose of. We, therefore, are responsible for the kind of government which these islands have in the future and will accordingly be held accountable.

We are a Christian people, believing in the existence of an overruling Providence, who, in His own way and time, moves the world ahead. History, in that view of it, is a record of Jehovah's operations in developing human character and evangelizing the earth. "Nations and individuals," said a fervent clergyman recently, "are here by appointment;" and it is on that theory only that we dare believe the people of these United States have been trained for the work now in front of them. The Jews undertook to abolish idolatry, establish a belief in one God and the duty of obeying His law. "I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." The Greeks taught the world how to think and how to speak, and Romans led in government and law. Is it too much to add that to Anglo-Americans is given the work of spreading the Gospel of good will to men through commerce and Christianity, and thus carrying on the work of replenishing the earth and subduing it ? If not, then let us take and permanently hold all territory which has come into our possession, either actually or constructively, by reason of our war with Spain; hold it, not for ourselves, but for the people now there and such as may hereafter go there, to the end that the area of liberty may be to that extent enlarged and free government established throughout the earth.

It is objected that the proposed expansion policy is contrary to our own history and in conflict with the Monroe Doctrine. It is neither, and if it were both, the argument is without force. Applied generally, such a theory would prevent change and therefore stop growth. Our patent laws would be repealed, and inventors imprisoned. If a man was once satisfied with ten acres of land, he must never get more. Before we were fifteen years old we added more than a million square miles to our national area by the purchase of Louisiana—nearly all of which lay west of the Mississippi River, and this in the face of opposition by men who insisted that that stream was and ought to remain our western boundary. Afterward (1819) we acquired Florida, adding 59,268 square miles more, and by the annexation of Texas (1845), 376,133 additional square miles. From Mexico (1848-1853) we gained nearly a million (967,451) square miles, much the greater part of it being west of the Rocky Mountains, which range many positive objectors thought ought to be made our permanent western border. Including Alaska, our country now contains nearly four times the aggregate area of the original thirteen States, which is put at 827,844 square miles.

Our Government had been negotiating for the Sandwich Islands fifty years before they were annexed in 1898 under the name Hawaii. Cuba has been a point of interest to us for a long time. Its strategic importance was discussed by our statesmen in the early years of the century; the subject was again considered during the progress of the Spanish-American wars, and later, while John Quincy Adams was President. The Polk Administration was ready to buy the island outright, and President Pierce opened direct negotiations with that view. Our ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain (1854), Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, who had been instructed to consider the subject, reported favorably in their famous "Ostend Manifesto." The Government of the United States would not at any time have permitted Cuba to pass from Spain to any nation, other than this, without a war. President Grant recommended the purchase of Santo Domingo. There has not been a time within a hundred years when we would not gladly have accepted any one of the principal islands of the West Indies that was ready to fall to us.

The Monroe Doctrine is not applicable in the present case. That doctrine was announced at a particular time (1823), under

peculiar circumstances, and for a particular purpose, all of which have long since passed away. Spain's South American provinces, Central America and Mexico, had all declared their independence of the mother country and had been duly acknowledged by the United States as independent nations. The "allied powers" of Europe were discussing a proposition to assist Spain in recovering her lost dependencies in the Western hemisphere, when Russia proposed to Great Britain and the United States an amicable adjustment of the boundary lines of territory in the northwest part of North America—territory in which all of these three countries were interested, and President Monroe availed himself of this circumstance to declare, in his formal message to Congress, Dec. 2, 1823, "as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," and "that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

That is the Monroe Doctrine; it is simply an official statement that the people of the United States will not allow any such interference with independent American nations by European powers as would amount to extending their "political system" in the Western hemisphere, or to "oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny." Summarized, the Monroe Doctrine is notice to European powers that, while they might keep and control what possessions they then had in North and South America, they must not further interfere in "this hemisphere." It has no relation to acquisitions of territory on our part or to its government, here or elsewhere, and the proposed expansion policy is wholly our own. We, and not they, are the actors in this case.

Nor does General Washington's advice about entangling alliances apply. And the suggestion that to expand our territory, as proposed, is in violation of the Constitution of the United States, is equally untenable. We are not proposing to interfere with the affairs of any foreign power, except only that one against which Congress unanimously declared war last April, and voted all the men, money and munitions necessary to prosecute the

war to a successful issue. Our war is with Spain only, and we are dealing with Spain in a region distant, across water, five hundred miles from the nearest dependency of any European power, and three thousand miles from the eastern boundary line of Europe. No government other than that of Spain has claimed or does now claim any interest or right in these Spanish islands.

What the Constitution of the United States prohibits, that we must not do without first amending that instrument, but what the Constitution does not prohibit, the people of the United States may do if they so desire and have the power. On this subject the power of the people has not been limited by anything they have said or done. The Constitution prescribes a form of government and contains grants and limitations of power, but it does not define or limit the war power beyond the declaration of war. When war is once begun, it is to be conducted and terminated according to the rules of war, and these are regulated by an international code. The Constitution prescribes a form of government, not a rule of action in adjusting terms of peace with a nation that we have defeated in war. And in doubtful cases the Constitution always gracefully yields to the popular will. This war was not begun for conquest, but Dewey's guns awakened the world, and with the destruction of Montojo's fleet at Manila, Spanish power in the Philippines was ended, and American seamen were left in charge.

The argument that we have no right to the islands is answered by the statement that our right is at least as good as that of Spain, and now that Spain has ceded to us the whole group, the only question left worth considering is, whether it will be better for the people there and for the advancement of Christian civilization and popular government that we retain possession of the islands and hold them in trust for the people, or that we shall withdraw and thus leave the inhabitants a prey to ambitious leaders, subject at any time to invasion, pillage and conquest from the outside.

Porto Rico is held by us without conditions, and that, too, with the hearty approval of all the people of the United States; yet this was not contemplated in the beginning. The island is not taken as indemnity, it is held without assignment of reasons. And, pray, what argument in favor of our taking and holding Porto Rico will not apply with equal force to the case of Luzon and

the rest of the Philippines? The Porto Ricans were not in rebellion against Spanish rule—they rather liked it; they had not asked us for sympathy or assistance, nor had they appealed to us for provisions to feed their starving poor. Why, then, should we take that island if we may not also take Luzon? And if we may take Luzon, why not another, and another, until we have relieved Spain of all further responsibility as sovereign in that part of the world?

If it be asked by what right or authority we shall undertake the task of temporary government in the Philippines, we may cite the power that led us conquering from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. In the colonization of North America by European powers, if we except Spain, the object was not conquest; it was trade. The British navigation act was passed, within thirty years after settlement was actually begun by the colony at Massachusetts Bay. Though not undertaken for conquest, the settlement and ownership of the continent by white people is now complete. The Indian has ceased to be a factor. Can anybody imagine how it could have been otherwise? And is not such the history of civilization—the weaker giving way to the stronger—survival of the fittest? First, the explorer and the missionary, then the trapper and hunter, then the settler, and afterwards government, which is the beginning of dominion. And, dear reader, have you ever thought about how many such worlds as this would be required to support 1,500,000,000 savages who need a thousand acres of land apiece to live on, while the enlightened citizen needs but one? God must have intended that savage life and customs should yield to higher standards of living, or he would have made the earth many times larger.

The right of migration, if it be a right, justifies the planting of colonies, and all that follows must be regarded as matters of course. The theory which excuses the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth covers the whole ground. The Puritans began their work on shipboard by agreeing among themselves to form a colony and abide by such rules and regulations for their conduct and government as should be deemed necessary for the general good. They took no thought of the Indian or his welfare, though they asked God's blessing on themselves. Their arrangements were made for their own safety and happiness, and not for the comfort or convenience of the Indians. Their intercourse

with the red men was commercial. Trade with the savage conquered him.

Who denies the missionary's right to go to the heathen's territory and conquer him by telling of the Prince of Peace and His Kingdom? And who would stay the Government's arm when raised to protect a preacher from the savage's assault? If the preacher may go where he will and teach a new and better doctrine, why may not his Christian neighbors and followers, the farmer, merchant and mechanic, go also? Why may not the man that carries the Bible be accompanied by others carrying plows, planes, anvils, looms and steam engines? Our missionaries went to the Sandwich Islands in 1820; five years later the Ten Commandments were adopted as the laws of the people, and now the islands form the American Territory of Hawaii.

Preparatory government in the Philippine Islands will be no more difficult or dangerous than it was in territories of the United States, and there has not been a day in this country, within a hundred and fifty years, when there was any halt in our progress or any doubt about our final success. Our experience has been a school in the arts of conquering savages without exterminating them by war. Occupation and settlement of this country has produced a class of brave, big-hearted men and women, fit for any emergency. We now have men by the thousand who graduated on the frontier, and who could take up the thread of government among a semi-barbarous people as readily as they would lay out a town site or grade a railway line. Developing, constructing, trading, improving, are our special lines of work. We could throw an army of civilizers into the Eastern Pacific regions as easily as we can send an army of soldiers to Cuba.

Legitimate trade the world over must some time be free—absolutely free—and that condition will come when commerce reaches all parts of the earth, and the religion of good will is everywhere established. Nothing now would add greater momentum to the movement in that direction than the building of a republic by Americans, after the American model, in the Philippine Archipelago, for it would tend to multiply trade marts among the nations, it would encourage the project to merge war into peace, it would raise the standard of international law and lift the world's politics to a higher level.

W. A. PEFFER.

THE OPPOSITION TO RAILWAY POOLING.

BY H. T. NEWCOMB.

EVER since the passage of the act to regulate commerce, popularly denominated the Interstate Commerce law, there has been a continuous though unsuccessful effort to secure, by Congressional enactment, the substitution of provisions for the legal recognition and Federal supervision of railway pools for the absolute prohibition of such arrangements contained in that statute. Railway owners and managers, during the period when the present law was under consideration in the National Legislature, protested vigorously, and with substantial unanimity, against the inclusion of the anti-pooling clause in the scheme of regulation adopted for the business of interstate railway transportation, and have continued with progressively increasing vehemence to assert the impracticability of affording adequate protection against unjust discrimination to railway patrons unless the revenues of railways that should be profitable are also protected against the losses that are certain to result from unrestrained and illegitimate competition of bankrupt lines and circuitous routes. They have contended, with apparently sincere and certainly plausible arguments, that such protection cannot be secured except through agreements for the division of the traffic or earnings of competing lines, and that in consequence of this fact any provision of law forbidding such agreements is radically inconsistent with other provisions prohibiting the preferential treatment of particular shippers or localities. Adopting these conclusions, though possibly with modifications and reservations not at all material to the present discussion, the proposition to amend the Interstate Commerce law so as to permit railway pooling, subject to suitable conditions of official supervision, has received the approval and endorsement of the present

chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission; of successive annual conventions of State Railroad Commissioners, of the National Board of Trade, of Judge Reagan, the author of the anti-pooling provision of the present law; of Senator Cullom, chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the United States Senate; of the present Speaker of the National House of Representatives, and of every intelligent and honest student of transportation.

Before examining the causes which have resulted in this surprising and unfortunate failure of the almost unanimous sentiment among the most enlightened portion of the public to secure a measure which it has consistently favored, it may be profitable to recapitulate the arguments from which has been reached the conclusion that the division of competitive traffic or the earnings therefrom among the various railways whose lines are available for its transportation, in proportions fixed by a common agreement, is, under present conditions, an absolutely essential element in any scheme for the mitigation of the evils of the present railway situation that can be satisfactorily successful.

The nature of the business of furnishing railway facilities is such that it can be competitive as to comparatively but few individuals, including those only who are located at or near points served by two or more independent railways. In its relation to all other individuals, and to all localities provided with less ample facilities for transportation, the railway corporation possesses a monopoly privilege, and, in the absence of effective legal restraint, its charges are limited, if at all, solely by the requirement imposed by enlightened self-interest that they shall not prevent the movement of traffic. In practice, this theoretical limitation is too frequently disregarded, and the rates prescribed are practically prohibitive. The most obvious examples of this are found in the region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and east of the Mississippi river. The railways serving this section have formulated their rate schedules in accordance with a purpose, by them freely acknowledged and warmly defended, to foster the wholesale or jobbing business of certain cities, and to compel the residents of all other cities and towns to purchase their supplies in the favored cities, while restricting the sales of the merchants located in the places discriminated against to the goods necessary to supply the retail demand of their several localities.

Though competition among railways might, of course, be confined to the facilities for safe or rapid transportation offered by the different companies, it is usually carried on by means of offers to perform similar services for varying compensation. Its tendency is to reduce the charges for transportation between localities served by two or more carriers, while, at the same time, preserving the average rate of all charges by the maintenance of relatively unreasonable rates for the movement of non-competitive business. Serious discriminations against localities served by a single carrier are the natural and inevitable result. Even at the comparatively few points at which there is actual competition among independent and rival railways, the benefits of the contests for traffic are rarely distributed among the general public with even approximate equality. In consequence of the modern specialization of industrial functions, the larger interests at such points are usually, if not invariably, concentrated in a few lines of production. Considerations relating to the convenience of the railways, as well as to that of their patrons, naturally impel the former to provide special equipment for the transportation of the traffic supplied by such interests, and this, together with the magnitude of the business they furnish, renders it the especial object of whatever competition may occur. Under ordinary circumstances, competition among sellers finds expression in a series of offers to supply the particular commodity vended at varying prices, this series of offers finally resulting in a practically uniform price which approximates the cost of production of the last increment of supply for which there is an effective demand. Such offers are open to all, and do not vary with regard to the individual to whom they are made. Among railways, and it may parenthetically be noted, at times among highly centralized lines of production generally, such is not the ordinary course of competition. Open offers would speedily result in uniform charges, and traffic would seek the lines naturally best adapted to convey each particular shipment. Each line attempts, therefore, to keep secret its concessions to shippers, and, in order to do so, makes them to particular patrons only. Hence arise unjust discriminations, upon which are built up extortionate profits, and finally enormous industrial combinations, which in turn are able effectively to demand favors in the adjustment of railway charges and to dictate the terms upon which they will purchase transportation. No one has better ex-

pressed these facts than Hon. Martin A. Knapp, the present chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In the course of one of the best studies of railway problems ever written, he said:

"The ultimate effect of preferential rates is to concentrate the commerce of the country in a few hands. The favored shipper, who is usually the large shipper, is furnished with a weapon against which skill, energy, and experience are alike unavailing. When the natural advantages of capital are augmented by exemptions from charges commonly imposed, it becomes powerful enough to force all rivals from the field. If we could unearth the secrets of these modern 'trusts,' whose surprising exploits excite such wide apprehension, we should find an explanation of their menacing growth in the systematic methods by which they have evaded the burdens of transportation. The reduced charges which they have obtained, sometimes by favoritism and oftener by force, account in great measure for the colossal gains which they have accumulated. This is the sleight of hand by which the marvel has been produced, the key to the riddle which has amazed and alarmed the nation. If these combinations were deprived of special and exclusive rates there is little doubt that they would be shorn of their greatest strength and lose their dangerous supremacy. Indeed, I think it scarcely too much to say that no alliance of capital, no aggregation of productive forces, would prove of real, or at least permanent, advantage, if rigidly subjected to just and impartial charges for public transportation."

An effect similar to that of unjust discriminations among the patrons of a single line may be produced among those of competing railways if the rate schedules of the latter prescribe different charges for like and contemporaneous services. For example, if among two or more individuals who simultaneously ship equal quantities of the same commodity from the same place to the same destination, one secures the transportation at a lower aggregate cost, the commercial disadvantage resulting to the others is neither more nor less, whether the routes traversed by the various shipments are identical or otherwise. For similar reasons it is not of the least importance to the residents of a district competing with those of some other district for the privilege of supplying a particular community with some necessary product, whether the relatively unjust rate which deprives them of equality of opportunity in the market common to both is for a service performed by a line owned or operated by the corporation over whose railway the traffic from the unfairly favored locality must pass. It follows that it is essential to the equitable distribution of the aggregate cost of transportation, not only that particular railways charge similar rates for similar services, but that all railways or combinations of railways which offer to perform similar services

shall establish and collect therefor uniform rates and charges. Anything less than this necessarily involves unjust discriminations and ultimate demoralization of the industries dependent upon railway transportation. However the Interstate Commerce law may have failed to satisfy the expectations of its friends, its operation during twelve years has established beyond controversy the fact, that satisfactorily permanent uniformity in the rates exacted for traffic for which two or more railway routes are available, cannot be maintained without the aid of a system which provides a substantial incentive to adherence to agreements after they have been adopted. Such a system must substitute for the superficial spirit of rivalry and conflict, now too frequently prevalent among railway managers, a thorough appreciation of the identity of the corporate interests which they serve. As long as the ownership of the railway system continues to be distributed among a large number of legally separate corporations with different bodies of security holders, and their surplus revenues to be divided, in consequence, among distinct bodies of investors, the requisite harmonization of interests can be achieved, if at all, only by the division of all traffic for which two or more routes are, from a commercial standpoint, practically available among the carriers operating such routes, in stipulated proportions, according to contracts, the observance of which may be enforced by judicial process.

Though railway competition has not only failed to secure the public against unjust discriminations, but has actually fostered them, it is frequently contended that it has resulted in cheapening transportation, and popular approval of the regulation by which it is enforced has been sought as a consequence. Here a somewhat plausible affirmative argument can be made by the mere assumption, which will frequently pass unnoticed, that coincidence of time and place establish a relation as between cause and effect. Average charges for railway transportation are, per unit of distance, lower in the United States, especially for freight, than elsewhere in the world. The whole period of the development of railway facilities has been characterized by a downward movement in rates of fare and freight, which is one of its most salient features. Careful investigation of the incidents of this decline show clearly, however, that it is due to causes which are wholly extraneous to the railway system except in so far as the

enlightened perception on the part of those officials having charge of railways, that the future of such properties is invariably dependent upon the development of the territory contiguous and tributary to their lines, and that such development is largely dependent upon cheap transportation, can be considered an intrinsic cause. The genuine competition of trade, and not the *pseudo* competition of transportation, is the cause with which the decline in railway charges can be logically connected. Persistent and powerful pressure is constantly exerted to secure concessions in rates, in order to place particular producing regions upon a better footing in markets already reached, or to extend the areas which they can supply. Such concessions, however slight, may be sufficient to enable one region to monopolize a market formerly common to several, and thus lead to demands upon other carriers reaching the market from different directions. The sugar of Hawaii and that of Germany and Cuba find common markets in the United States, and whether the sale of one or both in large districts shall be profitable, or the reverse, is wholly a question of transportation rates. Salt from Michigan and Kansas meet in Iowa and other states on similar conditions, as do many other commodities in various portions of the country. Competing shippers in the same locality are constantly endeavoring to obtain more favorable rates than those accorded to their rivals, and though these may be, under present conditions, temporarily secret, they not infrequently lead to open reductions. The use of particular commodities is often limited territorially by the freight charges from the points of production to those of consumption, and when charges are too high on certain articles, substitutes produced nearer the points of consumption, or carried at lower freight rates, are frequently used. The charges for passenger transportation also, by limiting the distance which agents may profitably be sent or purchasers traverse, and otherwise hindering personal communication, effectively prescribe the limits of profitable interchange of commodities and interfere with the territorial division of labor. In consequence of these facts, the whole force of commercial competition, the most amazing and tremendous product of modern industrial and economic organization, is arrayed in a continuous effort to secure ever cheapening transportation. As a result, railway charges tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest rate that will produce a revenue sufficient in the aggregate to meet operat-

ing expenses, including necessary repairs and renewals, and, in addition, return to capital the lowest recompense for which it can be procured. As the latter is at any particular time a definite and ascertainable sum, it is evident that expenses of operation constitute the only controllable element. Here is found a barrier which legislative attempts to secure railway competition have erected against further reductions in charges being made possible by the inauguration of extensive economies in operation. There is thus imposed upon the public the burden of supporting, by rates otherwise unnecessarily high, this peculiar form of competition, that is profitable to no one, and, as has been shown, is the prolific parent of unjust discriminations. Some of the wasteful expenses incident to competition may be enumerated. Authentic statistics of the amounts paid by rival lines as commissions for securing business are very difficult to obtain, as the success of such practices depends very largely upon the degree of secrecy that it is possible to attain. The Interstate Commerce Commission was able to ascertain, however, that nine roads paid out an aggregate sum of more than one million dollars in a single year as commissions on passenger business alone. It is stated on reliable authority that as much as $20.70 has been paid to secure a single second-class passenger from Chicago to San Francisco. The multitude of outside agencies and travelling agents, maintained solely for the purpose of securing business for their respective lines that might otherwise go by those of their competitors, involves an expenditure so great, even during periods of comparative harmony, that it has been necessary to restrict their numbers by contract. The agreement now in force limits to eight the number of these agencies that may be maintained in the city of New York by each of the nine roads competing for through west-bound traffic. As it is a fact of ordinary observation that such agencies invariably cluster in particular portions of the city, and around particular corners, it is obvious that under a system of joint agencies, the public could be accorded superior service at lower cost. During the too frequent periods of wholly unbridled competition, popularly denominated "rate-wars," each participating road has its freight and passenger agents in nearly every important city in the country, at a total expense for rents, clerk hire, advertising, etc., that must be enormous. Four roads operating westward from Chicago are known to have expended

over a million and a quarter dollars for outside agencies and advertising in a single year during which rates were fairly maintained, while during an equal period one road out of New York expended $871,291 for similar purposes. The competition of long, circuitous, and otherwise excessively costly routes for traffic that would naturally traverse cheaper and more direct lines, is another gross extravagance too frequently observed. Between Omaha and St. Paul, with a short line distance of 373 miles, traffic is carried by a line 734 miles in length. From Chicago to New York, 21 routes—ranging from 912 to 1,376 miles—compete for traffic, while between Omaha and San Francisco there are five, of which the shortest is 1,865 and the longest 2,724 miles. Besides the numerous regular and "tramp" steamships available for shipments from New York to New Orleans, more than ninety all-rail lines are actively seeking to share in the business. The most direct of these is 1,340 miles in length, or 711 miles shorter than the longest. As an example of the waste of competitive train service, it is not necessary to add anything to the bare statement that forty-four trains leave Chicago each day for New York, and that similar duplication of service exists all over the country. No intelligent student of transportation doubts that whenever it becomes possible, by means of the adoption of wiser principles as the basis of regulative legislation, to eliminate from the cost of railway operation these economically useless and wasteful expenditures, the saving thus effected will accrue to the benefit of the general public, through the reductions in rates which will be then permitted to result from the action and interaction of the commercial forces hereinbefore described.

Having reviewed with some care the facts and arguments which, together with a knowledge of the present, though tentative, limits of possible legislation, imposed by intelligent conservatism, long ago caused enlightened public sentiment practically to crystallize in favor of the re-establishment, under suitable restrictions, of the pooling system, it will be of some utility to examine the obstacles that have so far prevented any effective legislative expression in accordance with that sentiment. Such an expression has been principally prevented by causes that may be classified and characterized as: (a) The unwarranted fears and too-strenuous conservatism of certain railway owners and managers; (b) the honest ignorance of a portion of the public and its legisla-

tive agents, and (c) the sophisticated dishonesty of those who are in a position to gain pecuniarily by the continuance of present conditions of railway rate-making. The causes in each class will be examined in order.

A limited number of railway owners and officials, it is believed, very reluctantly and only from a strong sense of duty to the public as well as to their own and their employers' interests, have interposed objections to legislation that would permit railway pooling, a thing which in itself they most earnestly desire, because all such legislative proposals have included provisions intended to strengthen the scheme of Federal railway regulation, which provisions the objectors consider to be framed, not only in derogation of the vested property rights of railway corporations, but so as to be inconsistent with the fundamental principles and inimical to the institutions of a democratic republic. The provisions to which exceptions are taken are, speaking generally, intended to make the Interstate Commerce law mean what the public supposed it to mean at the time of its enactment. They are intended to confer upon the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to prescribe reasonable maximum and (probably) minimum rates, to be applied to particular traffic after complaint regarding those promulgated by the carrier or carriers has been made, and followed by a formal investigation of which notice has been given to all interested parties, and at which such parties have been afforded ample opportunity to be represented by counsel and to present testimony. If adopted, substantial finality would be given to the findings of fact determined by the Commission as the result of its formal hearings, and judicial review of its proceedings would be limited to questions of law, though any court to which appeal may be taken would be permitted to remand any particular case to the Commission for further investigation of the facts. A modification of the fourth section, commonly known as the "long and short haul clause," has also been proposed, as has a grant of authority, similar to that exercised in England, to require the establishment of joint routes and the promulgation of through rates, and a considerable extension of the notice of changes in rates, which is now required. There are other changes of apparently minor importance, but it is to the first two enumerated above that there is most vehement opposition, and, as they are the only ones likely to be finally insisted upon by the friends

of the law, upon the validity of the objections to them must rest the wisdom of this particular form of antagonism to the proposed enactment. Without entering upon any discussion of the sufficiency of ordinary judicial processes to control the rate-making powers of railway officials, it may be declared, with confidence, that the people will not consent to be finally relegated to those processes for the redress of their real or fancied grievances against railway corporations. The Interstate Commerce law having practically failed to supplement, in a satisfactory manner, the means for relief previously available, it is impossible to believe that the people will cease to demand substantial supervision of interstate railways, or that Congress will acknowledge its impotence to exercise, in adequate measure, its Constitutional authority to regulate commerce among the several states. Though effective legislation may unquestionably be delayed, such action will scarcely abate the intensity of the public sentiment in its favor, nor mitigate its eventual rigor. The practical question for the most conservative owner or manager of railway property to decide is not whether the operation of the properties in his charge shall be subject to Federal regulation, but rather, what form such regulation shall assume. The latter is, as yet, an open question, and at the present time the influence of those in charge of such properties may have controlling force in determining the decision. Their advice, frankly, promptly, and ingenuously given, may be, it is even likely to be, heeded. But if it is too long deferred, if they struggle too obstinately or yield too grudgingly, they may see, not only the serious impairment of the property rights for the preservation of which they contend, but the inauguration also of experiments pregnant with danger to the Republic. The impracticability of attempts to regulate railway business by means of a commission being once definitely established, or, what to many may seem the same thing, its success so long postponed as to outwear the patience of the people, the next, the inevitable, and as true conservatives may discreetly fear, the unfortunate and irretrievable step, will be to the government ownership and operation of the railway facilities of the country. The alternative is not one that railway men should long hesitate to accept. Their traffic is not increased or their revenues permanently enhanced by restricting the interchange of commodities and the movement of commerce, but by encouraging the territorial division of labor and promot-

ing the development of the resources of the regions tributary to their respective lines. Their interests lie not only in dealing justly with the people and in seeking an adjustment of their charges that treats different and competing communities and citizens with both absolute and relative equity, but, also, in securing the most ample public confidence in the integrity of their intentions. Few will assert that the president, or the traffic manager, or other rate-making official of a particular road is the one individual certain to take the broadest and wisest view of the questions, not infrequently of vital public importance, which may arise in connection with the amount to be charged for almost any service that can be performed by the company for which he acts. The data in his possession may be meagre; he may be affected by acquired prejudices; or, though men of small ability are rarely prominent in railway business, his capacity may be moderate. While permitting him to act in the first instance, the endowment of the Interstate Commerce Commission, with the limited rate-making authority that has been suggested and to which the other proposed powers are mere adjuncts, would supplement his authority by that of a board of impartial and unbiased experts, whose function, in this particular, would be to review such of his conclusions as became the subject of complaint, and to arbitrate upon them between the railway corporation and the public, by whom the functions of the latter have been delegated. Such a board and the willingness of railway corporations to submit their rate-making power to its supervision would seemingly strengthen, in public estimation, the position of such corporations and create confidence in the substantial equity of their demands, or at least, in the uprightness of their intentions. It is exceedingly difficult to discover any valid objections to the creation of such a board of expert arbitrators which, when advanced by railway managers, are consistent with the belief that those who urge them do not desire to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. They will not claim that by accepting such arbitration they would surrender any substantial power to determine their own charges, for the most enlightened of them have admitted have indeed founded able and convincing arguments upon the fact as a premise, that the exercise of the rate-making power nominally possessed by them is invariably subject to limitations imposed by commercial conditions wholly external to the railway system, and

against which they would vainly struggle to secure extortionate returns. While the legal restrictions now existing are continued, the rates on competitive traffic enjoyed by any particular carrier are also effectively controlled by their rivals and in constantly imminent danger of demoralization as the result of a struggle in which paramount advantage lies with the line whose bankruptcy has temporarily eliminated the necessity of earning interest upon its funded debt. For this situation railways and their patrons might well prefer to substitute an agency which would promote their mutual interests, by fixing all rates upon a basis reasonable alike to those who pay and to those who collect them.

Opposition arising from what has been called the honest ignorance of a portion of the public is rapidly disappearing, as a consequence of the liberal education resulting from the worse than failure of the anti-pooling clause of the Interstate Commerce law. Such opposition has been, principally, the consequence of the unreasoned popular prejudice against those combinations which are rather indefinitely grouped under the term "monopoly," as it is commonly applied, a prejudice resulting in a large degree from the acceptance as axiomatic of the maxim which declares that competition is the life of trade. Skilfully played upon by corrupt and selfish demagogues, the consequences of this prejudice include provisions of constitutional and statutory law, both national and state, which have retarded harmonious railway development, and seriously impaired the public services rendered by railway facilities. Under similar provocation it yet lingers in certain sections, a curious rather than a dangerous relic, of an unwholesome and evil force now nearly extinct. That the public will insist upon the permanent maintenance of a wasteful, extravagant and uneconomic competition among the various portions of what should be a thoroughly co-ordinated and harmonious railway system, when such competition has ceased to be more than a costly and baneful fetich, a justification of higher charges than would otherwise be required, and the prolific parent of unjust discriminations, is not to be believed.

The most powerful, and, in many respects, the most alarming oppositon to railway pooling under any and all conditions, springs from the selfish interests of a class that is always keenly alive and intelligently active to take advantage of the slightest opportunity to secure increased profits. Attention has already, in this paper,

been directed to the importance, to the many large combinations of capital invested in industrial enterprises, of the unfair advantages in the charges for railway services which they have been able to obtain, in the words of the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, "sometimes by favoritism, but oftener by force." Under existing conditions of competition, they are able to secure such advantages by threatening to withdraw their patronage from any line the officials of which are obstinate in their refusals to make the concessions demanded. It is not necessary in every case actually to violate the letter of the Interstate Commerce law. Though rebating, making secret rates, underbilling, false weighing and similar practices are frequently resorted to, results equally satisfactory can often be secured by means of rate manipulations which do not involve the transgression of express statutory provisions. Early information of pending rate changes may be turned to considerable advantage when the difference in charges amounts to all, or nearly all (it is sometimes much more), of the possible profit on the commodities transported. Rates may be temporarily lowered while the large shipper is purchasing transportation, and advanced before his rivals can take advantage of them, or the former can wait until his competitor has shipped under high rates, serenely confident of the faithful execution of the promises he has obtained, that his own shipments will be forwarded promptly at greatly reduced rates of charge. The relation between rates on raw materials and their manufactured products are often of vital importance to large shippers as well as to their competitors. For example: Flour would not be manufactured in the Northwest for shipment to Eastern consumers if the rates for shipments of wheat were relatively much lower than those applied to flour, and the place at which cattle shall be slaughtered is determined in a very large measure by the differences between the charges for transporting cattle and their meat products. It has been frequently asserted that the adjustment of rates upon the latter pair of commodities from Chicago to the Atlantic seaboard has been dictated by a combination of capitalists engaged in the business of slaughtering cattle at Chicago, and their control of the rates on eastward bound shipments of dressed beef, which is a matter of public record, is understood to have been secured by means of a contract to concentrate upon a single line a definite quantity of traffic. Though it is usually

difficult to secure definite information regarding the practices by which illegal favors are granted, important facts concerning some of them have been made public through legislative and judicial investigations. Recalling the testimony of a railway official before the "Hepburn" committee of the New York Legislature that rebates were paid to Mr. A. T. Stewart in order to "build up and develop" his business, it will be of interest to cite some fragments of the evidence that shows in what manner the Standard Oil Company has attained its present mastery of the business in which it is engaged. A principal official of one of the leading trunk lines of the country testified, in 1879, that "we stated to the outside refiners that we would make lower rates to the Standard Oil Company than they got." Similarly, an official of one of the Pacific roads declared, during 1887, that the oil combination "from the time it acquired the oil business on this coast had lower rates than the general tariff provided, or than other shippers paid on coal oil." When an independent refiner at Marietta, Ohio, sought to compete with the Standard Oil Company, the rates charged for bringing crude petroleum to his refineries was placed at thirty-five cents per barrel, while his great competitor secured identical service for ten cents per barrel. This discrimination was forced from the railway by means of a threat on the part of the oil trust to construct a competing pipe line if it were refused, and if the social consequences of the application of such principles to railway rate-making were less serious would be rendered almost humorous by the additional fact, elicited in the course of judicial proceedings, that twenty-five cents of the thirty-five cents per barrel paid by the independent refiner to the railway corporation were by the latter transferred to the oil combination, as a further consideration for its refraining from the construction of a pipe line. The hopelessness of competition among producers under such conditions needs no comment, yet it is to secure such result that the aphorism "competition is the life of trade" is made a rule of action in legislative attempts to regulate the business of interstate transportation. No one would suppose that the beneficiaries of unjust discriminations would not seek to prevent an enactment that would make them more difficult or impossible to obtain, and we are not surprised therefore to find the trusts unanimously, though, so far as possible, secretly, working to prevent the legalization of railway pools. If separate

carriers could enter into agreements for the equitable division of competitive business and to secure the enforcement of such agreements could obtain the aid of the Federal courts, they could no longer be compelled to accept the business of even the strongest shipper or combinations of shippers upon terms dictated by the latter. Instead of independent and inharmonious corporations, each ready to become an agency to demoralize the traffic and earnings of the others, the railways of the United States would constitute a compact, homogeneous system, presenting, toward all shippers, an aspect of undeviating fairness and unyielding unity, not to be destroyed by the attacks of those whose selfish interests demand the perpetuation of the principal evils, the correction of which constitutes the main railway problem of the present time.

Current opposition to that form of railway pooling which constitutes the single essential preliminary to the railway reforms now most necessary is practically included within the classes enumerated. One may well hope that the belated ignorance which, in spite of the amplest evidence to the contrary, still insists that there can be genuine competition among railways, and that such competition has substantial regulative value, will soon cease to be an effective agency for the maintenance of conditions that result in unjust discriminations which are mainly beneficial to those whose efforts are directed toward the suppression of competition in trade, and that, after full consideration, railway owners and managers will perceive the wisdom of accepting, together with permission to make contracts for the division of their traffic, whatever degree of effective Federal regulation may be necessary to satisfy a reasonable public. When these things have been accomplished, the combinations of capitalists that destroy competition in trade and banish real individualism in industry, will have little power further to retard the most substantial step toward the solution of the problem of railway rates that has yet received general support, though their efforts to do so will no doubt be as secret, as vigorous, and as tireless as ever.

H. T. NEWCOMB.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

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THE history of England's contact with India during the last century and a half is the record of, perhaps, the most stupendous work accomplished by any nation in the progress of the human race.

The writer, an American citizen, has spent the last two decades amid the thrilling scenes of this work, has studied it with keen interest and has participated in its blessings. To one who has enjoyed, and is still enjoying, these privileges, the failure of many in the United States to appreciate this work of Great Britain, and their persistent determination to charge her with supreme selfishness and inhumanity in her Indian rule, seem inexplicable.

The writer holds no brief for the Anglo-Indian; nor is he ignorant of the weaknesses of that dignitary. But he is convinced that few men are doing a larger work, under adverse circumstances, for the progress of the human race than this same self-exiled Britisher among an alien race.

I.

To appreciate England's work in India one must realize its immense difficulty. Here, then, are about thirty-five million people, reaching across more than seven thousand miles of watery space to grasp a land which is more than twelve times the size of their home land, and half as large as the whole of the United States. Within this semi-continent, this foreign race exercises supreme power over a people eight times its own number—a population which embraces fully one-fifth of the inhabitants of the globe. Nor is this vast population homogeneous. It is the home of a large number of conflicting tribes and nations, speaking different

tongues and imbued with caste animosities and ancestral dissensions. The warlike Sikh, the defiant Pathan, the subtle and wily Mahratti, the suave and intellectual Baboo, the stolid and effeminate Dravidian, and the barbarous hill man—these and many other different races have to be yoked together in the great chariot of state—a relationship which they have never before sustained to each other.

Religiously, also, they are as diverse as possible. While three-fourths of all the people are Hindu in religion, it must not be forgotten that this remarkable faith, which unites its votaries together in some respects, in others, which are most vital to a secular government, it divides them into numberless mutually antagonistic sects which make united action all but impossible. And though the Hindus are far in the ascendant, so far as numbers are concerned, the Mohammedans, with their nearly sixty million souls (many more than are found in all the realm of the Turkish Sultan), and with their much more united front, religious bigotry and bold, unyielding spirit, are a source of more anxiety to, and are objects of more conciliation on the part of, the government than are all the other elements put together. Add to these the more than two and a half million Christians, and the fewer, but still mulitudinous, Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsees. Add again the nearly ten millions of Animists and fetish worshippers, and we are only at the beginning of the religious classification of this people.

To one who believes that, religiously, the teeming millions of this land are docile and tractable, it is only necessary to refer to the faith origin of the terrible mutiny of 1857. Even the stubborn war with the frontier tribes had more the character of a *jihad* than the government is willing to confess. Whatever may have been its origin, it was doubtless largely fed and maintained by the religious sentiments of those doughty hill tribe Mohammedans, who have been feeling for some time that Christianity is the mortal foe of their faith. Moreover, the notable state of uneasiness among the inhabitants, in view of government's well meant effort to stamp out the terrible plague which is infesting the land, is purely a matter of religion. The cry of the Sepoy Mutiny is again revived and government is charged with trying to destroy the souls of the people by the sanitary process of inoculation against the plague. It is not the first time that

sanitary precautions in this land have been pronounced the enemy of faith and the ruin of the soul. When superstition joins hands with dirt, to antagonize progress and health in an Oriental country, it is high time that the government prepare for a mighty struggle in behalf of its own safety. The recent riots and other manifestations of disloyalty in three of the leading cities of India testify to this, and add to the already numerous illustrations which the country affords that the rule of the East by the West is an exceedingly difficult and dangerous matter.

The striking contrast of type and character existing between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hindu, facilitates all sorts of misunderstanding between them, and aids perceptibly in making the path of the British Raj a very thorny one in the land. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find two peoples who are farther removed from each other in temperament and training—whose natures and antecedents are more irreconcilable at all points. While the Anglo-Indian is bold, frank and just, even to brutality, the Hindu is subtle, affable, too practiced in dissimulation, with ready susceptibilities to temporize and to barter justice for expediency. On the one side, we see the Westerner haughty, unyielding and unwilling to conciliate; on the other we behold the Oriental willing to be trampled upon, when it seems necessary, and to smile with apparent gratitude under the process; but, withal, possessed of a large inheritance of ineradicable prejudices, which make a contact with his too domineering Western lord an unceasing trial to him. Perhaps the most marvelous thing about an Englishman in a foreign land, is his unwillingness to adapt himself to the people or the clime of his new habitation. He clings with tenacity to his home ideas and habits, as if they were of universal application. He adheres with rigid faithfulness to his ale, whiskey and beef in a tropical clime, when every rule of health cries aloud against them. An Englishman died not far from where the writer now lives. It was an unnatural death, and the natives of that region built a shrine in the jungle, near the place of his decease, and offered for years, in true sobriety, whiskey and cheroots to appease his thirsty and unsatisfied spirit. It is not strange that the native should recognize a continuity of spirit-taste in the here and the hereafter of the Sahib.

Another point at which the two races are antipodal is that of general aspect. The Britisher is a progressive to the core. He

only needs to be assured that a certain course is right and for the best interest of the community in order to adopt it. His face ever looks upward and his ambition is ever to go forward. But here he lives among a race whose chief divinity is custom, and the gist of whose decalogue is, "Hold fast to the past." As they approach a proposed enterprise their first and last question concerning it is not whether it is right and best, but whether it is in a line with the past, and would be approved by their ancestors. The whole country has been anchored for the last twenty-five centuries to a code of social laws and customs which are more unyielding than the laws of the Medes and Persians. Manu and his laws have thus been the curse of the ages to them. Among a people the chief ambition of whose young men is to be like their grandfathers, and where conservatism is the acme of piety and propriety, it is no wonder that, during the last century, all progress has been practically forced upon the country from without, and in the teeth of their most sacred institutions and their most earnest protestation and opposition.

It had doubtless been well for the Anglo-Indian in India, had he had an occasional eye for the excellences and prejudices of the Orient, and had he not been so cock sure of his supreme wisdom and unquestionable superiority in all points wherein he differed from the Hindu, and had he not so frequently trifled with the deepest sentiments and ridden roughshod over the dearest customs of the Hindu. But his experience has not been in vain, and he is not what he once was in this particular; even though this weakness is now regarded by the Hindu as the most serious complaint against him. At the same time, it must be confessed that a large compliance with the most deep rooted and universal customs and prejudices of the land would render an advanced and progressive government all but impossible.

Another of the serious embarrassments which stand ready to overwhelm any attempt at an able and effective rule in this land, is the deep poverty of the people.

"It is finance which lies at the base of every difficulty connected with our Indian Empire," is the sapient remark of Sir Charles Dilke. And at the base of the financial difficulty lies the penury of the people. Great Britain is not prepared to administer the affairs of state in India from the same motives as keep in operation its Christian missions—from a self-denying benevolence. Nor does

it seem that a much cheaper administration would be either good or economical. She must find a *quid pro quo;* and the large number of men of fine training, integrity and administrative power whom she sends out to this far off tropical land must be paid adequately, if not handsomely, for their toil, danger and exile. It is a very doubtful question whether, beyond a reduction in the army, and a lessening of the high salaries of native officials, England could safely bring down the expenses of its present *régime.* And yet it is true that the country is groaning under the burden, and can ill afford so expensive a government. It is a well known and lamentable fact that one-fifth of the whole population, say 60,000,000, or a total nearly equal the population of the United States, are insufficiently fed, even in ordinary years of prosperity. They are the ever ready prey of the first drought, distress or famine that may happen. It is a not uncommon experience of the ryot to retire at night upon an empty stomach.

It does not help, but rather aggravates, the situation to be told that most of this evil which the people bear is self-imposed. They reveal a combination of blind improvidence, reckless expenditure and an unwillingness to shake off impoverishing customs. For instance, the debt incurring propensity of the native is akin to insanity. Hardly a member of the community is free from debt. In fact, it is believed by the ordinary man here that a debt incurred is a true badge of respectability. All the poor people with whom the writer is acquainted are tied hand and foot to this terrible millstone. And the interest paid is crushing. An employee once told the writer of his terrible burdens. One was an interest of one rupee paid monthly on a sum of *Rs. 30, borrowed in distress. The interest had then been paid regularly for several years and was not considered an exceptional rate, neither, indeed, is it. The hereditary village money lender is a most rapacious and heartless Shylock. It is rare that a poor farmer who gets into his clutches escapes the dreadful bondage. It usually leads to the loss of all property and means of support. Under the ancient Hindu law, no money lender could recover interest on a loan beyond the amount of principal which he had advanced. Under the present rule he can recover to any amount, sell the tenant's crop, and even take possession of the land under a judgment decree. It is one of those instances where justice in law is made to admin-

* A rupee is nominally worth 40 cents but is actually worth only 30 cents.

ister to unrighteousness and cruelty in life. This evil certainly represents a present serious political danger. The extent may be realized from the statement of the last census report, that in Assam nearly 68 per cent., in the Northwest Provinces nearly 47 per cent., in the Central Provinces nearly 37 per cent., in Bombay 31 per cent., and in Madras 18 per cent. of the landlords are of the money lender class.

The people, moreover, are given to the most extravagant expenses at marriages and funerals. It is frequently the case that a man spends upon the marriage of a son or daughter—the latter especially—more than a whole year's income. The writer knows many who are hopelessly overwhelmed with debts incurred by the marriage of their children. And the saddest thing about it is that they have little option in this expense, which is prescribed and enforced by caste customs. For this reason most of the efforts put forth to reform this evil have been fruitless. It should also be added that this money is loaned and spent in vain, childish show, and in universal feasting, which leaves not a solid blessing behind.

Nor can another marked feature of Indian life be omitted here; and that is the rank growth, under the fostering care of religious teaching and superstition, of religious mendicancy. There are 5,200,000 of such lazy, worthless fellows encumbering this land to-day. The mass of them are sleek in body and pestilential in morals. The people are filled with mingled fear of and superstitious reverence for them; so that they will yield to their threats and give to them their last morsel. You meet this pest everywhere; he is as ubiquitous as the soldier in Italy. Whenever a man finds work too hard, he dons the yellow cloth of the religious mendicant and becomes an immediate success! But alas for the community! Hindu charity is proverbial, but it is blinder than love itself. It gives, but never intelligently, and thus fosters everywhere laziness and imposture. Such a body of worthless consumers would tax even a wealthy land. To India it is a dreadful burden and a drain.

Add to this, as another source of their poverty, the insane passion for jewels which consumes both high and low. Millions of rupees' worth of gold flows into the country annually, and most of it is melted and converted into personal adornments for women and children. For this purpose nearly half a million goldsmiths,

according to the last census, are engaged and make a comfortable living at an annual expense of nearly thirty million rupees. This is a much larger force of workmen than that of all the blacksmiths in the land. All this vast treasury of gold is entirely unproductive property and leads to much litigation and to many murders.

The litigious spirit of the people also is phenomenal. It is doubtful whether any other people on earth spend, relative to their means, in legal processes, more than Hindus. It would sometimes seem as if the lawyer, whose name is legion, is, next to the money lender, the most highly favored man in the land.

In view of all these facts, Sir W. W. Hunter's statement that "the permanent remedies for the poverty of India rest with the people themselves," is eminently true. And it is further emphasized by the following remark of Sir Madhava Ras, K. C. S. I., one of the very few statesmen that India has produced among its own children: "The longer one lives, observes and thinks, the more deeply does he feel there is no community on the face of the earth which suffers less from political evils and more from self-inflicted or self-accepted, or self-created, and, therefore avoidable evils, than the Hindu community."

But it is not so much the cause or causes of this universal poverty, as it is the existence of it, which concerns us at present. In the midst of such widespread and oppressing impecuniosity, it is doubtful whether there is enough wealth in the land to pay for so expensive a luxury as an intelligent, honest, efficient government. And yet we are convinced, notwithstanding the loud-mouthed protests of the enemies of Great Britain in this land, and the warning of some of her friends, too, that the highest prosperity of India and her ultimate redemption from indigence, also, must for a long time to come spring not from a cheapened native administration, but from the most efficient and vigilant and progressive *régime* that Great Britain can produce. The natural resources of the country are great and must be developed, and the people raised, even against their will, to a higher life by the mighty and progressive Anglo-Saxon.

Above and beyond these difficulties lies that of the rapid increase of population, which, under the peace, protection and sanitary improvements of the State, is a growing embarrassment. Every Ramasamy thinks that, whatever other blessings and functions may be withheld from him, a wife or two is his inalienable

right, and the procreation of his kind a God-given duty which he must not ignore. Moreover, it is regarded that no greater curse can befall a girl here below than that of not being asked in marriage, and no misfortune equal to that of barrenness. The consequence is that few young men and no grown up girls are found unmarried. The thought whether a bridegroom is able to support, or ever will be able to support, his wife and the inevitable family is to them absolutely irrelevant at such a time. Alas! how many times the writer has seen a bright girl tied for life to an imbecile to propagate his imbecility; and others sold in bondage to disease-rotted husbands only to disseminate, through their wretched offspring, the penalty of the father's or grandfather's sins. Thus millions of people thoughtlessly and criminally rush into the realm of parentage, only to multiply their miserable and unworthy kind, and to foist them upon an already crowded land to be a care and a burden to the State. The observing philosopher in India often asks himself whether Malthus was not, after all, right, and whether his theory might not find wise application in this land. At all events, the present outlook is alarming, as it points to a no distant future when the three hundred millions of to-day shall become doubled and the problem of life shall be vastly more complicated. And yet this difficulty confronts the State as a direct result of its success in the preservation of countless human lives that have been thrust upon it by unworthy people, and, in most cases, under the stress of senseless social customs and false religious teachings.

Famine, also, is an oft recurring and most perplexing evil with which this land has always been familiar. In times past it was the gaunt avenger which decimated the people and kept down the population within the range of tolerable existence. And the god of dirt and insanitation carried away the unneeded residue left by famine.

This is one of the very few great evils before which human power stands helpless. It is true, as we shall again see, that the government has done very much by irrigation schemes and by the building of railways to mitigate this evil. By famine funds and relief works it also strives, as it did in the last famine, to reduce the mortality and suffering arising from these seasons of drought. But the constant penury of the people and their ever living upon the verge of hunger and want, make it now impossible to save many

from the terrible result of the visitations. It is a comfort, however, to know that every year means progress in the matter, and tends, through large and conscientious efforts of the State, to make each succeeding famine less dreadful in aspect and result than the preceding one. Perhaps there is no other thing which occupies at present more of the time and thought of the imperial government than this. But to drive entirely away this gaunt demon from a land which is peculiarly liable to drought, and while the people are chronically unprepared to meet the least extra drain, is more than can be expected from any government.

It may not be out of place to mention here a difficulty of the Indian Government against which it has sometimes struggled in vain. This is a commercial one and arises from the conflicting interests of Great Britain and India. And it is also the direct result of allowing the British Parliament to subordinate the well-being of India to party interests and local commercial advantages. It must remain a disgrace to Great Britain, because a flagrant injustice to India, if she allows her legislation to be shaped and the hands of the Indian Government to be tied in response to the greed and at the beck of Lancashire manufacturers. The cotton interests of this land have more than once been thus sacrificed. And the Indian Government only recently protested against this injustice, and maintained, what is becoming more and more accepted in England, that the British Parliament must impose upon her great dependency no law or dictum which may in any way prove detrimental to its commercial interests. The Indian Government has certainly enough to contend with, without being subjected to such limitations from without.

J. P. JONES.

(*To be continued.*)

"CHRISTIAN SCIENCE" AND ITS LEGAL ASPECTS.

BY WILLIAM A. PURRINGTON.

IT is asked if existing laws impose any restraint upon treatment of the sick by *soi-disant* "Christian Scientists," and if further legislation in that regard is desirable.

Mere charlatanism, unrelated to the general welfare, is not a proper subject for legislation, but quackery imperilling the public health is. Whether Christian Science falls within either category, every intelligent reader will readily determine when aware of its pretences—charlatanism being false pretension to knowledge, skill, power or achievement, and every one being a charlatan who falsely advertises himself as achieving greater results than his fellows, whether he be a medical man boasting of mysterious and impossible cures, a religious teacher preaching what he does not believe, or a lawyer proclaiming achievements that he has not accomplished or insuring results beyond his power. The term is not used offensively, nor with any desire to impute insincerity to honest believers in this new cult.

To answer the questions propounded, we must clearly understand, (1.) the true purpose and proper scope of legislative control over medical practice and matters affecting the public health; (2.) the methods taught and adopted for the treatment of the sick by Christian Scientists; (3.) the status of these people under existing law.

For the argument's sake let these concessions be made at the outset: (1.) mental stimulus exercises, and has been always known to exercise, enormous influence over the body, whether incited by such slight causes as "a harmless, necessary cat," or "woollen bagpipe," or by such powerful emotions as hope, fear or faith; and not only *malades imaginaires*, but sick persons, especially those

afflicted with hysterical disorders, have been and will be restored to normal health by such stimulus; (2.) the wisest physicians, as they will be first to admit, not having yet attained the limits of medical or psychical knowledge, are fallible, and often make errors of diagnosis; (3.) the *vis medicatrix naturae* is great, and, if there should be called to the treatment of a sick man two ignorant and incompetent persons, one a gloomy believer in dosing by rule, the other merely a cheerful prophet, the latter would be, probably, the more helpful, or at least the less dangerous; (4.) Socrates, Galileo, Jenner and many other persons met with opposition in promulgating truth, just as Simon, the sorcerer, Jack Cade, Cagliostro and other impostors eventually came to grief in their propaganda of lies.

These concessions are made because, in the writer's experience, no charlatan or enthusiast has yet appeared before a legislative committee to plead for the substitution of ignorance in place of medical learning, whose argument has not been, in substance, this: There are mysterious powers not possessed or fully understood by physicians, who frequently make grave mistakes; cures often follow the ministrations of clairvoyants, mediums, mind and faith curers; new truth is always opposed; therefore, medical practice should be untrammelled, and every one, regardless of character, intelligence, education or training, should be permitted to engage in the business of treating the sick for hire. A postulate must also be laid down, and he who denies it need read no further; the acceptance of new doctrines, or of old ideas revamped, by a large number of persons, of whom some may be very intelligent, is not of itself sufficient reason for general acceptance of such doctrines or ideas, or for toleration of practices founded upon them; especially if the former be contrary to ordinary experience and observation, and the latter be injurious to the public health, morals or safety. It was happily said by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, of Bishop Berkeley's belief in tar water as a specific for pretty nearly all the ills of man, that it "exhibits the entire insufficiency of exalted wisdom, immaculate honesty, and vast general acquirements to make a good physician of a great bishop;" while, of Berkeley himself, the wise and witty Doctor said: "He was an illustrious man, but he held two very odd opinions; that tar water was everything and that the material universe was nothing."

Public health laws, including therein statutes regulating medical practice, should be and are framed solely to protect the public, by providing against such harmful practices as adulterations of food and drugs, the spread of contagious diseases, maintenance of unsanitary conditions and medical treatment of the sick by unqualified persons. That the state may constitutionally and justly exercise its police power to protect health is by adjudication established beyond cavil, and by common consent so thoroughly accepted that if a pest-house or open cess-pool were established near the residence of the founder of Christian Science, she would doubtless apply, successfully, to the Courts or the Health Board to abate the nuisance, notwithstanding her teaching that a "calm Christian state of mind is a better preventive of contagion than a drug, or any possible sanative method."* The justification of medical licensing laws is that the overwhelming majority of sensible men, at all times, have believed that knowledge and training are essential to qualify a man to cope with disease; and, for this reason, the highest courts of many States and the Supreme Court of the United States, in Dent's case,† have affirmed the constitutional power of a State to enact laws forbidding unqualified persons to practice medicine, and establishing general tests of such qualification.

This is not the occasion to review the Medical Acts of the several States. It is enough to say that none of them prohibits or prescribes any special system of therapeutics or practice. To do that would block scientific progress and discourage investigation. It is not for legislatures to say how either bodies or souls shall be cured, to enact pharmacopoeias into statutes or crystallize theories, medical or religious, into law. But it is entirely right and proper for them to declare that no man shall enter upon the business of treating the sick until he is of full age and has shown, upon examination, that he has studied for a prescribed time, and acquired competent knowledge of those branches of true science, familiarity with which is, by universal consent, necessary to equip one into whose hands life and health are to be committed—physiology, anatomy, surgery, obstetrics, hygiene, chemistry, pathology, diagnosis. The licensed medical practitioner may act

* Misc. Works, p. 229. Where in these foot notes only a page is cited the reference is to "*Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*," the text-book of the cult.

† Dent v. West Virginia, 129 U. S. 114.

in any case upon any theory of therapeutics commending itself to his judgment; allopathy—if there be such a theory—homeopathy, hydropathy, electropathy, vitapathy, venopathy, osteopathy, Baunscheidtismus, magnetic healing, the Christian science of Mrs. Eddy, the pagan science of the Voodoo Queen, or a general Eclecticism.

In short, the law aims, and should aim, to require, as the only prerequisite of a medical license, satisfactory proof that the candidate is of good character and average equipment through study and training. In New York, for example, there are three Boards of Medical Examiners, representing the regular practitioners, and the Homeopathic and Eclectic Schools. Examinations are uniform in physiology, anatomy, and all the other branches of science above enumerated, wherein there is no medical schism. In therapeutics, where opinions diverge, candidates for license may demand examination according to their schools. Rhode Island's Supreme Court said lately, in Mylod's case,* by way of *reductio ad absurdum*, that Christian Scientists, were they held to be practitioners of medicine, would be entitled under the constitution of that State to a separate Board of Examiners—offering this as one argument for not holding them to be such practitioners. But why should not Christian Scientists, who make a business of attempting to cure the sick, be required to submit to examination in general medical science, quite as much as homeopaths from whose loins they have sprung, going, as do candidates from other schools, before their own board in therapeutics? It is said that they give no drugs, but they must and do make diagnosis,† and their "Mother" says that they often give medicine.§ Is it unreasonable to infer that their actual objections to being classed as medical practitioners subject to license are: (1.) that to prepare for examination requires years of study in real science; (2.) that no one with a fair knowledge of the human economy, and equipped to practice medicine intelligently, would adopt the vagaries of their *pseudo* science?

* State v Mylod, 40 Atl., 753.

† Although Christian Scientists deny, in order to escape prosecution under medical laws, that they make diagnosis of disease, yet upon their own theory they must do so; for their teacher bids them mentally to *address by name* the disease to be treated, and argue with it. They sometimes call "diagnosis" "discernment," and Mrs. Eddy says of herself, "I have discerned disease in the human mind, and recognized the patient's fear of it many weeks before the so-called disease made its appearance in the body. . . . *I am never mistaken in my scientific diagnosis of disease.*" (P. 194.)

§ "Departing from my instruction, many learners commend diet and hygiene. *They even administer medicine for certain diseases* thinking thereby to initiate the cure which they think to complete with mind!" (P. 376.)

Such being the purpose and proper scope of medical laws, the second inquiry is, What is so-called Christian Science?

The answer may, best and most fairly, be given by quoting the very words of the remarkable lady, Mrs. Eddy, who, in 1866, made the somewhat belated discovery of this branch of healing. This is the more important because many who, without having read the text-book, fancy they know, in a general way, what it teaches, would be surprised, on looking into the volume, at the vagueness of expression, hopeless confusion of thought, vain boasting, complacent assertion of impossible occurrences, virulent denunciation of all other systems, and systematic, commonplace advertising that everywhere appear. The publications to be quoted from are "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures" (Edition of 1887), and "Miscellaneous Writings, 1883-1896." The former, being the text-book wherein the new discovery is expounded, is read at the church service of the Scientists alternately with the Bible, and, if its author is to be credited, the mere reading of it, understandingly, has cured and will cure the most malignant diseases, even cancer, and indeed is the chief factor in all treatment.

At the threshold of this *magnum opus*, we are told: "The time for thinkers has come."* Hitherto, the world has got along in a thoughtless fashion; but at last the thinkers are upon us—not only those who think they think, but real thinkers; and it behooves us to heed their thought. Perhaps it is this statement, as much as any other in the book, that gives to Christian Science what vogue it has. The more ignorant the disciple, the more flattered he is to esteem himself a thinker wiser than all who have gone before. A cubit is added to his stature and he glows with self-satisfaction. When the author wrote of the Saviour: "Though Jesus is the impetus and pulse of Christianity, yet Christianity is larger than its human founder;"† and again of Bishop Berkeley: "He was a great natural Scientist in his day, and held opinions concerning 'absolute idealism' which advance his memory near to the border-land of Christian Science,"‡ she, too, doubtless felt this glow, and failed to apprehend in the words what was blasphemous to the pious, humorous§ to the merely instructed and offensive to good taste.

* P. 5. † P. 229. ‡ P. 230.

§ The poems of Mrs. Eddy, published in Miscellaneous Writings, Ch. XI., afford evidence at once of her literary craftsmanship and of her entire lack of humor. Two

Another reason why this text-book impresses the superficial as containing oracles of wisdom is, that it so often, like Dr. Holmes's katydid, says "an undisputed thing in such a solemn way;" for example, that those who are sick, or think themselves sick, should be cheered up; that fear strongly affects the system and even predisposes the timid to the sickness they stand in dread of; that children should not be coddled over-much, and that men ought to be good; trite sayings all, but to the thoughtless thinker revelations.

Yet another reason that commends the book and its disciples to the credulous is their boastful assurance of impossible results. Reputable practitioners of medicine or law do not insure success. Undoubtedly, however, such assurance inspires hope, especially in credulous minds. Mrs. Eddy does not hesitate to say that she cures the hundred cases where physicians lose the ninety-and-nine;* and her disciples have been known to give equal assurances to a patient already in the death agony.

A review of these books might be entertaining, and even profitable, if it served to enlighten any who may have accepted the "Science" without study of its genesis, by showing how, out of the time-worn speculation of idealism that matter does not exist apart from mind, a lady of Lynn, Mass., has spun a web of incoherent words† contradicting themselves on every page, and yet so attractive to the credulous as to form the nucleus of a cult and of an excellent source of revenue for the writer, and for those of her disciples who, in absolute ignorance of medical science, assume to cure every human malady; not only treating adults, but

verses from one of them, "Isle of Wight," (p. 393), may serve to illustrate her pellucid thought and style:

"Soul, sublime 'mid human *débris*
Paints the limner's work, I ween,
Art and Science, all unweary,
Lighting up the mortal dream."

* * * * * * *

"Students wise, he maketh now thus
Those who fish in waters deep,
When the buried Master hails us
From the shores afar, complete."

However trite or obscure her prose teachings, no one will deny the novelty and originality of rhyming "*débris*" with "unweary," "ween" with "dream," "now thus" with "hails us" and "deep" with "complete," and, to quote Calverley's saying of other poetry, "As to its meaning, it's what you please."

* P. 387

† As if realizing how incoherent, vague and self-contradictory is her writing, Mrs. Eddy says, somewhat in the manner of Mr. Bunsby, "In the spiritual sense of my subject lies the elucidation of it, and this sense you must gain in order to reach my meaning" (p. 391). And again, "Mortal mind does not at once catch my meaning, and can only do so as thought is educated up to my spiritual apprehension" (p. 392). And finally to her disciples and general readers she intimates that she can "explicate spiritual meanings more fully" by "practical teaching," *i. e.*, presumably by attendance on her well paid lectures (p. 17).

even helpless children, preventing the attendance of qualified medical men in critical cases, and even condemning observance of the rules of cleanliness, hygiene, diet and exercise. But with the metaphysics of the book we have here to do only in so far as it affects the practical system of treating the sick.

Originally, Mrs. Eddy seems to have been a homeopathist of the "high potency" faction, and to have been led by recognizing the medicinal inertness of high attenuations to her present theories.* She, herself, says: "Homeopathic remedies, sometimes not containing a particle of medicine, are known to relieve the symptoms of diseases. What works the cure? It is the faith of mortal mind that changes its own self-inflicted suffering, and produces a new effect upon the body."† This would be, at least, intelligible if she did not also teach that "there is really no such thing as mortal mind;" ‡ that "disease is an impression originating in the unconscious mortal mind, and becoming at length a conscious belief that the body or matter suffers, ... a growth of illusion springing from a seed of thought, either your own thought or another's;"‖ that body "is the seedling that starts thought, and sends it to the brain for consciousness";§ that "the entire mortal body is evolved from mortal mind," so that a bunion would be insanity if mortal mind would only call the foot the brain;¶ that matter "is another name for mortal mind"** and "disappears under the microscope of spirit";†† and that pain, which is presumably suffering, is "a belief without an adequate cause."‡‡ We are also taught that "disease has no intelligence to move itself about or change itself from one form to another."‖‖ Taking again the sentence just quoted, and substituting these definitions for words, we have this remarkable result: "It is the faith of mortal mind (*i. e.*, nothing) that changes its own self-inflicted sufferings (*i. e.*, beliefs without adequate cause) and produces a new effect upon the body" (*i. e.*, an evolution of mortal mind, or nothing, which therefore is itself nothing.)

Before this jargon one may fancy the delighted new thinker, like dear Alice after reading the Jabberwock, gloriously filled with ideas, but entirely ignorant of the meaning. The most that can be made of her theory is that disease does not exist save as a

* "Homœopathy; Its Friends and its Foes." Annual address by Dr. H. M. Paine, President of the Homœopathic Medical Society of the State of New York, 1888, Trans, Vol. XXIII.

†P. 312. ‡P. 419. ‖P. 182. §P. 191. ¶P. 300. **P. 542. ††P. 15. ‡‡P. 342. ‖‖P. 301.

false belief to be treated with argument; and the positive treatment of it is as follows: First of all, buy Mrs. Eddy's books and have the patient do so.* This will increase the circulation—of the book, if not of the patient. Next, deny that there is any disease, and make the patient agree with you. "Remember that all is mind and there is no matter. You are only seeing or feeling a belief, whether it be cancer, deformity, consumption, or fracture that you deal with."† Having thus established that the disease does not exist, you next proceed to "meet the incipient stage of disease with such powerful eloquence as a Congressman would employ to defeat the passage of an inhuman law."‡ No disease can stand that. Still more oddly, you are to call this disease, whose existence you deny, by name, but mentally, lest if the patient hear its name, his mortal mind will hold on to the disease; for, apparently, the mortal mind, which itself has no existence, although impressed by absent treatment and the reading of Mrs. Eddy's book, cannot let go any disease whose name is spoken out loud. But if you only address the disease mentally and speak the truth to it, "tumors, ulcers, tubercles, inflammation, pains and deformed backs. . . . all dream shadows, dark images of mortal thought, will flee before the light."‖ To the practical mind it would seem that the "healer" would need some medical knowledge to make his differential diagnosis of "ulcers" and "tumors," and to distinguish between abscess, aneurism, and other abnormal conditions. And if disease does not exist, and has no intelligence to move or change itself, it does seem a bad waste of time to have any discussion at all with it.

If this were all of Christian Science, it might do little or no harm. No one would object to letting a "Scientist" hold mental conversations with the patient's disease, or give "absent treatments," or encourage the sick to "look on the bright side." And a kindly soul would no more restrain a "Scientist" from playing with his metaphysics than he would interfere with a hopeful kitten that whirls in happy pursuit of its own elusive tail—always in sight, yet never quite attained. But it is the negative teachings of the so-called Science that render its disciples pestilent and dangerous to the public health. Declaring the incantations of the Esquimaux to be "as effective in cure of the sick as the *modus operandi* of civilized practitioners," Mrs. Eddy goes on to

*P. 375. †P. 297. ‡P. 322. ‖P. 301.

teach that physiology is anti-Christian. "It teaches us to have other gods before Jehovah. It is neither moral nor spiritual."* In its place she would substitute harmony; for "discord is the *nothingness* of error, harmony is the *somethingness* of truth."† "Sickness is inharmony."‡ This "new thought" is even older than that famous little dinner given by Agathon, where, notwithstanding the presence of Plato and Socrates, Aristophanes got tipsy and asked Eryximachus, the physician, why, if the latter really believed health to be only harmony and love among the members, he should prescribe anything so inharmonious as sneezing to cure hiccoughs.

No physician is to be called in by the sick. "The Scientist who understands and adheres strictly to the rules of my system . . . is the only one safe to employ in difficult and dangerous cases." ‖

Every form of treatment, Homeopathy,§ Mind Cure,¶ Movement Cure,** Animal Magnetism, Clairvoyance, Mediumship and Mesmerism,†† is impartially condemned. Against Animal Magnetism Mrs. Eddy is particularly bitter, apparently because, having been once "personally manipulated" by the late Mr. P. P. Quimby, "an uneducated man, but a distinguished mesmerist," it was thereafter stated that Mr. Quimby was the "originator" or her writings.‡‡ "It is morally wrong to examine the body in order to ascertain if we are in health," and "to employ drugs for the cure of disease shows a lack of faith in God.‖‖ "A Christian Scientist never recommends hygiene."§§ Dieting, dosing and exercise are unscientific.¶¶ It is foolish to suppose that it is exercise that increases the muscles of a blacksmith's arm; for, if that were so, the hammer, which takes just as much exercise, would also grow.*** This is one of the most powerful and characteristic arguments of the new thinker. Bathing is deprecated, although it is said that the Mother Church in Boston contains a gorgeous bath tub. "Bathing and rubbing, to alter the secretions or remove unhealthy exhalations from the cuticle, receive a useful rebuke from Christian Healing. We must beware of making clean the outside of the platter only. A hint may be taken from the Irish emigrant whose

* P. 171. † P. 22. ‡ P. 177. ‖ PP. 186, 324. § P. 133. ¶ P. 376. ** P. 364. †† PP. 212, 213, 219, 302. ‡‡ P. 6. ‖‖ P. 38.

§§ P. 374; Mrs. E. D. O., "at an early age learned hygiene (!) and practiced it faithfully for over twenty years" with such poor results that she "had once been laid out for dead" and "did not want to come to." A partial reading of "Science and Health" made her "a well and hearty woman." (Misc. W. pp. 401-403.)

¶¶ P. 376; *** p. 209.

filth does not affect his happiness when mind and body rest on the same basis."* "The Scientist takes the best care of his body when he leaves it most out of his thought, and like the Apostle Paul is 'willing rather to be absent from the body and present with the Lord.'"† "The daily ablutions of an infant are no more natural and necessary than it would be to take a fish out of water once a day and cover it with dirt, in order to make it thrive more vigorously thereafter in its native element.‡ Medical study is harmful. "Anatomy, physiology, treatises on health—sustained by what is called material law—are the husbandmen of sickness and disease."‖ Proper clothing is unnecessary; for "you would never conclude that flannel is better than controlling Mind for warding off pulmonary disease, if you understood the Science of being."§ If one be only a Christian Scientist he "may expose himself in a state of perspiration to draughts of air without experiencing the usual ill effects;"¶ *i. e.*, Christian Science is prophylactic, and this is expressly asserted.**

The foregoing is all bad enough as to adults; but, when it concerns them only, something may be said in favor of the decision, cited by Puffendorf, in the case of a patient who sued a horse-doctor for blinding him by applying to his eyes the same ointment that was used for horses. The Cadi decided against the suitor, because: "If the Fellow," says he, "had not been an Ass, he had never applied himself to a Horse-Doctor."††

But what is to be said of such advice as this to mothers? "Mind can regulate the condition of the stomach, bowels, food, temperature of your child far better than matter can do so. Your views and those of other people on these subjects produce their good or bad results in the health of your child."‡‡ "Your child can have worms, if you say so, or whatever malady is timorously holden in your mind relative to the body. Thus you lay the foundation of disease and death, and educate your child into discord?‖‖ Even if a child is attacked by contagious disease, Mrs. Eddy attributes the cause to maternal fear.§§ Thus the mother is taught that her child's illness depends upon her fancy, and that neither physicians, remedies nor decent, cleanly care are necessary for its aid. And in the record of deaths resulting from the treatment of Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Peculiar People, *et id genus*

* P. 354. † P. 355. ‡ P. 159. ‖ P. 183. § P. 160. ¶ P 314. ** P. 348. †† Puff. Book, V., Ch. IV. ‡‡ P. 158. ‖‖ P. 159. §§ P. 334.

omne, a large proportion are those of neglected children suffering from acute inflammations of the lungs, diphtheria, pneumonia and like complaints. One horrible and typical case in Brooklyn was brought to public notice by an undertaker called in by a Faith Curer to bury the latter's child, six years of age, dead from diphtheria. Two other children, one about eight, the other less than two years old, were found suffering from the same disease. The father explained his failure to call in medical aid by saying that he did not believe in doctors since he believed in Christ.* Here his delusion caused not only the death of his own child, but put in peril the public health. The same neglect would have occurred had the case been smallpox or scarlet fever.

A number of even more harrowing cases might be cited, did space or inclination serve; but their recital is needless.

Contrary to ordinary belief, even prayer is eschewed. "The only beneficial effect of prayer is on the human mind, making it act more powerfully on the body through a stronger faith in God. This, however, *is one belief casting out another*, a belief in the unknown casting out a belief in sickness."† And when we remember that "belief can only bring on disease, it can never relieve it," the inefficacy of prayer becomes manifest; and we are expressly taught that "if we pray to God as a person, this will prevent us letting go the human doubts and fears that attend all personalities."‡

The most ignorant persons set themselves up to cure the sick under this system as a business and for hire. Mrs. Eddy herself accumulates and publishes certificates of cures by herself, by her disciples and by the mere reading of her book, that are contrary to all possibility in human experience and smack in every line of the charlatan. Her volume of "Miscellaneous Writings" is in part made up of certificates differing from those that usually accompany quack nostrums, only in that they are more incredible than those the ordinary charlatan ventures to put forth. She cures cancers in one visit. A child of eighteen months, suffering for months with ulceration of the bowels, and given up by the "M. D.'s," is lifted from his cradle and kissed, he at once begins to play with his toys, and that night before retiring eats heartily of cabbage! ‖ One Mrs. Armstrong writes, without date or address, to enclose a cheque for $500, in payment of an absent treat-

* N. Y. papers, March 1, 1890. † P. 488. ‡ P. 492, *cf.* 484 and 393. ‖ P. 200.

ment by which heart disease and dropsy, lasting from childhood, were cured immediately upon Mrs. Eddy's receipt of a letter from Mr. Armstrong.* Hood's case of "Mrs. F., so exceedingly deaf," who purchased an ear trumpet, "and very next day heard from her husband in Botany Bay," becomes modest in comparison. But, although Mrs. Eddy personally cures fractures—did, in fact, by "absent treatment" cure the crushed foot of Mr. R. O. Badgeley, of Cincinnati;† and although she expressly teaches that her Science cures acute and chronic forms of disease,‡ and fractures"‖ as well as other deformities—nay more, has "raised the dying to life and health"§—she nevertheless says: "Until the advancing age admits the efficacy and supremacy of Mind, *it is better* to leave the adjustment of broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of surgeons, while you confine yourself chiefly to mental reconstruction and the prevention of inflammations or protracted confinement."¶

Here Mrs. Eddy confesses the sham of her theory. Earth often covers the physicians' mistakes, but not so frequently those of the surgeon. The vast majority of suits for malpractice are in surgical cases. The results of operations often demonstrate the malpractice. And is it not fair thus to paraphrase this sly advice: "Take any risk with the sick. If the patient die, who can prove that you caused the death? But be wary in surgical cases, for there ignorance and lack of skill, being demonstrable, may cause you to pay heavily for your presumption?" The fitting climax to this farrago of undigested metaphysics and vain boasting** is, that hunger and thirst are also mental impressions to be argued with,†† that food is not requisite to support life, although "it *would be foolish to stop eating until we gain more goodness;*"‡‡ and, lastly, that, as there is no mortal mind from which to make a mortal body, immortality is already here.‖‖

The methods of this extraordinary system of cure for the sick have been set out thus fully and, it is believed, fairly, because in no reported law case have they been brought before the Court, and the authority of any adjudicated case depends upon the facts involved. *Obiter dicta* are often as misleading as metaphysical

* P. 199. † P. 199. ‡ P. 186. ‖ P. 358. § P. 317.

¶ P. 328. ** "There are certain self-evident facts. This is one of them that whoever practices the Science I teach, through which the Divine mind pours light and healing upon this generation cannot pursue malpractice, or harm patient" (p. 219).
†† PP. 329, 334. ‡‡ P. 332. ‖‖ PP. 316-327.

speculation. Summed up, these methods consist positively in reading Mrs. Eddy's book and arguing with non-existent disease; and negatively in abstaining from everything that experience shows to be of benefit to the sick, not only specific medication and operative treatment, but diet, exercise and personal cleanliness. The evidence of the senses is not to be heeded; it is even forbidden to admit that a little child needs medical care. Surely no well-balanced mind will deny that this delusion is full of danger, no matter how sincerely and honestly many believe in it.

Thus we are brought to our third inquiry: Do existing laws suffice us in dealing with this delusion and its votaries, or is further legislation necessary in the premises? With the metaphysical and religious aspects of the delusion, the law has no more concern than with those of Mormonism, Voodooism, Shakerism, Oneidaism or any of the myriad forms of God or Devil worship. Ephraim may join himself to all the idols he desires, the law lets him alone. But neither in this life nor the life to come is every one who cries, "Lord, Lord, have we not in Thy name done many wonderful works?" to escape just punishment for working iniquity, or to be received among the saints upon his own uncorroborated testimony. By the Mormon cases, the Supreme Court of the United States has made it plain, if it were ever in doubt, that no one under the cloak of religion can violate law to gratify lust or greed, or for any other motive. Thugs may not kill because murder is their creed. And there is no reason why ignorant persons* should be allowed to trifle with human life to the public peril, even though they wish to do well and have no worse motive than to receive a fee.

The right of the State to forbid the ignorant to engage in the business of healing the sick by any system whatever, is established; and therefore whether or not such persons may practice Christian Science depends entirely upon the phrasing of the statute. Where, as in Nebraska, the law defines a medical practitioner as one who

* In order to be satisfied of the ignorance, recklessness, credulity, and assurance of the "Scientists," one need only read the "certificates" published in "Miscellaneous Works" along with Mrs. Eddy's "Poems." It seems that the new gospel has been successfully preached in the Massachusetts State Prison. One of Mrs. Eddy's correspondents, "J. B. H.," whether a temporary sojourner in the prison or not is not quite clear, writes that after reading "Science and Health" for some days he was "affected by drowsiness followed by vomiting. This lasted several hours." He then slept and "awoke healed." Thereafter in three treatments he cured a *child* "that the M. D.'s said was dying of lung fever." In two treatments he cured a *ruptured child*; and in one treatment he healed an old lady of heart disease and chills. To top off with and keep his hand in, he, in two weeks of *absent treatment*, cured a lady of insanity who never saw him, nor even suspected what he was up to. Misc. W., pp. 405, 406.

"professes to heal" the sick, the practice of Christian Science by unlicensed persons is a violation of law; but in jurisdictions where medical practice is forbidden, yet the use of drugs or instruments is made the test of such practice, the "Scientist" may pursue his business. So, too, the liability of these people to penalties for their failure to report contagious diseases or deaths of patients depends on the phrasing of the law or ordinance, and they certainly should be required, if allowed to practise, to make such reports, even though they believe in neither disease nor death.

In England, unlicensed medical practice is not a misdemeanor; and, therefore, an illegal practitioner cannot there, as with us, be found guilty, constructively, of manslaughter, should his patients die. But it is a general rule of law that a person undertaking a duty must possess skill and knowledge competent for its successful discharge. If a person engage in the business of curing the sick without such competent skill and knowledge, he becomes civilly liable in damages for injuries resulting from his incompetence; and if, by reason of his gross negligence, ignorance or carelessness, his patient die, then he is guilty of manslaughter at least, and may be guilty of murder. Upon these principles the famous quack, St. John Long, was convicted of manslaughter at the Old Bailey in 1830. And, in 1884, one Pierce was similarly convicted in Massachusetts. This gross and wicked negligence may manifest itself either positively, as when one administers recklessly or ignorantly a powerful drug, or negatively, as when a Christian Scientist or other fanatic, thrusting himself into the place of a competent person and assuming the duty of care, deprives the patient of proper attention, and permits or advises unsuitable diet, improper clothing or other harmful violation of hygienic laws. The fact that Christian Scientists, Faith Curers, Mind Curers, and practitioners of like sort, do not customarily administer drugs or use instruments, is not sufficient reason why they should escape liability for injuries resulting from their treatment. It is said in a very recent case that a shipmaster may be liable in damages for negligently losing his brig, although his negligence was due to temporary insanity; the general rule of law being that, as the results of his misfortune should be borne by him, not by the equally innocent, an insane person is to be held civilly responsible for "what in sane persons would be willful and negligent conduct." Thus, the best plea that could be made for a Christian Scientist,

religious insanity, would be of no avail in an action against him for damages proven to have resulted from his negligence.

The sum of the matter, then, is this: Under existing laws, wherever the statute forbids any one without license to undertake to "heal" the sick, or uses equivalent words, and wherever the phrase "practice of medicine" is not construed by the Courts as applying exclusively to the administration of drugs and the use of instruments, Christian Scientists, undertaking the cure of the sick without license to practice medicine, become subject to the penalties of the law. They may be also, according to the phrasing of the statute, punishable for failure to report contagious diseases, and for other violations of health ordinances. They are civilly liable in damages for their malfeasances and misfeasance; and, if death can be shown to have resulted from their gross ignorance or neglect, they may be indicted for manslaughter. English cases apparently to the contrary seem to proceed upon a theory that the negligent persons owed no duty to the deceased. The recent case, for example, of a newspaper correspondent who died while in care of Christian Scientists establishes nothing. It was not prosecuted—for what reason does not satisfactorily appear, but presumably because the fanatics in attendance on decedent were only rendering friendly services and did not owe deceased a duty. I may lawfully believe in suicide and discuss the examples of Socrates and Cato without being liable for the death of a friend who imitates them. And Mr. Justice Hawkins is said by the *Law Journal* to have carefully guarded himself against appearing to sanction the course adopted in Frederic's case.

New legislation in the premises is not called for, except, perhaps, to define "practice of medicine" more broadly in some jurisdictions. Such a definition was stricken from the New York Medical Act of 1887 by a Senator who feared it would operate against a friend of his who kept a bathing house. Last year a bill of somewhat the same purport seems to have been abandoned by the Senator having it in charge, for no other reason, so far as can be learned, than that more than the usual number of ladies appeared to oppose it. Children are now very generally protected by special laws. No statute can cure an adult of folly. Laws specifically forbidding the practice of Christian Science would only provide that cheap martyrdom which would be welcomed by an advertising business, and would be wrong, both in principle

and policy. The delusion itself is bound to die, as did that of John of Leyden and many another before and since that prophet's time; and it is quite certain to be succeeded by others.

In New York city about 1832, a period of "great awakening" that begat Mormonism and many other sects—among them one in Kentucky, whose members, in order to win Heaven by making themselves as little children, used to crawl on their hands and knees in church, play marbles, trundle hoops and otherwise manifest their infantile madness—one Matthews,* a carpenter, having assumed the name Matthias, proclaimed himself to be God, the Father. He found believers, most of them ignorant but some intelligent, procured much money and ruined many persons. He and his disciples claimed to heal the sick quite as successfully as the Scientists now do. One of them, a Mr. Pierson, a victim of religious delusion, even before the coming of Matthias, had endeavored under most distressing and pathetic circumstances publicly to raise his wife from the dead, accepting literally the verse of the General Epistle of St. James directing the elders to anoint and pray over the sick, and promising that "the Lord shall raise him up." Matthias, being eventually indicted for procuring $630 from a Mr. Folger under the false pretence that he was God, able to remit sins, and would communicate the Holy Ghost to said Folger, the District Attorney entered a *nolle prosequi* for these reasons: To maintain the indictment, he said, I must prove that defendant's pretences were false and would deceive a man of ordinary intelligence and prudence, but no sane person would believe that Matthias is God. Matthias was, however, convicted on lesser charges.

The memory of the adventuress, Diss de Bar, is fresh. In 1888 she was convicted by a New York jury of fraud in obtaining money from a lawyer of admittedly large attainments, and a former associate of Mr. Webster. She, too, sought to cloud the real issue by claiming that the right to believe in Spiritualism was involved. During her trial, the usual train of "ladies" and "intelligent persons" attended her, one of her satellites being a former diplomat and an ex-Regent of the University of the State. Since her imprisonment her star has waned. These cases illustrate at once the difficulty and possibilities of dealing with re-

* Matthias and his Impositions, Harpers, 1836.

ligious fanatics through existing laws, when wrong theory is reduced to harmful practice.

That Christian Scientists frequently offend against the criminal law seems to be clear, and their prosecution in such cases would be of value if it enlightened the public as to their real teaching; for it seems scarcely possible that an intelligent person, becoming fully acquainted with "Science and Health" and its teachings, could fail to visit Mrs. Eddy's cult with condemnation as strong as that which she unsparingly lays upon the competing cults of Faith Curers, Mind Curers, Animal Magnetists and Clairvoyants; or that any one of taste or humor, after reading the "Poems" and quack advertisements of the "Miscellaneous Writings," would not blush to confess himself a disciple of the new "thought." Publicity will destroy the cult far more quickly than legislation.

WILLIAM A. PURRINGTON.

AMERICANISM *VERSUS* IMPERIALISM—II.

BY ANDREW CARNEGIE.

IN the January number of the REVIEW, I dealt with the danger of foreign wars and entanglements, as one of several brave reasons against departing from the past policy of the Republic, which has kept it solid and compact upon its own continent, to undertake the subjection and government of subject races in the tropics. I now propose to consider one of the reasons given for such departure—the only one remaining which retains much vitality, for the two other reasons once so prominent have already faded away and now are scarcely ever urged. These were "commercial expansion" in peace and "increased power" in war. The President killed the first when compelled by Great Britain to give the "open door" as the price for her support; for to give the "open door" to the nearer foreigner meant the "closed door" to the products of the soil and mines of his own country. There never was and never can be any trade worth quarrelling about in the Philippines; but what little there is or can be he has given away. When the country saw Dewey's fleet provisioned from Australia, instead of from our own agricultural land, the claim of possible expansion of American commerce there fell to the ground.

The second claim, that the Republic as a war power would be strengthened, held the field even for a shorter period than that of commercial expansion, for it was obvious that distant possessions would only give to our enemies, during war, vulnerable points of attack which had hitherto been wanting. As one solid mass, without outlying possessions, the Republic is practically unassailable. Should she keep the Philippines, any one of the great naval powers has her at its mercy. Hence Admiral Sampson warned us but a few days ago that "our risks of and dangers from war had

already increased a hundred per cent. and that we needed to double our navy." The President has just asked that our army also be doubled.

Thus the claims of "Commercial Expansion" in peace and of "Greater Power" in war have bled to death of themselves.

There remains to-day, as the one vital element of imperialism, the contention that Providence has opened for the American people a new and larger destiny, which imposes heavy burdens indeed upon them, but from which they cannot shrink without evading holy duty; that it has become their sacred task to undertake the civilization of a backward people committed to their charge. A foundling has been left at their door, which it is their duty to adopt, educate and govern. In a word, it is "Humanity," "Duty," "Destiny," which call upon us again for sacrifice. These potent cries which brought us to the drawing of the sword for oppressed Cuba, are now calling us to a more difficult task, and hence to a greater "duty."

It is encouraging to those who hold to Americanism that the chief strength of the imperialistic movement calling upon us to depart from our republican ideals, rests upon no ignoble foundation to-day. It is not the desire of gain, as our European critics assert, nor the desire of military glory, which gives vitality to the strange outburst for expansion and the proposed holding of alien races in subjection for their good. The average American, especially in the West, really believes that his country can govern these tropical people, and benefit them by so doing; he considers it a duty not to evade a task which, as he sees it, Providence has clearly imposed upon his country. The writer knows that the cynics, both at home and abroad, but especially the latter, will smile at this statement; but the extent of the ignorance of the American people in general, except in the South, about subject races and tropical conditions, cannot be realized by Europeans. This ignorance is truly as great as their belief implies. Their lack of knowledge is at fault, but the greater this lack the clearer is it that they can be credited with absolute sincerity, and with those very dangerous things when possessed without knowledge, "good intentions." The people of the South, who have knowledge of the problems of race, are with rare unanimity opposed to further accretions, and see it to be a "holy duty" to keep our Republic from further dangers arising from racial differences.

Our national history has not been such as to give our people experience in dealing with this new and essentially foreign question, but the American democracy has displayed in all national crises a highly creditable sensitiveness to the moral features of every issue presented. The deciding voice has been that of those who stood for what was made toward its abolition until the issue was placed upon high moral grounds. In the issue of secession, patriotism played the first part, but the enthusiasm of the nation was greatly quickened the moment it became a question of the emancipation of the slaves. Even in the recent issue, when the debasement of the standard of value was proposed, those who stood for the maintenance of the high standard found their strongest weapon when they placed before the people the moral side of the question, and argued that debts contracted in gold should be paid in gold; that the savings of the people deposited in banks in gold should be so repaid, and that the soldiers' pensions should be paid in money equal to any. The justice of the matter, what was right, what was fair, in other words, the moral side of the question, was potent in determining the decision.

We hear much of the decline of the pulpit in our day, and upon theological questions and dogmas its influence cannot be what it once was. Yet, as far as our country is concerned, I should say that the power of the pulpit upon all moral questions has gained as much as it has lost upon theological issues. It is not less powerful to-day in this domain in the Republic than in Scotland, and far more so than in any other English-speaking country. In such questions its voice has been potent when decisively pronounced upon one side or the other, as it generally has been; but in regard to Imperialism it has been divided. Bishop Potter, Dr. Van Dyke, Dr. Cuyler, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. Eaton and others equally prominent stand firmly against it. On the other hand, Bishop Doane, Dr. Lyman Abbott and others have taken the opposite view, but solely from the standpoint of the good of the subject races, not in the slightest degree for our own advantage. This view, and this alone, is what gives Imperialism most of its remaining vitality.

Here is the essence of the whole matter given by Prof. Alden, of the University of Pennsylvania:

"Apropos of the missionary argument for expansion, the clergyman under whose ministry I sat last Sunday offered the following petition on behalf of the Filipinos.

"'We pray Thee that those who prefer to remain in darkness, and are even willing to fight in order to do so, may, whether willingly or unwillingly, be brought into the light.'

"Instantly there came to my mind the naïve remark of the pious author of the 'Chanson de Roland,' in describing one of the victories of Charlemagne over the Mussulmans:

'En la citet nen at remes paien
Ne seit ocis, o devient crestiens.'

—that is to say: 'There was not a pagan left in the city who was not either killed or made a Christian.' So may it be in Manila, when a similar dilemma is prepared for its inhabitants."

Bishop Doane is the most prominent representative of the religious world who upholds the missionary view, and he would probably hesitate to push it to its logical conclusion, as his less known ministerial adherent does. The Bishop gives the argument of "Duty" in the following:

"Bishop Doane says that precedent seems to indicate that both by the inherent national right of sovereignty and under the existing constitution we can provide for the government of the people whom we have rescued, but that if this supposition shall be found untrue, 'then we must remember that, in the emergency, national life and duty are more important than the letter of a document, and that the Constitution, not being, as some people seem to think it, a close and final revelation of God, can be amended. . . . No difficulties and no anxieties can alter the facts or change the situation or put back the advancing movement of God's will, which tends to the final substitution of the civilization, the liberty, and the religion of English-speaking people for the lost domination of the Latin races and the Latin religion. God has called the people in America to be His instruments in a movement perhaps even greater in its consequence than the Reformation in England or the liberation of Italy or the unification of Germany, and in the spirit of dependence on Him, with the quiet courage of patient faith, we must rise to the duty of the hour.'"

It is with the view Bishop Doane presents that we anti-Imperialists have to deal, not with spouting party politicians waving the flag, and descending to clap-trap phrases to "split the ears of the groundlings." In the Bishop's words, we see some reason for the charge sometimes made against ecclesiastics, viz., that, their attention being chiefly fixed upon the other world, they seldom shine as advisers upon affairs pertaining to this. The Bishop's remedy for overcoming constitutional obstacles, for instance, is easily suggested; but such an amendment to the constitution is impossible, since upon this question all the Southern states are attached to its present provisions, and against "rescuing" and governing subject races by force. Having in their own land some experience of race problems of which the North and West are ignorant, they stand for the old Americanism. Then,

again, the Bishop reveals to us "God's will," which, he informs us, "tends to the final substitution of the civilization, the liberty and the religion of English-speaking people, for the lost dominion of the Latin races and the Latin (Catholic) religion." It may be open even for a layman who cannot pretend to know the designs of the Creator to observe that, in the case of the tropics, the Unknown Power seems to have placed an insurmountable barrier against the English-speaking race. Professor Worcester, who knows most about the Philippines, tells us that our race cannot settle there and make permanent homes, neither can it in other parts of the tropics, nor has it ever done so. It has tried to do so in India, but failed. If a British child be born there, it must be sent home. In the Philippines it is even worse. Can Bishop Doane point to any considerable or successful settlement of our race in the tropics? He cannot do so, and this fact would seem to imply that perhaps the Bishop may have misinterpreted God's will. It would seem that, perhaps, in His own way He intends the people He has placed in the tropics to develop a civilization for themselves, and is keeping His loving, fatherly eye upon His children there just as tenderly as upon the Bishop. In my travels, I have found the universal laws everywhere working to higher and higher standards of national life. All the world steadily improves. Only impatient men, destitute of genuine faith in the divine government throughout all the world, doubt that all goes well. The Bishop's eminent colleague, Bishop Potter, sees "God's will," our "holy duty," so differently from Bishop Doane. When Bishops in the same church disagree, it is difficult to decide.

Perhaps we are not justified in quoting Dr. Abbott as still an Imperialist, since his latest article in the "Outlook" is entitled "An Official Disclaimer of Imperialism." After quoting the Cuban Resolution passed by Congress, he asks:

> "Why should not Congress at the present juncture pass a similar Resolution respecting the Philippines? . . . When pacification is secured, our mission is at an end. . . . The above resolution respecting Cuba was simply an affirmation of the principles of this government wrought into its constitution, vital to its life, affirmed and reaffirmed at many periods of its history. It denies that we wish either to hold people in subjection or to possess their territory as our own. Under no circumstances do the American people desire to hold under military government against their will a discontented and resisting people."

These sentiments justify the title. They are indeed a disclaimer of Imperialism, but it seems that, like Bishop Potter, Dr.

Abbott has not been favored with the revelation of God's will made to Bishop Doane, for, according to him, "whenever the subject races are pacified our mission ends;" while it is only after pacification that the Bishop's "Holy Mission" can begin to enforce "God's will" by the crusade against the Catholic (Latin) form of religion, for the introduction of "the religion of English-speaking people," of which we have in our land more than two hundred and fifty different forms, all used and loved by those who speak the English tongue. Even our valued Catholic friends are often "English-speaking people."

Nevertheless, we must recognize that, diametrically opposed as Bishop Doane and his school, and Dr. Abbott and his school are in their conclusions, they both have as their aim what they believe to be the good of the poor backward races, and neither pecuniary gain nor military glory for their own country. None of these earnest, good men have anything in common with the ranting political school. They see only serious and unsought "Duty" where the other finds "Gain," or "Glory," if not for the nation, at least for themselves as politicians.

Imperialism can become a "holy duty" only if we can by forcible interference confer blessings upon the subject races, otherwise it remains what the President once said it was, "criminal aggression." Let us see, therefore, whether good or evil flows from such interference. This is easily ascertained, for there are many dependencies of European powers throughout the world, and many races held in subjection. Has the influence of the superior race upon the inferior ever proved beneficial to either? I know of no case in which it has been or is, and I have visited many of the dependencies. Where is there anything to show that it has been? On the contrary, the mass of authority declares that the influence of a superior race upon an inferior in the tropics is not elevating, but demoralizing. It is not difficult to understand why. Take the Philippines, for instance. The prevailing religion is our own Christian religion, Catholic of course, but Christian, as in France or Belgium. In the interior, there are Mohammedans, next in importance. Mr. Bray, the resident English consul, gives in the "Independent" a picture of happy life in Manila, which reminded me of what I had found in the East.

One of the great satisfactions in traveling around the world

is in learning that God has made all peoples happy in their own homes. We find no people in any part of the world desirous of exchanging their lot with any other. My own experience has impressed this truth very strongly upon me. Upon our journey to the North Cape, we stopped in the Arctic Circle to visit a camp of Laplanders in the interior. A guide is provided with instructions to keep in the rear of the hindmost of the party going and returning, to guard against any being left behind. Returning from the camp, I walked with this guide, who spoke English and had traveled the world round in his earlier years as a sailor, and was proud to speak of his knowing New York, Boston, New Orleans and other ports of ours. Reaching the edge of the fjord, and looking down upon it, we saw a hamlet upon the opposite side, and one two-story house under construction, with a grass plot surrounding it, a house so much larger than any of the adjacent huts that it betokened great wealth. Our guide explained that a man had made a great fortune. He was their multi-millionaire, and his fortune was reported to reach no less a figure than 30,000 kroner ($7,500), and he had returned to his native place of Tromso to build this "palace" and spend his days there. Strange preference for a night six months long! But it was home. I asked the guide which place in all the world he would select if ever he made such a fortune—with a lingering hope that he would name some place in our own favored land. How could he help it? But his face beamed with pleasure at the idea of ever being rich, and he said finally: "Ah, there is no place like Tromso!"

Traveling in Southern India one day, I was taken into the country to see tapioca roots gathered and ground for use. The adults working in the grove, men and women, had each a rag around the loins, but the boys and girls, with their black, glossy skins, were free of all encumbrance. Our guide explained to these people that we were from a country so far away, and so different from theirs, that the waters were sometimes made solid by the extreme cold and we could walk upon them; that sometimes it was so intensely cold that the rain was frozen into particles, and lay on the earth so deep that people could not walk through it, and that three and four layers of heavy clothes had to be worn. This happy people, as our guide told us, wondered why we stayed there, why we did not come and enjoy life in their favored clime.

It is just so with the Philippines to-day, as one can see from

Mr. Bray's account of them. It is astonishing how much all human beings the world round are alike in their essentials. These peoples love their homes and their country, their wives and children, as we do, and they have their pleasures. If, in our humanitarian efforts and longing to benefit them, under the call of Duty or Destiny, we should bring a hundred to New York, give them fine residences on Fifth Avenue, a fortune conditioned upon their remaining, and try to "civilize" them, as we should say, they would all run away if not watched, and risk their lives in an attempt to get back to their own civilization, which God has thought best to provide for them in the Philippines. They have just the same feelings as we have, not excluding love of country, for which, like ourselves, as we see, they are willing to die. Oh, the pity of it! the pity of it! that Filipino mothers with American mothers equally mourn their lost sons—one fallen, defender of his country; the other, the invader. Yet the invader was ordered by those who see it their "duty" to invade the land of the Filipinos for their civilization. Duty, stern goddess, what strange things men sometimes mistakenly do in thy name!

Another reason which, we submit, renders it beyond our power to benefit these people is that, with the exception of a few men seeking their own gain, the only Americans whom the Filipinos can ever know must be our soldiers, for American women and children cannot make their homes there. No holy influence flowing from American homes, no Christian women, no sweet children, nothing there but men and soldiers, the former only a few adventurers who, failing to succeed at home, thought they could make money there. Now every writer upon the subject tells that the presence of soldiers in any town in the tropics is disastrous to both native and foreigner; that the contact of the superior race with the inferior demoralizes both, for reasons well understood. Forty-six per cent. of the British army in India is at all times diseased. What Imperalistic clergyman or intelligent man but knows that soldiers in foreign camps, so far from being missionaries for good, require missionaries themselves more than the natives. It would all be so different if Americans could settle and establish their homes in the Philippines and merge with the people, making a colony. It is in Colonies, not in Dependencies, that Britain has done good work. Soldiers will not benefit the inferior race in the Philippines. Men there for gain will not. Missionaries there

are already, in abundance. Beyond a few of a different sect of Christianity, we have nothing more we can send, and these will find welcome there if we cease warfare upon the people, while to-day they would be regarded as enemies. It is not civilization, not improvement, therefore, that Imperialism can give to the Philippines, should we hold permanent possession. It is serious injury both to the Filipinos and to our soldiers, and to the American citizens who go there. It is a bad day for either soldier or business man when, in a foreign land, he is bereft of the elevating influences which centre in the home.

The religious school of Imperialists intend doing for the Filipinos what is best for them, no doubt; but, when we crush in any people its longing for independence, we take away with one hand a more powerful means of civilization than all which it is possible for us to bestow with the other. There is implanted in the breast of every human community the sacred germ of self-government, as the most potent means of Providence for raising them in the scale of being. Any ruler, be he President or Czar, who attempts to suppress the growth of this sacred spark is guilty of the greatest of public crimes. There is no people or tribe, however low in the scale, that does not have self-government in a greater or less degree. The Haitians and the San Domingans do not require our interference. Why is it not seen to be our duty to force our ideas upon these, our neighbors? The Filipinos are not inferior to these people. On the contrary, we have Admiral Dewey and General Merritt both stating that the Filipinos are more capable of self-government than the Cubans. It may be taken as a truism that a people which is willing to fight and to die for the independence of their country, is at least worthy of a trial of the self-government it seeks. The Filipinos have done this. Even if they had not, it is better for the development of a people that they should attempt to govern themselves, this being the only school in which they can ever learn to do so. No matter through what years of failure they have to struggle, the end is certain, the successful development of the faculty of government. Through this stern but salutary school our own race traveled for centuries in Britain with varying fortunes, but the end was that constitutional government was evolved. The cost is great, but the result is beyond price. No superior race ever gave it to an inferior without settling and merging in that race—the two becoming one.

In the Philippines, and in the tropics generally, this is impossible. The intruding race cannot be grown there, and where we cannot grow our own race we cannot evolve civilization for the other. We can only retard, not hasten, their development.

India has been subject to British rule for nearly two hundred years, and yet not one piece of artillery can yet be entrusted to native troops. The people have still to be held down as in the beginning. It is so in every dependency in which the superior power assumes the right to govern the inferior, without being able to settle there and merge into it. We challenge the Imperialist to give one instance to the contrary in all Britain's possessions.

The impulse which carried many clergymen and other good people away at first was creditable to their hearts and emotions. But Dr. Abbott's remarkable article just quoted may be taken as evidence that the reason is now demanding audience, and not what we should like to do, but what conditions render it possible for us to do, or wisely undertake, is now to be soberly considered.

The Press also, like the pulpit, has done its part to stir the impulse to meet the demands of the "New Destiny," but one of the most prominent organs of all in this work, and the leading government organ in the West, the "Times-Herald" of Chicago, —to judge from its recent editorial—is also finding its hot passion chilled at the throne of reason, as it confronts and examines the conditions of the situation. It says:

> **"The conscience of the American people will not tolerate the slaughter of Filipinos in a war of conquest. We do not seek their land, we do not wish to replace the yoke of Spain with one bearing the more merciful and just label of the United States. Let the President announce that we have no intention to annex Asiatic territory, and that the pledge of Congress as to Cuban independence will be the pledge of the American nation to the Philippines."**

If the President had said this in his message to the Filipinos there could not to-day rise before him the spectre of nearly five thousand human beings "mowed down like grass," as the cable describes, and sixty of our own fellow-citizens sacrificed and several hundreds wounded. This is the effect of his failure to say to the one people what he said to the other. His responsibility is great.

I write upon the eve of the birthday of the greatest public man of the century, perhaps of all the centuries if his strange history be considered—Abraham Lincoln. Washington, Franklin and Jefferson may have become back numbers, as we have been

often told, for, as men of the past century, they could not know our destiny; but here is the man of our own time, whom many of us were privileged to know. Are his teachings to be discarded for those of any now living who were his contemporaries?

Listen to him:

"No man is good enough to govern another without that man's consent. I say this is the leading principle, the sheet anchor of American republicanism."

It is not fashionable for the hour to urge that the "consent of the governed" is all-important; but it will be fashionable again one of these days.

It seems as if Lincoln were inspired to say the needful word for this hour of strange subversion of all we have hitherto held dear in our political life. Our "duty" to bear the "White Man's Burden" is to-day's refrain, but Lincoln tells us:

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government, that is despotism."

Lincoln knew nothing of the new "Duty" and new "Destiny," or whether it is "Duty which makes Destiny" or "Destiny which makes Duty"; but he knew the old doctrines of Republicanism well.

One other lesson from the Great American:

"Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prizes *liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere.* Those who deny *freedom to others deserve it not for themselves* and under a just God cannot long retain it."

Are these broad, liberty-loving and noble liberty-giving principles of Americanism, as proclaimed by President Lincoln, to be discarded for the narrow liberty-denying, race-subjecting, Imperialism of President McKinley when the next appeal is made to the American people? We have never for one moment doubted the answer; for they have never yet failed to decide great issues wisely nor to uphold American ideals.

Never had this nation greater cause to extol Abraham Lincoln than upon this the ninetieth anniversary of his birth, and never till to-day had it cause to lament that a successor in the Presidential chair should attempt to subvert his teachings.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GUNPOWDER AS A LESSER EVIL.

SINCE the time when the first hostile tribes of the human race were arrayed for mutual slaughter, no contrast of equipment has perhaps ever equalled that of the armies who a few weeks ago contested the question of the eastern Soudan; yet the results of that campaign have once more confirmed the strange fact that the invention of gunpowder has made war less murderous.

The British-Egyptian brigades had all the up-to-date improvements of manslaughter machines. Besides their sixty odd Maxims, they had rapid-fire shrapnell cannon, torpedoes and repeating rifles.

The "Dervishes" had only swords, spears and muskets of a type that was used in Ibrahim Pasha's skirmishes with the Wahhabees, and in Europe here and there before the time of the Seven Years' War. They were ill-fed, ill-mounted and almost naked. Yet in the battle near Khartoum, the Khalifa, it now appears, lost after all only 7,500 out of 23,000 men, *i. e.*, not quite one-third of his whole force.

Three days later, on the other hand, a detachment of Egyptian cavalry were surprised by a troop of Soudanese swordsmen, and so nearly annihilated that their fate became known only after the escape of one of the few prisoners whom the victors had not massacred on the spot. They had exhausted their ammunition and did not invite martyrdom; but when they recognized the hopelessness of resistance it was too late. The savage Aggageers were all around them, and they had only the choice of dying game or of being sabred like trapped buffaloes.

And these two test-cases also refuted the prevalent idea that old-time battles were decided by brute force, and those of the present age—"the age of science"—by superior tactics. The ancients, too, cultivated the science of ingenious manœuvres,—to such good purpose, indeed, that it is doubtful if any strategist of the last seven decades can be ranked with such campaigners as Hannibal and Sertorius.

Marshal Turenne, the conqueror of Holland and Italy, used to sit up at night studying a translation of Cæsar's "Commentaries." General Daun, who contrived to beat the great Frederick in three different battles, modelled his tactics after the system of Fabius Cunctator.

Frederick himself achieved some of his military miracles by strategy as much as by the valor of his troops, but confessed that all the tricks of his famous "oblique order of charging columns," were practiced more than two thousand years ago by Epaminondas, the Theban. The effects of flank at-

tacks in force were understood long before the time of the first Napoleon, and decided the battles of Metaurus, Philippi, Pidnus and Zama. At Khartoum, on the other hand, neither the British nor their adversaries did much manœuvring. The Dervishes rushed on headlong, with the blind confidence of fanaticism; the Anglo-Egyptians crouched in their trenches, in implicit reliance on the effects of the first Maxim volley.

No such hecatombs of slain Moslems perhaps ever entered paradise together; the light front ranks of the charging column went down like mown grass at the first discharge, and the continued rush of the rear ranks soon "piled the corpses spear-high;" but the difference between sword-range and rifle-range saved the reserve. The Khalifa, with all the infatuation of his prophetic furor, could not doubt the evidence of his senses, and recalled his rear guards in time to save them from annihilation.

Nor has the persistence of patriotic devotion been often carried to the length of a struggle against hope; but in the hand-to-hand fights of antiquity, when detachments of friends and foes frequently got intermingled, the *sauve qui peut* was fatally apt to come too late. There was no escape from the fury of victory-intoxicated legions of trained gladiators, who had their enemies in reach of their swords, and who had come resolved to enforce the survival of the fittest in a way of their own.

For, in addition to their campaigns of plunder and conquest, the nation of the age of radical remedies now and then waged wars of extermination.

The temptation of such expedients still exists. But for the intervention of outsiders, Philip the Second would have destroyed the population of the Netherlands. "The way to abolish the nuisance of the Armenian question is to abolish the Armenians," said Rhais Pasha, only two years ago. Abdul Hamid himself could hardly have been blamed for trying conclusions, in that sense of the word, with the incorrigibly aggressive Greeks, and the *jehad* was only narrowly averted. "Reconcentration," on Captain-General Weyler's plan, was little more than a compromise between public opinion and outright murder. Eight thousand prisoners penned up in a little town of starving citizens and half fed soldiers, could be relied upon to melt away in the course of a year or two.

But the impulsive pagans were impatient of such delays, and the history of the Mediterranean nations abounds with the records of armies taking the war path on an errand of depopulation. The three most famous sieges of antiquity, those of Troy, Carthage and Jerusalem, were undertaken for that premeditated purpose. Jerusalem then meant all Judea, and the fate of Carthage involved that of a considerable area of Punic coast-settlements. Numantia in northern Spain was likewise predestined to demolition; it would not have saved the defenders to surrender at the first summons, and to obviate worse, the entire population committed suicide.

In the crisis of the war against Pyrrhus, the Epirote, the Roman subjects of the Alpine border rose in revolt, and a consular army of 15,000 men was slain near Arretium, by the Senonian Gauls, "whereupon," says Mommsen, "Publius Cornelius Dolabella marched into the country of the Senones at the head of a large force and literally *extirpated the entire nation*, which thenceforth disappears from history."

And even when a conqueror preferred to stop short of such extremes, it was frequently thought a good plan to eliminate the adult males of a troublesome tribe.

In such cases it saved the necessity of protracted man-hunts to make

every battle a finish fight. Napoleon seems to have tried something of that sort in the battle of Friedland. By showing only a few regiments of his force in the beginning of the fight, he managed to entice the Russians across the Alle bridge, into a valley where some fifty batteries opened upon them unawares, and at the same time ordered Marshal Ney to cut off their retreat; but General Bennigsen's scouts anticipated the arrival of the trappers and enabled him to save one of his wings in the nick of time.

But worsted sword-fighters had no such options. They had marched to battle, as they would enter an arena, to conquer or die.

To an army of physically inferior men the first disruption of ranks generally meant utter ruin. Gunpowder is a great equalizer of individual prowess. The rifle-bullet of a dwarf will carry as far and hit as hard as that of a giant. On the retreat from Moscow the foot-sore, famished and almost frozen French soldiers could hardly drag themselves along, but, when too hard pressed, were still able to form squares and, with levelled muskets, make the pursuing Cossacks shrink back out of bullet range.

But the modicum of remaining strength that still sufficed to pull a trigger would have failed to draw the arrow of a Parthian war bow, and in a spear-to-spear fight their doom would have been speedily sealed. Hence the horrible carnage of legions routed by a horde of athletic barbarians.

In a *fin de siècle* review of American battles, Gettysburg is mentioned as a *ne plus ultra* of destructive fighting—"always excepting Waterloo—in proportion to the number of men engaged, probably *the most murderous battle on record.*"

But even Blücher's bulletins did not claim that the French lost more than two-fifths in killed and wounded, while the French themselves never admitted much more than one-fifth. One-third is the probable truth, and that proportion was beaten at Malplaquet, and beaten out of sight in some old-time battles. In the valley of the Rhone, not far from the modern hamlet of Montelimart, a horde of Teuton invaders was brought to bay B. C. 106, by two consular armies under the command of Manilius. The barbarians were supposed to be on their way to Spain, and would probably have preferred to get across the Pyrenees in peace; but seeing their host in danger of being outflanked, they suddenly turned upon their pursuers and in the ensuing battle slew *seventy-eight thousand* out of ninety thousand men.

The battle lasted less than four hours, but the Roman historians admit that the few survivors saved themselves only by plunging into the stream at a point where a strong current carried them near the opposite bank—*minus* their spears and bucklers.

At Hadrianopolis (Adrianople), the iron-fisted West-Goths visited a similar fate upon the combined military levies of the Roman Empire, under the command of the Emperor Valens. Two months earlier they would have accepted a treaty of peace, with the permission to colonize the waste lands of the lower Danube; but, rather than save themselves by an unconditional surrender, they now risked a battle, and, perhaps to their own surprise, not only defeated but destroyed the imperialists—Imperator and all. Less than eight thousand men of the vast army were taken prisoners, and saved by the intercession of a Gothic chief.

Rome was then in her dotage; but in the prime of her republican vigor her military forces were brought to the verge of annihilation by an incidental superiority in the equestrian training of the Numidian invaders.

The Numidian cavalry of Hannibal wielded their long swords with one hand, and with the other grasped an almost impervious shield,—bridles being superfluous for the management of horses that had been taught to obey every slight touch of the rider's knee. Thirty-thousand of these centaurs held southern Italy against all comers for more than fifteen years, and slaughtered eight great armies of the nation that had decked its temples with the trophies of a thousand victories.

The Roman warriors of that age were trained in military athletics as only the Spartans and the cavalry of Frederick the Great were trained before or since, and hundreds of their centurions had tested their cunning tactics on the battlefields of Gaul and Spain; yet all these means of resistance did not save them from the carnage of Cannae, where forty-eight thousand out of sixty thousand men were cut to pieces, and the rest routed, panic-crazed and covered with wounds.

Next to the Romans, the Macedonians and Greeks could claim the championship of military prowess, when Carthage was no more; yet Roman and Grecian historians agree that at Chaeronea Sulla butchered nine-tenths of the forces combined under the command of the veteran Archelaus. Plutarch estimates the armies of the allies at "100,000 foot, 9,000 horse and 800 chariots," besides the Greek and Thracian irregulars, and admits that "of that vast multitude twelve thousand only got safe into Chalcis." Sulla took some five thousand prisoners, and needed their assistance to bury the hillocks of corpses.

Even more portentous results followed the rout of barbarians who had trusted in their strength of numerical superiority and the terror of their penchant for havoc. The aggregate of the hyperborean hordes who crossed the Alps during the first consulship of Marius seems to have exceeded a quarter of a million, but thousands had joined the half savage tribes of the Gallic border, and tens of thousands had been killed in preliminary skirmishes, before the Roman consul engaged their redoubtable war chiefs at *Aquae Sextiae.*

The loss of the Romans is variously stated at 15,000—25,000 of Italian levies and their Helvetian allies, but all accounts agree that the barbarians were annihilated, multitudes of fugitives having perished in the Alps, after 140,000 were slain on the battlefield.

Yet at least twice that number of Huns paid the penalty of Attila's attempt to complete the subjugation of the Caucasian world by the conquest of the West-Roman empire. No horseman ventured to encounter his half million rough-riders in the open field, and his baggage-train was encumbered with the spoils of a hundred cities, when his westward progress was at last stopped in the valley of the Marne, where a junta of Roman and Gothic warriors had entrenched themselves to retrieve the fate of the civilized world.

In the eighty hours' battle that began on the morning of October 9th, A. D. 451, on the Catalaunian Plains (just south of Chalons sur Marne), the Huns were repulsed again and again and cut down at the rate of *a hundred thousand a day*, till their old cutthroat king threw up the sponge in the form of a wagon-burg, and was allowed to depart with his train of bandaged survivors.

That three days' slaughter saved Europe from bestialization, and, as a case of justifiable homicide, can claim pre-eminence in the history of the last twenty centuries; but on a gunpowder basis of operations the problem could

have been solved in three hours, and at about the twentieth part of the total expense.

F. L. OSWALD.

THE NEW DIPLOMACY.

WHY should not the United States establish a National School of Diplomacy? Would not trained diplomats be better qualified than untrained ones to undertake the duties requiring tact and special knowledge? Already well-educated young men look forward to other careers than those of the doctor, the lawyer, the parson and the pedagogue. A few years ago the idea of journalism as a legitimate profession was generally scouted; now, having been taken up by certain colleges and universities as a matter of instruction, it has gained influence and dignity.

In the minds of those who have given the subject careful attention, there can be no doubt as to the need of reform in the United States Consular and Diplomatic Service. The present system of the government is obviously lax and deficient in this particular. The growing demands of our international commerce require men who are able not only to represent in their persons the best traditions of the United States, but men who are acquainted with the routine of state business; in short, men who have received special training for the responsible positions they are appointed to fill.

A School of Diplomacy in the United States ought not to be a private institution. It should be maintained under the auspices of the government, like West Point, or like the Naval Academy at Annapolis, which chiefly owes its existence to George Bancroft, the historian, who, by the way, so nobly served our country at the Court of Berlin. Why cannot men be trained to fight the battles of political science with finer skill and address and better prospect of success than is possible to the untutored aspirant?

Unlike the Europeans, Americans in the past have paid little or no attention to diplomacy as a profession. It has been left too much in the control of sordid politicians and spoilsmen. Isolated and independent, this government hitherto has not participated in the actual problems of world-building, but it seems probable now that the mighty issues growing out of the Spanish-American war will give us a voice in international councils. Henceforth the foreign policy of the United States will be closer and more technically watched by other nations than it has ever been in the past. So much the more essential then is it for us to move forward in the right direction toward our much vaunted "manifest destiny." And the surest and best way to obtain competent men to represent this nation abroad as ambassadors, ministers and consuls, is to give them a diplomatic education. This can be gained only in an institution founded expressly for the purpose. Is not this a suggestion worthy the consideration of the American Congress, of the Chief Executive and his Cabinet, of the public press, of the pulpit; in short, of all citizens who have at heart the future welfare of this Republic?

A man who has shown himself to be an excellent statesman in home affairs may not succeed at all as a foreign minister. The roster of American envoys who have been *personæ non gratæ* in European and other courts is a surprisingly long one. The fact is, the raw, unlettered demagogue, who is sent abroad to typify the dignity and greatness of the United States, is often a laughing stock of the people among whom he goes. His probable

ignorance of the language of the country to which he is accredited may prove a serious drawback—his misconceptions paving the way to grave complications.

The diplomats of Europe are prepared for their careers from boyhood. The Foreign Office serves as a practical school for young Englishmen who are ambitious to pursue this profession. They begin at the lowest rung of the ladder as unpaid attachés; later on they receive small salaries and are shifted from one post to another, so that by the time they are finally promoted to an ambassadorship they have gone through every grade of the service and are thoroughly equipped in languages, customs and court usages of various countries, and especially with information concerning those countries that often proves of inestimable value to them in their position as ministers plenipotentiary. It is with such discipline as this that our future public men should be provided. Everything that helps to remove the gambling taint from politics should be tried; for who can deny that American politics as conducted to-day is a gambling game on a gigantic scale and for big stakes?

The Diplomatic School may be made entirely practical in its system of instruction. Located in Washington, its corps of lecturers might include some of the more eminent members of the Senate and of the lower House, and occasionally, perhaps, some of the foreign ambassadors and ministers might be induced to deliver addresses before the School. The magnificent Congressional Library would be close at hand and accessible to the students in their historical research. It is probable that more than one public-spirited philanthropist would bequeath to the institution money to be given annually in stated amounts as prizes for scholarship, the best political theses, etc. When necessary, Congress would furnish a sufficient appropriation to keep the building in proper repair, to pay the salaries of the president and faculty, and for the other expenses, which would be inconsiderable. As to that, however, I believe that within a short time the School would be more than self-supporting. Certainly it would not languish for lack of students; the class-rooms would be crowded. Hundreds of young men fresh from college, and others ambitious to enter public life would flock to such an institution and clamor for admission. The *crux* would be how to accommodate them all. Whether women should be admitted is an inquiry that does not concern the writer, at least in the present article. But, in passing, it may be pertinent to observe that few if any of the organizers would oppose their admission; though how such a course could practically benefit women is not obvious, unless indeed those thus enrolled expected to marry diplomats. In that case, it is conceivable that knowledge of how to proceed in a delicate international negotiation might enable a woman, with an official husband, to assist him by refreshing his memory as to historical precedents and other erudite matters concerning which he might become rusty. But it fairly may be questioned whether even the most hopelessly advanced woman expects to see the day when members of her sex will serve as ambassadors at the Court of St. James's or at Paris or St. Petersburg.

Diplomacy is like chess playing; the science of both may be acquired—not to the degree of utmost skill, perhaps, attained by Machiavelli in the one or by Steinitz in the other. But the principles of diplomacy may be mastered, when properly taught, so that the student who gets his degree of Doctor or Bachelor of Diplomacy, or whatever it may be designated, will be prepared to render more efficient service for the government than the man

who, however brilliant in mind, does not possess that particular kind of culture and special drill. It seems almost absured to emphasize an A, B, C, proposition like this—and yet we have no such school.

Now what, if any, are the objections to it? I have talked and corresponded with a number of men whose opinions would give weight to the idea here suggested, were there space in which to quote them, and without a single exception they have approved it warmly, and, in some cases, enthusiastically. One United States Senator, recently elected, assures me that he intends to propose the idea to his colleagues in a formal address, which, I sincerely hope, will be "the effort of his life."

It is not too late in our national existence to learn many things; and since in other civilized nations diplomacy long has been regarded as a science and a profession, it is high time that we should arrive at the same conclusion. There may be some old fogies, in their dotage, who will argue against it as being an experiment and all that sort of thing; but so was the Magna Charta confirmed by Edward I.; so was the Declaration of Independence; so was the first Atlantic cable; so have been many good things.

The employment by the government of graduates from such a School, not only as envoys and consuls, but in the departments where something more than mere clerical accuracy and faithfulness are required, would tend to weed out many retainers of Uncle Sam, who have outlived their usefulness as public servants and have been rewarded many times over for their partisan zeal. Under the present corrupt system of lavishing party plums upon all kinds of "machine" heelers and henchmen, the *personnel* in many important and responsible functions of the government is of a haphazard, motley character, without that *esprit de corps* which would be insured were these preferments bestowed by the rule of fitness and merit. Were administrative appointments based upon the mental and personal qualifica tions, the School-bred competitors would get, and ought to get, the most de sirable billets, with such exceptions as would occur now and then. There would still remain enough offices for needy and perhaps deserving place-hunters of the stripe that invest the capital.

It might be advisable for the George Washington Memorial Association, of which Mrs. Ellen A. Richardson of New York city is President, and Mrs. Susanna Phelps Gage of Ithaca, New York, the Recording Secretary, to co-operate with the government in providing for such a school, as a part of the proposed great National University at Washington. The object of this Association, which is very largely made up of wealthy women, and in which the Daughters of the Revolution are deeply interested, is to carry out George Washington's bequest in his will, in which he set aside some stocks in a Potomac plots company, for the purpose of building a great national university in the city of Washington. Long ago the stocks proved worthless, and although the matter has been brought before Congress repeatedly, nothing tangible was done about it until the patriotic women of the country took hold of it. Here is a suggestion which it is certainly worth their while to consider carefully.

At present there is but one great School of Diplomacy in the world. This one is in Paris and is called *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques.* Established under government patronage a number of years ago, and securing among its faculty some of the foremost minds of France and of Europe, it has flourished from its inception, and to-day numbers on its roll several hundred students from all parts of the world. Among its famous instruc-

tors have been or are: H. Faine, M. Levassem, Albert Sorel, Renault, Funck-Brentano, Léon Say, André Lebon, Anatole Leroy-Beaulien, De Fonville and others. Some among those mentioned hold very high and responsible positions in the French government.

The curriculum of this school embraces the study of (1.) Diplomacy—including the duties of Minister of Foreign Affairs, Legations and Consulates; (2.) Councillor of State; (3.) Administration—both central and department; Ministerial Litigations under Prefectures, etc.; (4.) Inspection of Finances; (5.) the Exchequer. Moreover, the curriculum includes the elements of superior instruction, which usefully complete the preparation of a student for certain high commercial positions, as, for instance, in a bank, or in the management of a large corporation.

This is not all; the range of instruction, with its classifications, is very wide and comprehensive. For example, in the administrative section are included lectures on administrative organizations compared; financial systems of the principal nations; public revenues and imports; political economy; statistics and commercial treaties since 1789; constitutional law in France, Germany and the United States; the Constitutions of Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary and Belgium; parliamentary and legislative history of France since 1789, etc. A series of lectures upon several of these subjects extends through the whole two years' course; others are concluded in one year.

In the diplomatic section, the following are some of the subjects pursued: Diplomatic history from 1789 to our days; contemporary Europe and Eastern affairs since 1856; diplomatic history from 1648 to 1789; economical geography; commercial treaties since 1789; commercial legislation compared, etc. In the economic and financial section the subjects included in the first two are discussed. Finally, in what is termed the general section, public law and history are considered under several of the foregoing titles.

In the special courses information of the most vital importance is dispensed to the students by the professors, among whom, as I have said, are several in the service of the French government, as, for instance, M. Albert Sorel, who is a high authority on the organization of diplomatic service, procedure of a negotiation, character of the principal courts and cabinets of Europe, etc. Everything in the realm of political economy, from the theories of Adam Smith down to those of Henry George, is investigated; socialism is defined and treated. Here are themes selected at random: maritime law and jurisprudence; the cabinet of Richelieu; the aristocracy; historical precedents; constitutions of particular states, Russia, Turkey, and the Danube provinces; the Egyptian question; Catholics and Protestants; independence of the United States; the public domain; railways, telegraphs, the postal service; fiscal revenues; public expenditures; provincial affairs. All these and many other important matters are brought to the notice of the young men who attend this school.

Those who are educated in this institution for official careers almost invariably succeed when they compete for positions. Of late years, all pupils presented for the Department of Foreign Affairs by this school have been received in first ranks. In the general competition a large percentage of the candidates from the *École des Sciences Politiques* are successful. Abundant examples might be cited.

A School of Diplomacy in this country might well be modeled after the one in Paris with, of course, such modifications as would place it in accord

with the genius of our government and people. It would necessitate many new text books from the pens of constitutional lawyers, historians and specialists. The old files of *The Congressional Record*, which has been so much ridiculed by the newspapers for its dry chronicles, would have a magic value to compilers and delvers.

A certain American university has been considering the advisability of adding an eclectic course in diplomacy to its curriculum. If this laudable project is carried out, and the instruction is sufficiently comprehensive, the result will be good for the university and for the nation. But its influence and success must, of course, be local and limited. International law and political economy constitute but a small part of a rounded diplomatic education. The average college graduate enters life with a smattering of knowledge of these two profound studies, but there is not one in fifty to whom they ultimately prove of practical account.

A National School of Diplomacy in Washington would open to bright young men the vista of a brilliant career. With such an institution in active existence, the President of the United States, in doling out his patronage, would know just where to place his hand upon a certain number of worthy candidates for appointment. The project is in perfect accord with the principles of Civil Service Reform, whose standard it would tend to elevate. The government can well afford to try the experiment, and it is hoped that the women of the George Washington Memorial Association will lend their valuable assistance to it.

LEON MEAD.

WAR CORRESPONDENTS.

THE newspaper reporters who follow an army or a navy into action and day by day telegraph the happenings in the field, must now be reckoned with very seriously by those who plan and attempt to carry out any campaign of battle.

The war correspondent, as such, first appeared, I believe, in the Crimean War; though, to be sure, the chroniclers and reporters have been watchers of all military movements since very early times. It has, however, only been within comparatively recent times that the war correspondent has become a recognized part of every army, a part of the *impedimenta* which, at times, must be very embarrassing indeed both to commanders and subordinates. In England, the war correspondent is often regarded as a specialist among newspaper writers, and a man takes up this branch of the profession seriously and earnestly, just as a medical man will devote most of his time to the treatment of the eye or the throat. As England always has some kind of a war on her hands these men have the chance for tolerably constant and remunerative employment. Some of them, indeed, receive retaining salaries, and in between wars they hold themselves in readiness for service in the next campaign.

These men are the elect of the profession, for they have pleasant and profitable employment, and the satisfaction also of public recognition of their work when it is good, and when, to do it, it has been necessary to use both courage and enterprise.

In America, it has been a generation since we had a war until this little conflict with Spain. To be sure, we have had Indian fights now and then, fights in which our soldiers displayed military ardor, zeal, endurance and

resourcefulness. But none of these were on so large a scale that they held the public attention for more than a few days at a time. The war correspondent therefore in America has never become a profession, as it has in England, and when war was declared by Spain the newspapers selected this man and that—most of them quite without experience of war or even the preparation for war—and sent them off to tell the country what was happening in the camps in Florida and in the fleets in the Caribbean Sea.

The eyes of the whole country were upon that section, and we were all very naturally anxious to know what was going on, and further than this we wanted to know what the next, or rather the first, movement would be. These reporters, of course, were well aware of this interest at home, and none of them is to be blamed for trying to gratify this natural desire. But there are ways and ways of doing things, and I have no hesitation in saying that the New York methods of gathering news, when transferred to a camp in the field or a fleet at sea, are likely to do a great deal of harm to the side whose operations are reported, and at the same time give valuable information to the enemy against which that side is operating.

It is therefore imperative that the authorities should recognize the war correspondents, and establish rules and regulations which must be lived up to in letter and in spirit; and there should be penalties for disobedience—military penalties—quick and serious.

It is quite true it was required in the late war that civilians who went with the army or the navy should have some sort of a license granted by the War or the Navy Department. But these privileges were given, as a matter of course, to all who asked for them, and there was even less inquiry as to the character of such an applicant than there was when a man sought a staff position as quartermaster, commissary or adjutant-general. When an aspiring patriot desired to put on the uniform of the army and to decorate his shoulders with the insignia of rank, he was required to produce political influence as an endorsement of his ability; but in the case of the man who wanted to join the forces to tell the world how every thing was to be done, how it was accomplished and how it should have been performed, no inquiry was made as to his physical, mental or moral fitness—he was taken along as a matter of course to become a dangerous and embarrassing portion of the *impedimenta*.

The result of this lack of selection was that, when the army was in Florida, there were scores and scores of these irresponsible reporters about every camp. They nosed about, picking up every blessed crumb of intelligence they could find, including the mere camp gossip, and this stuff was sent off to the newspapers and given the dignity of print. In their desire to give importance to their reports, these soldiers, who had never been in action, were already heroes. Every one was a hero. If he lived, he was a hero; if he fell sick, he was a stricken hero; if, alas, he died, he was a martyred hero, and so on to the end of the chapter; the reports having started out in a high and a sensational key, they had to be kept at that pitch throughout. In all this there was no particular harm, except that the public got a trifle tired of it all. But the spirit—the spirit of newspaper enterprise, "yellow journalism" enterprise, no doubt—was the same in this as it was in more serious matters, where great and lasting harm was done.

Whatever plans were made at Washington for going to Cuba, those plans were known in very short order at Madrid and Havana. And why not? The New York papers printed all of them in full, and the papers in the

other parts of the country as well. We had a censor here to prevent this, but this censorship appears to have been inefficient. The time for starting to Cuba, the strength of the army of invasion, and every other particular were known in Madrid almost as soon as in Tampa, from which the expedition started. To be sure, they did not know in Madrid what a muddled mixture this army carried as stores, but then General Shafter did not know this himself—probably he does not know it yet. But if this great source of weakness had been known, the Spaniards would have known it too. Indeed, if the several hundred war correspondents at Tampa and thereabouts had been men of trained experience they would have known about the supplies and discovered this weakness to the world, the Spaniards included. Mr. Poultney Bigelow, one of the few writers who had previously seen armies prepare for serious work, appears to have had no difficulty in finding out in short order that the invading army was most ill prepared for the work that was cut out to be done. The rest of them said that Mr. Bigelow was a slanderer; some said that he was a traitor. And so the merry war of words from this army of reporters went on—the country meantime vexed with anxiety and suspense.

Things were better managed in the navy, for the naval operations were conducted by professional men who knew their business. But even the naval operations were hampered by the newspaper reporters and their despatch boats. One expedition to Porto Rico was quite abandoned on account of the premature publication of the plan. At all times the despatch boats were in the way, and it is really wonderful, considering the foolhardiness of some of these small craft, that none of them was fired on and hurt. In one instance the Associated Press boat led the valuable battleship "Oregon" a chase of a hundred miles before disclosing its identity. When the colors were shown, the despatch boat officers treated the matter as a great joke, and boasted of it as a retaliation because fuller news of the operations to be made had not been disclosed. I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that the war correspondents responsible for this joke should have been taken aboard the battleship and put in irons, or even given a taste of the cat.

Later, so as to give spice to their tales, these correspondents represented that Sampson was trying to steal Schley's glory for the victory over Cervera, and they so inflamed some weak minds that I actually heard Sampson's name hissed in a public meeting. This to be sure was not an injury to the public, but it was a public injury to a man who did a great service to his country.

Whenever it is suggested that the license of the press be curbed, there is always a charge that hidden in the suggestion is an attack on the liberty of the press. It does not make much difference how this suggestion be denominated. In military matters the laws that usually prevail are abrogated and military law is dominant. Now the war correspondent is not known to the military code. He is a more recent creation, and his evolution and multiplication in this last war has made of him a serious menace to the successful operations of any military commander. I do not propose to restrain him so much as to regulate him. In his life and in his work he must be responsible to military authority. Hitherto, and specially was this so with Shafter's army, correspondents were given the news, that is, the authorized news, as a matter of favor. Some were told fully what was going on, some were told nothing. Under the heterogeneous conditions

which existed, this was probably inevitable: then again, these favors may have been given and withheld according to the ideas of the trustworthiness or untrustworthiness of this man or that. As a matter of fact, in this particular instance it was merely a case of favoritism—the commanding general chose to like one man and to dislike another man. But the system is all wrong.

In the first instance, none but picked men—men of approved intelligence and fidelity—should be allowed by the authorities to go with an army as correspondents. When such picked men join an army they should be compelled to live and act according to military law—to conduct themselves as officers and gentlemen—and they should be subject to all the penalties that other men in the face of the enemy are liable to. Then, on the staff at each headquarters, there should be an officer detailed for the sole purpose of dealing with the correspondents. He should tell what it is safe to tell, and no more. With such an arrangement a general can go ahead with some assurance that his plans have not been disclosed to the enemy by his newspapers at home. In the present haphazard style of collecting and printing war news lurks great danger, and it may lead to very serious consequences should we ever encounter an enemy somewhat near to us in numbers and in wealth.

JNO. GILMER SPEED.

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THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY.

BY THE HON. JOHN A. T. HULL.

THIS Government is so situated as to make a large standing army unnecessary. The two oceans separate us from the great nations of the world. Canada, on our north, would make a good base for England to operate against us, but could not as an independent government give us serious trouble. Mexico and other American governments on our south are so overshadowed by the Greater Republic as to be no menace to our security. Under less favorable circumstances, this Government would be compelled to maintain an army of several hundred thousand men, as well as keep a large reserve ready for the second fighting line.

But the fact that our immediate danger is small is no reason for the entire indifference with which our army has been treated since the close of the Civil War. It costs very little more to have an army organized properly to meet the conditions of modern warfare than it does to keep up an obsolete system. The average American is so full of patriotic pride that he cannot conceive of a condition which would make the American soldier, regular or volunteer, inferior to any other soldier on earth. Our wars in the past have largely justified this estimate. But since our own Civil War, all armies have been organized on a new basis. When that war was fought, we had an organization equal to

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any that could be brought against us—we were on an equality with any possible foe. The rapid-fire, long-range rifle came in after our war had been fought to a successful conclusion. With new and improved arms, both artillery and musketry, came a change in organization. The old single battalion, with close order formation, gave way in all the armies of Europe to the three battalion and extended order formation. In the Civil War, with our muzzle-loading, short-range guns, we could get into close proximity to the enemy before being in danger; and touching elbows, two ranks deep, the troops on either side could make effective charge and counter charge. If any army should go into action with this old formation to-day, the loss of life would be appalling. An army attempting it would be destroyed before it could inflict any damage on the opposing force.

Before the bill providing for the reorganization of the army was passed last April, the United States had by law, in the event of our army's confronting an enemy, hampered it by an obsolete organization. The War Department, wiser than Congress, had adopted a modern organization and, so far as possible, drilled our small regular army in modern tactics. This was done in violation of law. But, in case of war, all regiments would have been organized in ten companies, single battalion formation, just as in the Civil War. When the bill was first submitted early in April, 1898—cast on the line of the three battalion formation, but giving only two majors to an infantry regiment, with provisions too economical for an oganization of any great effectiveness—it aroused such a storm of indignation in and out of Congress as to cause the overwhelming defeat of the measure. We were then within a few days of actual war, but so-called leaders in the House of Representatives declared that there would be no war, and that, if there should be, we must depend on the citizen soldiery. No increase of the army would be tolerated, and formation on modern lines was impossible without increase or reduction of regiments. The organized militia of the States saw in this moderate measure an attempt to keep them from active service, and brought all their powerful influence to bear to prevent a proper organization of the army. No bill would have been passed for the reorganization of the army, if we had not had on our statute books a law compelling the national militia, when called into the service of the United States, to be organized and officered

in the manner provided for the regular army. When the leading guardsmen learned of this law, they favored a reorganization bill. The guard organization was infinitely better than that prescribed for the regulars. But, as they were anxious to retain all the frills and furbelows of the guard organization, the bill had to provide for taking them in as organizations. War had been declared and the necessities of the Government were so urgent that this provision was accepted. It has cost the Government many millions of dollars, but it has also caused a general desire throughout the country for a uniform organization, and this will finally result in good.

The experience of the late war has shown the bad effects of drawing from civil life an army for immediate service. The placing of raw recruits in large camps resulted, as it always does, in sickness and discontent. An American is restive under restraint, and reckless in his violation of all rules of health. The American volunteer in the late war had the same characteristics as those of us who served in the Civil War—impatience of restraint and carelessness as to diet. If the Civil War had only lasted six months we would have had the same experience. It takes time to make a soldier. Given the best material in the world, it takes at least six months to develop the raw recruit into the reliable soldier. That is the reason why some of us wanted a regular army to take the first fighting line. The volunteers would thus have time to harden into a capacity to endure fatigue and gain the habit of obedience, which makes an army an effective fighting machine.

My attention was first called to this subject by reading the reports of the generals in command of the army at different times, and the urgent requests of every Secretary of War for the last thirty years for some legislation. The Franco-Prussian War conclusively proved that nations could not go to war on old lines, with old organizations. The time for leisurely fighting, when four to seven years might be spent in determining which was the victor, was passed forever. A conflict between nations must be sharp and decisive, frequently decided by one great battle. The terribly destructive weapons used put an end to protracted fighting. The old close order formation gave way to what is known as open order. Instead of touching elbows in line, men are now three feet apart, so as to reduce the danger as far as possible in

action. This places more men in the support, and fewer on the firing line. It necessitates a smaller unit than a ten company regiment, and at the same time makes a larger number in a company efficient. Grant, Sherman and Sheridan urged a reorganization of the army, and pointed out the danger to the United States of adhering to our old organization. Finally, a commission was appointed to examine into the subject and report to the War Department and through that to Congress. Sherman, then commanding the army, had made a full investigation of modern organization, and submitted the following:

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Washington, D. C., September, 1876.

Sir: In compliance with the resolution adopted by the commission at its first session, August, 1876, I have the honor to submit my individual views and opinions of the matter confided to our action.

* * * * * * *

Each regiment would * * * contain, for a peace establishment, 54 officers and 736 enlisted men, aggregating 790; or the

5 regiments artillery equal	60 companies equal	270 officers and	3,680 men.
10 regiments of cavalry equal	120 companies equal	540 officers and	7,360 men.
20 regiments of infantry equal	240 companies equal	1,080 officers and	14,720 men.
		1,890	25,760

Aggregating, officers and men, 27,650.

To increase to the war standard, simply add to each company 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 50 privates, which would result as follows:

5 regiments of artillery equal	60 companies equal	270 officers and	6,800 men.
10 regiments of cavalry equal	120 companies equal	540 officers and	13,600 men.
20 regiments of infantry equal	240 companies equal	1,080 officers and	27,200 men.
		1,890	47,600

To further increase for war purposes, add four new companies to each battalion, and we have—

5 regiments of artillery equal	120 companies equal	510 officers and	13,700 men.
10 regiments cavalry equal	240 companies equal	1,020 officers and	27,400 men.
20 regiments infantry equal	480 companies equal	2,040 officers and	54,800 men.
		3,570	95,900

The Germans now use companies as large as 250 men, so that a battalion of eight companies numbers 2,000 men. Assuming that as the maximum, we will have—

5 regiments equal 15 battalions of artillery, equal	30,000
10 regiments equal 30 battalions of cavalry, equal	60,000
20 regiments equal 60 battalions of infantry, equal	120,000
Making an army of	210,000

on a minimum or peace basis of 27,650. Thus an effective and well-organized army of over 200,000 can be created promptly "without the least confusion or disorder," fulfilling all the conditions of Mr. Calhoun's second great principle, which he regarded as of more national importance than the first.

On considering any paper organization it is safe to assume that about one-third are usually absent. This seems a large proportion, but it is the result of experience extending back for centuries. Good discipline and good administration diminish this ratio, while bad discipline and worse administration increase it largely. The usual causes of diminished ranks are wounds and sickness, furloughs and leaves of absence, confinement by way of punishment, details for cooking, for care of sick, as teamsters, care and distribution of supplies, detachments for escorts of trains and exposed points along the routes of supply, etc.

* * * * * * *

With great respect, your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN, General

Hon. J. D. CAMERON,
Secretary of War, and President of the Commission for the Reorganization, etc., of the Army.

I became thoroughly imbued with the idea that we could not afford to longer delay army legislation. I was startled at the indifference to the urgent solicitations of all our great commanders and resolved to bring the matter before Congress. Up to the time of the convening of the Fifty-fifth Congress, the War Department had contented itself with recommending suitable legislation to Congress, and Congress had utterly ignored all such recommendations. Both were to blame, but much the greater share must be laid on Congressional shoulders. When I resolved to take up this subject actively, I found cordial co-operation in the War Department. The present accomplished Adjutant-General of the army aided in every possible way and furnished me with valuable information.

Encouraged by this hearty co-operation, I formulated the first bill on the lines suggested by General Sherman. It made the peace establishment only about 30,000 men, gave the three battalion formation in time of war, with only two majors. In time of peace, a regiment was to be composed of only two battalions. The third battalion was to be mustered out by discharging two companies absolutely and skeletonizing the other two. It was a compromise measure, but an immense advance on anything before proposed. It could not pass. Moderate in all its provisions, it cut down the number of officers, and aroused the antagonism of every man who hoped for a commission. The size of the company was especially obnoxious. To demonstrate that the proposed army organization was in line with experience in other countries, I showed that the proposed provision was below rather than above what is required, as to number of enlisted men in a company, by nations where the military arm is of supreme importance.

The bill provided that the President might recruit a company up to two hundred and fifty, but that, when a company reached one hundred and fifty, it was at its war strength and could be fully officered by the addition of one second lieutenant and mounting the captain. On this basis the regiment would consist of eighteen hundred men and fifty-eight officers. This was war strength. The bill made no changes in the peace establishment, except the addition of twenty-five majors for the infantry. In Austria, a regiment in time of peace consists of eighty-two officers and two thousand four hundred and sixty-

six enlisted men. In France, on a peace basis, a regiment numbers sixty-seven officers and sixteen hundred and twelve enlisted men; on a war basis a regiment is composed of sixty-eight officers and three thousand one hundred and twenty enlisted men. In Germany, the strength of a regiment on a peace basis is sixty-five officers and two thousand and twenty enlisted men, while its war strength is seventy-nine- officers and three thousand one hundred and forty-nine enlisted men. In Russia the strength of a regiment on a peace or war basis is seventy-seven officers and eighteen hundred and ninety-nine men. Austria and Russia have no expansion from within in time of war. Their regiments are of the same strength in peace or war. Both keep large standing armies, and increase their war strength by the addition of new regiments.

As said in the beginning of this article, we do not need a large regular army in time of peace. So, while providing for a very slight increase in the size of the army, simply to make possible the battalion organization for the peace footing, I made provision for a material increase of the war footing by expanding the regiment from less than one thousand men to eighteen hundred men, and a possible three thousand men, in the discretion of the President. In this I followed, in a modified form, the organization of the German and French armies. There is very little difference between these two countries in respect to regimental army organization. Both have the three battalions of four companies each. Germany, on a peace footing, has two more commissioned officers and five hundred and ninety-two more men to the regiment than France, but, on a war basis, France has eleven more commissioned officers and twenty-nine more enlisted men to a regiment than Germany. They are both great military nations —armed camps, in fact. Both eagerly and promptly adopt every improvement in military organization, and seek in every way so to organize their armies as to make them the most effective fighting machines. Austria and Russia are equally alert to find out and adopt the best methods of military organization, and have large reserves organized into regiments which are ready to be called into service on a day's notice. They depend on these reserve regiments rather than on expanding from within. Germany and France do both.

In the United States, we have not the reserve to draw on.

So far as the national guard is concerned, there are almost as many organizations as there are States. There is no uniformity, and therefore no good can come to the country from that organization, as at present constituted. It is purely the creation of State laws to meet the wants of the State. In Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Iowa and other States having a well-organized guard, it answers admirably as a supplement to the police force of the State, but that is all. In the late war, I think I am safe in saying that not twenty-five per cent. of the enlisted force of the guard enlisted as volunteers. This result follows as a natural sequence to the character of men composing the national guard. It is made up largely of men who can leave their business for a few days, but who cannot leave for one or two years. When the guard wanted to go into the late war as organizations, a large number very properly withdrew, and left only skeletons of companies, which were filled up with raw recruits before being mustered into the service of the United States. They were not well drilled and equipped organizations. In no sense would they compare with the reserve organizations of the military powers of Europe. Our experience in the late war demonstrated that the only trained soldiers the country could rely on were those of the regular force. Spain, fortunately for us, had no military strength, and so we were not punished for our long neglect of ordinary requirements of all rules of organization. Even little Switzerland has a superior organization, consisting of three battalions of four companies each, with eighty-one officers and two thousand two hundred and sixty-two enlisted men for each regiment. I was foolish enough to believe that Congress would pass our first bill. It did not add a single regiment or company to the army on a peace basis, but provided for expanding the army "in time of war or after war had been declared by Congress," to comply with the requirements of the modern science of war. The bill was unanimously reported from the Committee on Military Affairs. When it was brought up on the floor, the storm broke and ignorance and prejudice held high carnival. The bill was overwhelmingly defeated by sheer force of the lung power of members who have since confessed that they knew nothing of the subject.

When the third session of the Fifty-fifth Congress convened, every one recognized that some army legislation must be had.

The law enacted after war was declared provided that, when peace should be proclaimed, the regular army should be immediately reduced to a force not greater than twenty-six thousand six hundred and ten enlisted men, and the volunteers, all admitted, should be mustered out at the earliest day possible. The American volunteer enlists to fight, and becomes very restive when compelled to perform garrison duty. Members of Congress were being importuned to secure the discharge of the volunteers, and a condition of utter demoralization would ensue if any attempt were made to keep them in the service.

Facing this situation, I came to Washington before Congress convened, and, after full conference with the War Department, the outlines of a bill were agreed upon. It increased the number of infantry regiments from twenty-five to thirty, the cavalry from ten to twelve, abolished the regimental organizations of heavy artillery, and created a corps of artillery. It left the cavalry organization as we have had it for the last thirty years, and as all other nations organize this branch of the service. It increased the infantry company to one hundred and forty-five enlisted men, as a maximum, and provided about twenty thousand men for the artillery arm of the service, only two regiments to be organized as field artillery. The necessity of caring for the coast-defense batteries made the increase of the men for heavy artillery absolutely essential. The general of the army in his testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs, December 12, 1898, said:

"The increase of the fortifications and the great importance of fortifying the coast makes the neccessity for a large increase of the personnel of the artillery apparent to everyone. We have now batteries and fortifications under construction, which will be completed this year, requiring 195 batteries of artillery to take care of the enormously expensive guns, mortars, fortifications, magazines, ammunition, and everything of that kind. When the entire system is completed it will require 362 batteries for the coast of the United States."

The House bill did not provide for as many men in the artillery as every expert said would be necessary. We thought men could be arranged in smaller squads and thus care for the guns, although we did believe there should be a large increase in this arm of the service. The force of artillery authorized at the breaking out of the war with Spain was seven regiments of about eight hundred men each, making about five thousand six hun-

dred enlisted men in the artillery. The Congress had already expended nearly sixty millions of dollars in coast defenses and had neglected to provide men to care for the guns. To go on expending vast sums to protect our coast cities and make no provisions for manning the batteries, seemed to me to be criminal negligence. You cannot make a modern artilleryman in a day or a month. In the Civil War, with our old muzzle-loading guns, the problem was simple, and a raw recruit soon learned all there was of it. But the coast defense disappearing gun is quite a different affair. It requires skilled men to operate a battery. The range-finder, electrician and even the men who handle the powder and shells must be thoroughly trained, to be of any use. We tried to show that it was cheaper to man the guns than to go on with an inadequate force. In the report to the House, I used these words:

"It is pertinent, however, to remark that according to reliable observation the deterioration of electric machinery in our coast forts when uncared for is 33 per cent. per annum, of other machinery 20 per cent. and of guns and carriages 25 per cent. A battery of two 12-inch guns complete with all its machinery costs $146,000; if uncared for the yearly loss would be about $44,000.

"In view of these facts, the fact can not be challenged that the recommendations of this bill touching the artillery arm are not excessive."

In the infantry arm, the only contest in the committee was as to the size of the company. One or two members interested in national guard organizations wanted a small company, but the committee was strongly impressed with the fact that the company could be made as large as one hundred and forty-five enlisted men and preserve the highest efficiency. So far as economy was involved, there was no contention that such a company would not be more economical than a smaller company.

General Miles, when before the committee in April, 1898, urged that a company be not less than one hundred and twenty-two enlisted men. He modified this in his testimony, December 12, 1898.

General Schofield, in his testimony before the committee, said on this point:

"I would say, though, in connection with the strength of the army, that it would seem to be wise to make the necessary increase by adding as few regiments as practicable and getting the necessary strength by giving very large size if necessary to the companies, making the enlisted strength very large in proportion to the number of officers; so, if the time comes, as I hope it may in a very few years, when a considerable reduction can be made

in the force now presumed to be necessary, that it can be done without any injury to the military effectiveness, by simply discharging unnecessary enlisted men, still leaving an efficient organization of 50 or 80 or 100 men to the company.

"I would not hesitate, with that in view to make the companies as large as 150 men, and I know from my own experience that with such officers as are now found in the regular army a company of 150 men can be made more effective than any new troops under new officers could be made in a short time; although troops organized as our volunteers generally are, of the character generally found among them, would become as good as regulars in the course of a few years; but for a long time a company of volunteers would be less efficient than a company of 150 men organized under such men as now exist in the army."

The greatest trouble we found in the late war was in the staff. Congress had been for years gradually cutting down the staff, until we did not have enough trained officers to care for any increase in the army. All at once our army was expanded from 26,610 to 260,000 men. This required an immense increase of every staff department. The new officers had to be taken largely from civil life. The regular army was short of officers—many companies having been reduced by detail or staff assignment to one commissioned officer to the company. This great mass of raw material could not be made effective all at once. A man without training could not make a good quartermaster or commissary in a week. The regular force worked day and night to supply the army and educate the new men. But when men and officers are both inexperienced, trouble may be looked for. This was the case in nearly every brigade in the army.

The bill, to correct this evil, made substantial increase in every staff department, and especially in the quartermaster and commissary divisions. After seven days' debate and contention in the House, the bill passed on the lines laid down by the Committee on Military Affairs. If the Senate had adopted it as it passed the House, and as it was reported by Republican members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, we would have had a splendid modern organization, providing for an army in time of peace of about fifty-one thousand men, divided into different arms of the service as follows: Infantry, about 23,000 enlisted men; cavalry, 9,000 enlisted men, and artillery about 19,000 enlisted men. Does any sane man regard this as a large standing army for a nation of 75,000,000 people?

On a peace basis, France has 1,000 soldiers to 62,589 of population; Germany 1,000 to 89,300 of population; England, most

favored of all the nations of the old world, 1,000 to 232,959 of population, while this bill would have given only 1,000 soldiers to 1,477,000 of our population.

The bill gave the President discretionary power between the minimum of 51,000 enlisted men and a maximum of 96,000 enlisted men. This larger number embraced all arms of the service, including a regiment of engineers, the hospital and signal corps. It gave a small fighting line and the volunteers could be organized and equipped to come in as reserve, or second line, without the confusion and suffering experienced during the past year. The relative size of the army on a war strength shows how moderate an increase was permitted.

France in war has 1,000 soldiers to 15,407 inhabitants; Germany in war has 1,000 soldiers to 17,427 inhabitants; Great Britain in war has 1,000 soldiers to 72,413 inhabitants, while under the House bill, the United States provided for only 1,000 soldiers to about 791,000 inhabitants. Of course this does not take into account the volunteer. The bill dealt only with the regular establishment, and the above is simply intended to show how moderate was the measure. The fighting strength of this nation will equal that of any other nation on earth, but it is not available without organization.

In the Senate Committee an unfortunate situation developed. It stood five Republicans for the House bill and five Democrats against it. No action could be taken. The 4th of March, when the Fifty-fifth Congress must adjourn *sine die*, was near. Finally, an agreement was reached by which the Republicans reported what is known as the "Hull bill" and the Democrats reported what is known as the "Cockrell bill." The chairman of the Senate Committee, in his report on the Hull bill, gave cordial indorsement to the measure, saying, among other things:

"Assuming, for illustration, that the Government will require about 100,000 troops for defense of the frontier, for coast defense, and to maintain our authority in the islands for whose good order and government this nation is responsible, together with a reasonable reserve force, the committee believe the organization provided for in this bill will make the most efficient military organization, at the lowest cost to the taxpayers, of any proposed."

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"The organization of the artillery provided for in the bill changes it from the regimental formation to that of a corps of artillery. Let it be borne in mind how complicated is the artillery service, how many different

kinds of guns it has to serve; that in future it will be charged with the torpedo service, and that the nature of artillery service in general will depend entirely upon local conditions—conditions that differ from harbor to harbor—and it is at once evident that an arbitrary division of the personnel into regiments is inherently vicious. The corps system, on the other hand, gives the artillery the adaptability and flexibility that are demanded by the ever-varying conditions of its service."

The bill was taken up in the Senate and, if it could have been brought to a vote, would have passed by a decisive majority. The Republican members of the committee for two days presented an unbroken front, but found the small minority determined to talk the session out rather than permit a vote on the bill. Senators, not members of the Committee on Military Affairs, started a compromise. Senator Cockrell, representing the minority, submitted what he was willing to support, and, after conference with the executive officers of the Government, the Senate Military Committee unanimously reported the Senate bill. The minority would not agree to the consideration of the House bill, as that would throw the difference between the two houses into conference, and would result in their defeat. The majority of the Senate were compelled to yield. The compromise bill, as reported to the Senate, was a good measure so far as the organization of the infantry and cavalry is concerned. It was practically the Hull bill, except that it fixed a minimum of enlisted men in a company, and left out all relating to the maximum number. It left the number of regiments of infantry and cavalry the same as provided for in existing law, but in the artillery it adhered to the old fiction of a regimental organization, and added two batteries to each regiment of artillery. It made no change in the regular staff, but continued a certain number of the volunteer staff until July 1st, 1901. It fixed the maximum for the army at 65,000 enlisted men, and authorized the enlistment of 35,000 volunteers to be organized into thirty regiments to serve until July 1st, 1901. The President had full power to appoint all officers of the volunteers, so that the State officers had no authority in the premises. The bill authorized a larger force than the House bill for immediate service, and after 1901 left a good line organization for the army and a permanent force of about 39,000 men. If it had passed the Senate as reported very little objection could have been urged against it, except the provisions as to the staff. When it was first considered in

the Senate, Senator Hawley, for the Republicans, cordially indorsed the measure and Senator Cockrell declared: "In the sight of God and man, this is a just bill." With both parties for it, one would have thought the measure would have easy sailing. But Senator Gorman was not satisfied, and, with the aid of a few Democrats and Populists, he insisted on amendments which entirely changed the character of the bill and made it an inconsistent and contradictory measure.

The provision that a company should not consist of less than a certain number was stricken out, and the small minimum was written into law as the maximum. So we have, as a maximum of a cavalry company, forty-three privates, twenty-two non-commissioned officers, cooks, farriers and musicians, and three commissioned officers.

An infantry company has forty-eight privates, seventeen non-commissioned officers, including cooks and musicians, and three commissioned officers. This is the war strength. Regiments organized with such companies would be too absurd for China to adopt. The bill gives to each regiment a full band, and to each company two musicians. With respectably organized regiments, this would be all right; but with no men to speak of on the fighting line, it suggests the idea that this Government hereafter will make war with wind and attempt to gain victories with noise.

Section 12 of the bill gives the President the right to raise a regular army of 65,000 men. The bill fixes the number of regiments, the number of companies in a regiment, and the exact number of men in a company. On this basis the army would be 39,000. No one contends that the President can increase the number of regiments, or companies; and the law officers of the Government disagree as to his power to increase the size of the company. The two provisions contradict each other. In fixing the regimental organization it provides for the three battalion plan, but the Gorman proviso says: "That each and every provision of this act shall continue in force until July 1st, 1901; and on and after that date all the general staff and line officers appointed to the army under this act shall be discharged, and the numbers restored in each grade to those existing at the passage of this act." This absolutely destroys the three battalion organization.

The act creates additional officers for each infantry regiment as follows: One major, two captains, four first lieutenants. These are all "officers created by this act." No regular army officers will want such places, as without further legislation by Congress their acceptance of a commission would mean retirement to private life two years from July next. The bill was amended at the will of any individual Senator. It is, in its finished state, the worst kind of patchwork. No greater exhibition of the power of a Senator was ever given. A very small minority of the Senate, led by one experienced Senator, took the Senate, the House, and the Executive Department of the Government by the throat and compelled the acceptance of a measure which does not meet the approval of any man familiar with the subject.

It was not alone the fear of an extra session which compelled the acceptance of this act. If Congress had been called in extra session by the 15th of March, who could tell when a law would be passed? The House could act promptly, and in a week send the measure to the Senate. Under the Senate rules there was no certainty that it could pass that body before June. In the meantime, peace declared, the regular army would have been reduced to 26,000, the volunteers discharged, the Executive powerless and the nation disgraced. We chose the lesser of the evils. But I hope the fight will cause the country to demand a change in the Senate rules, so that a majority may have the power, as it now has the right, to legislate.

JOHN A. T. HULL.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND PARENTS' DUTIES.

BY JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

OBSERVANT foreigners who visit us are apt to say that this is a children's country; that we pet and indulge our young folks to such a degree that everything else, except business, is given a subordinate place; and that the children take due advantage of their opportunity, ride over us rough-shod, treat us with scant respect, put in their little oar on all occasions, and habitually conduct themselves in a manner which we seem to think clever and amusing, but which, in any other country than this, would bring down upon them condign discipline. These observant foreigners point out that we are never tired of spending money on these children of ours; that there are books and periodicals especially for children, in vast numbers; that there are no such toy-shops as in the United States; that our children are dressed better than others; that immense pains are taken to provide amusements for them; and that, finally, no other nation spends such sums for the private and public education of their children as we do.

The number and efficiency of American public schools have become proverbial. Here, anybody, no matter how poor, can get any sort of education he or she pleases, free of cost, save to the public purse. To this cause are ascribed American intelligence and progress, and the triumphant democracy; for the children of rich, as well as of poor, parents are sent to public schools, and learn, in addition to other branches, the lessons of practical equality and fraternity. Of course, numbers of private schools exist and are prosperous; but, as a people, we believe in bringing up our young ones in democratic fashion, thereby guarding against the peril of their acquiring stuck-up notions, and imbibing the pernicious idea that there are such things as social grades, classes and masses—in a word, that one person is not just as good as another. And

Americans, say these foreigners, are accustomed to instance their eminent men as examples of the benefit of public schooling. Our mayors, our governors, even our Presidents, were public school boys. The American public school puts out of date such institutions as Eton and Rugby, Oxford and Cambridge, in England. We have our Berkeley schools, no doubt, and our Harvards, Yales, Princetons and Cornells, for those who care for such things; but the great mass of the people, the Americans who control the destinies of the Commonwealth, went to the public school, and they send their own children there. It is the normal thing in America. Such is the verdict of our genial critics, which we accept with a complacent smile, and we add to it, of our own motion, that ours are the best children in the world, because they have the best fathers and mothers.

Privately, between ourselves, meanwhile, we are willing to admit that the American public schools are susceptible of certain minor improvements. For one thing, there are not quite so many public schools as there ought to be; cases are known, especially in our large cities, where children have been crowded out for lack of seating-room; and the papers print pictures of weeping little girls and boys and tragic parents appealing to justice and heaven at this unrighteous deprivation; and indignant writers hold up to us the hideous contrast between rooms full of diligent little ones, sitting in rows, with happy faces, studying their books under the benign eyes of incarnate wisdom disguised as school-teachers, and the child abandoned to the street, with its thieves, murderers, drinking saloons, gutters, sewers and general filth, vice and diabolism. Shall it be said that such things were tolerated in free, rich and progressive America? Never! So down we go into our pockets, and build more public schools.

Again, it is sometimes intimated that the teachers in the public schools are not always quite all they might be. Some of them betray signs of incompetence; more often, duties are given to them too arduous to be fully discharged by any merely human agent; occasionally, they are unjust, or lose their tempers; now and then, they seem to neglect their little charges, but, for that matter, it is hardly to be expected that any man or woman, no matter how well equipped, should give personal attention to each one of some hundreds of children, or apportion to each just the degree and kind of instruction that each needs, or do anything except regard

the individuals in the mass, and impart to them, in conventional formulas, such information and guidance as the average child is supposed to require. The "average child," like the average man or woman, may be difficult to find; but we are forced, from necessity, to assume its existence. The only alternative would be to provide so many teachers that each particular child should be known to its instructor personally, and receive personal attention. But this is a counsel of perfection with a vengeance. Even as it is, the complaint is heard that teachers are not paid salary enough for their work, while at the same time our school-tax is higher than in any other country. Well, nothing in this world, even in the American part of it, is quite perfect. We may be well content to know that we are nearer to perfection than others, and are improving daily.

Admitting, then, that our public school system is as near to the right thing as it can be brought, let us inquire a little more closely into the condition and character of the product of it, the American public-school child, more particularly as it is found in our great cities. Of course, in the last resort, the public school is like other things, in so far as that by its fruits we shall know it. If it be so unexceptionable, then, inevitably, the child must be unexceptionable also. Is it so? Let us take a day from our business, and stroll about the streets, in the vicinity of the schools, at recess-time, or just after school is out for the day. At these hours the children fill the pavements, and are conducting themselves with that freedom and naturalness proper to the juvenile human being when emancipated, for a season, from the restraint of the public-schoolroom. They shout, they run about, play games, engage in mimic combats, indulge in lively dialogue. If we observe and listen, we shall get clearer and more correct notions of what they really are than by much watching beside the teacher's desk, or even by vigils within the privacy of the children's homes, where, also, spontaneity of speech and action is under restraint.

I confess I would rather the reader did this for himself than would I describe what, during the past year or so, I have learned by doing it here in New York. I did not have to go out of my way to get information; rather, at certain hours, it is difficult to find a retreat where the information is not thrust upon one. It is on earth and in air, it rushes at the ears and eyes, and permeates space generally. The children are not reticent; what is in them

is let forth with liberality and explicitness. And what is it that these our children let out? The majority of them are well-dressed and well-conditioned, their parents are of the better class, and evidently expect their offspring to take a respectable place in the community. Well, we hear as much slovenly, profane, and sometimes even foul, language as might be met with in the city slums; and we see vulgar, mean, petty conduct enough to suit the language. To look and listen, with your eyes shut, you would think that not the children of our solid citizens, who must presently carry on the business of the Republic, but a lot of naughty little toughs and hoodlums were on the rampage. The words and phrases sometimes used by these small people are really unproducible on respectable pages, and the tone in which they are uttered is yet more significant than the words. Their games are not conducted on principles of fair-play, honest give-and-take; but the participants bully and take advantage of one another. One almost never sees a square stand-up fight, but the usage is to hit in the back and run away. In their disputes, they give one another the lie as a matter of course, and are neither shamed nor do they expect to shame by it. The little girls are outwardly more decent than the boys, but they nevertheless betray a certain vulgarity which is not of good augury for their future. Their poor little airs and graces, their fluent slang, their precocious flirtations—how sorry one is to see them! Now, all these children "know better." They act in this way because it is the fashion, and they prefer to adopt as models waifs of the streets rather than respectable people. So that it is no exaggeration to say that the whole school gravitates toward the level of the most disreputable little scallawag in it, or that they can pick up in the street outside. I am not overdrawing the case; it could not be overdrawn—in print. And, when the poor little things go home, they add hypocrisy to their other accomplishments, and modify their speech and actions to suit the conception which their parents have formed of what their children ought to be. Therefore, each parent believes that, however bad other children may be, his own are all right; and since, according to our Christian standards, no parent is concerned for the welfare of any but his own children, improvement is impossible.

Are the children to blame? Certainly not. Children are imitative, and it is the foible of human nature, mature and immature

alike, to imitate what is evil rather than what is good. It is easier to lie down than to stand erect, morally as well as physically. Boys, if left to themselves, feel a certain pride in being "tough;" they think it shows manliness and the superiority of age. The point is, they ought not to be left to themselves, but the very opposite of what unregenerate nature suggests should be diligently drilled into them. They should be shown, by precept and example, at all times, in what true manliness consists. By whom should this be done?

This essay is not an indictment against our public schools. They may not be, as has already been intimated, perfect. The principles on which they are administered may in some respects be faulty. The means by which those principles are carried out may be susceptible of improvement. But, upon the whole, the State does, more or less well, what it contracts to do. It implants in children's memories certain classes of facts: whether the facts be wisely or foolishly chosen is a minor question. It teaches them arithmetic and geography and other things of the kind; it prepares the child to "pass" certain examinations. But, having thus fulfilled its contract, it stops, and does no more. It takes no cognizance of the children's minds, rightly so called; of their hearts, souls, moral and social ideals. Training in morals, decencies, elevation of thought and conduct, cannot be administered to children in the mass, but must be separately adapted to each individual. American parents take it for granted, however, that, because the State instructs their children in arithmetic and geography and the other things, it must teach them all the Christian and social graces into the bargain. The consequence is that the children grow up knowing more than the hoodlums of the slums, but knowing, also, what the hoodlums know, and, therefore, worse off than if they were ignorant altogether. We already see the effects of this in our national life. Public school children become our shopkeepers, lawyers, politicians, contractors, saloon men, bank clerks, brokers, manufacturers, millionaires. They wear good clothes and appear respectable—are respectable in many cases. But a certain, not small, percentage of them are base in character, rotten in principle, loving mean actions, pursuing degraded ambitions. Our most dangerous criminals are not the hereditary class, but graduates of our public schools. Most of the men whose careers disgrace their country, either in a small or a conspicuous

way, have been public school boys. Most of our women who go astray have attended public school. These people are gradually giving a tone to the entire community; their tendency is to sap the foundations of our national honor and freedom. It is vain to contend that many, even the majority, of public school children turn out well. That may be true; sometimes it may appear more true than it is, for, as children mature, they learn to cover up vices learned at school, and wear an outside of decency from motives of prudence. Yet, the vices may not be extirpated. The frailty, the defect, whatever it may be, remains, and, when the man or woman is brought to the test, it will betray itself. What are we going to do about it? The first thing we ought to do is to recognize the fact that the public school children who go wrong are not to be charged against our public school system, but against parental neglect and abandonment. They are the product of education by the State, unsupported by training in the family.

This essay, then, is not an indictment of American public schools, but of American parents' neglect of their children. We do not do our duty by them. It is too soft an expression to say that we entrust them to the State; we abandon them to it. America is the children's country, perhaps; but it is so in a sense less flattering to our vanity than we might wish. We pay for their book-learning, their amusements, and their indulgence; but we deny them what it is our chief concern to give them—opportunity to develop character. Yet, it is in order to afford them that opportunity, or, we might say, to compel them to that development, that we, as parents, exist. If we fail to do it, we might as well, as parents, not exist at all.

We are a busy people, devoted to business. We work hard every day to make ends meet, and, even after ends have met, we generally keep on working from habit, or from some vague form of ambition or another. We say we are fond of our children. We are fond of them, in a way—a selfish way. We see them after office hours, at meal times, on holidays; we amuse ourselves with them, indulge them, get them to show off a little, ask them whether they have been regular in their school attendance. If they answer this question in the affirmative, and we find them reasonably proficient in their studies, we are satisfied; we discharge our souls of further responsibility. We have entrusted them to the State, and the State takes better care of them than we could. For which

of us is as wise as the State, or has the State's resources? Have we the leisure to teach them arithmetic and geography? Or are we competent to do so, if the leisure were available? And even were this the case, it is not expedient to keep children too much at home; they ought to go out in the world, to measure themselves against other children, get knocked about a bit, and have the nonsense taken out of them. "Oh, no!" we cry, waxing enthusiastic; "there is nothing like sending children to the public school—entrusting them to the State!" In short, we neglect and abandon them, just as we neglect our civic duties—because we imagine we cannot spare the time to attend to them, but must be in our offices, making money, or seeming to do so. Not one man in a hundred, to put it very moderately, has any knowledge of how his children pass their hours out of school, of what they learn in those hours, and of what the consequences to them are.

The exceptional man does know. I have in my mind a man of my acquaintance, who sends his little son to public school, but who never lets go of the child's hand, so to say. He is one of the busiest men I know, working often sixteen or eighteen hours a day; but he always has leisure to attend to that son of his. To see them together, you would think he had nothing to do but attend to his son. He knows precisely what that child is studying in school, just what progress he is making, who his teachers are, with what other school-children he is intimate, and what his opinion of them is. He is aware of what kind of thoughts the child's mind is productive when the child is not with him; not what the particular thoughts are, but their character and quality. For this is apparent not so much in what the child may say or do when they are together, as in his manner of saying and doing, his tone, the scenery of his soul. He goes over his studies with the boy; he prays with him when he goes to bed at night; he talks with him, leading him on to express opinions, and to consider those which he himself expresses. He never allows the boy to see in him anything which is less than honorable and decent, or the idea to enter the child's mind that his father can be otherwise than conscientious, courageous and magnanimous. The two are friends and mutual confidants; the boy knows that his father is both just and kind—that he will always forgive the sinner, though never giving quarter to the sin; and, on the other hand, that a good or generous deed or word will always draw sunshine from his face, though

seldom words of praise from his lips. Withal, there is no humdrum solemnity and formality in their intercourse. On the contrary, it is free, full of humor and playful irony, manly and cheerful, but mutually respectful. This boy passes through the loose-tongued uproar of the streets unscathed. His glance is straightforward, his bearing confident but modest. He is a boy to the tips of his fingers, but you cannot talk with him without feeling that the soul of a gentleman is in him; and a woman would know instinctively that he would protect her, if need were, to the last atom of his small strength. This boy, who is no fancy picture, is far from perfect; further yet from the goody-goody, molly-coddle kind. From some points of view, he seems all faults; faults of temper, of pig-headedness, of overbearingness, of selfishness, every now and then, due however to thoughtlessness, not premeditation. But he is quick always to make amends, and never happy till he has done so. The faculty of dissimulation is not in him; you can tell by his face what his mood is; there is none of that smug, demure meekness or sanctimoniousness which glosses the features of the young rascals who come into the house fresh from the lies and foulness outside; who sneakingly avoid your eye, or, quite as often, stare you out of countenance as they pour forth a flood of virtuous protestations. No; the public school has not hurt this boy, and there are many others like him; but his family has not neglected him. His family recognizes the nature of the function of the public school and where it stops; and, at that point, they come in and supply its deficiencies.

As for the others, nominally they have fathers and mothers, but in reality they are orphans; they seem to have homes, but their true home is the gutter—for they feel at home nowhere else. The parents are to blame. Neither public nor private schools, nor anything else, can absolve parents from their responsibilities. The plea of lack of time is a false plea; it is not the length of time you spend with your child that counts, but the use you put that time to. The discipline, the training, the inspiration of home admit of no substitutes; and parents will observe that, if they do right by their children, they will derive from the latter quite as much training and enlightenment as they can impart to them. While you are building up and polishing off your boy's character, he is chastening yours, and keeping you on the edge of your mettle. You may fancy that it is a privilege to your boy to have you

for a father; but it is at least as much a privilege to you to have him for a son—provided you *are* a father to him, and not a mere idle and vicious appendage. And that sort of appendage is precisely what a large percentage of American fathers are. It does not mend matters to say that you are fond of your children, and, in proof of it, to paw them and kiss them, give them toys and candy, picture books, circus tickets, skates and bicycles; or to scold them violently and unjustly when they happen to get upon your nerves, or in your way. An ape can slobber over its offspring, and give it nuts or cuff it, as whim may dictate. Selfishness is at the bottom of our failure to give proper attention to our children; it is selfishness all the way through. We want the fun of having children, without incurring the liabilities. We want to have them around us, when we are in the humor, and to have them look nice, and display all suitable merits and accomplishments, but we do not wish to be bothered with the task of inculcating the same; that, we devolve upon the public school. We would not allow our most confidential clerk to engineer a critical deal for us in the market or on 'Change; but we have no hesitation in permitting a school teacher, to us unknown, underpaid, tired to death, averse from her or his occupation probably, and sometimes incompetent, to determine the lines upon which our own flesh and blood, with his immortal soul, is to take his departure in life; lines whose direction and grading will practically settle his future. The outcome of the deal on 'Change will immediately and perhaps vitally affect our pocket, but the outcome of the boy will not appear until he is an orphan in name, as he already is in fact, and, meanwhile, its symptoms are hidden from us by the boy's own precocious hypocrisy and our conniving blindness. And yet, children were created to go to heaven, while bank-accounts sometimes operate to incline their owners toward another place.

This is not a light matter, but an important one, quite national in its scope. It becomes more menacing every year, because the public school child of to-day is the parent of the public school child of to-morrow, and will do as he has been done by. Unless we mend our ways betimes, there will be no mending them at all. If the children do not improve, they will grow worse. Let us not forget that in old times they used to be much better in this very respect; American home life was not splendid or sumptuous, but it was pure and healthy in tone, and children were brought up strictly—too much

so, if anything—in the way they should go. There were not so many public schools then; the State did not take quite so much on its shoulders, and parents took a great deal more on theirs. If the children of those days went wrong, it was not for lack, not of good counsel alone, but of good example likewise. America had not yet been dubbed a children's country; but it was a country where children were faithfully and honorably treated. Well, the *laudator temporis acti* has his labor for his pains. What is to come, is the point. Conceding whatever may be advanced in favor of public schools, it is nevertheless a truth that the greater the attendance at them becomes, the more sedulous should we be to counteract the evils incident to them—or to supplement the benefits, if it be preferable to put it in that way. All kinds of children go to them, and society is contagious, low society especially. The more the State helps the parents, the more should the parents help themselves; the more urgent becomes their responsibility. The more arithmetic and geography the school puts into the child's brain, the more decency and honor should the parents instill into his heart. The devil is always after him, and can attack him in a thousand ways; but the angels can reach him only through his parents; or, at all events, his parents have no right to assume the contrary. It is desirable, no doubt, that our children should have their schooling; but it is a bitter necessity that we parents should first get ours, that we should learn to realize what our parental duties are, and compel ourselves to do them.

JULIAN HAWTHORNE.

WHAT IS ORTHODOXY?

BY THE REV. PROF. FRANCIS BROWN, D. D., OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEW YORK.

ORTHODOXY may be defined in the abstract or in the concrete. The former is easy, the latter is difficult. Orthodoxy is right thinking, or, by our usage, right thinking about religion. Nothing could be simpler. But as a matter of fact no one on earth knows, exactly and exhaustively, what right thinking about religon is. We have some right thoughts, perhaps many, but we have not all the right thoughts there are—we are ignorant about some things; nor are all our thoughts probably right—we are doubtless mistaken about some things. If we were exhaustively and exactly orthodox, there would be no religious truth of which we are ignorant, and all our thoughts about religious things would be right. We sometimes talk and act as if this were the case. But the case really is that only one Being is omniscient and all-wise. It is a result of the fall that, because we know a little, we suppose we know as much as God does, and so the promise of the serpent is fulfilled in caricature.

Although human orthodoxy is imperfect, we are not free from the obligation to be orthodox. Truth claims our allegiance. In no department of life does inability to render perfect service release us from the law of service. We are bound to be obedient, loving, faithful. We are bound to be loyal to the truth, to the full extent of our knowledge and judgment. We are bound to be as orthodox as we can.

But what shall be our standard? Amid our vacancies and uncertainties, what rule shall be applied? By some it is thought sufficient to point to the revelation of God. This is, without doubt, indispensable. God, in creation and providence, in nature

and in the history of the human race, in His Written Word, in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the Holy Spirit, in the soul of man and in the organic life of the Church, has made and makes revelations of truth without which orthodoxy is a faint and flickering shadow. But before this truth can be a standard of orthodoxy for us, it must be apprehended by us. And our ignorance and weakness are such that we and our neighbors apprehend things in different and often contradictory fashion. Then, since truth cannot contradict itself, either we or our neighbors must be wrong in these contradictory apprehensions of truth. Then it must be asked, *which* is wrong? We say our neighbors are, and they say we are, and who shall decide? And what has become of our standard of orthodoxy?

Now, it becomes evident at once, that it makes a good deal of difference within what limits the standard is to be applied. The standard which I am to apply to my own thinking is one matter. That which I am to enjoin or force upon my fellow may be a different matter. Honesty requires that what I sincerely believe to be true should determine my approach to orthodoxy. My individual orthodoxy is at best defective and partial, but it will become superficial, disingenuous and illusory as well, the moment it ceases to be my own. In fact, any other standard of my personal orthodoxy which I can myself apply, excepting personal apprehension of revealed truth, is a contradiction in terms. I cannot be loyal to any truth which I do not apprehend as truth. I cannot be really believing what I do not believe.

But, while my apprehension of truth is decisive for me, it is not decisive for any other man. Every man must apprehend truth for himself. Every man's standard must be within himself. Only in case all these individual standards should agree, could we make any one of them the universal standard. But they do not agree. They differ widely.

I may be very sure that I am right, and that one who disagrees with me is wrong. If I did not so believe, then there would be no real disagreement. I may argue and persuade to my heart's content, in the hope of bringing him to my position. But I am not thereby entitled to impose my belief upon my opponent, nor to despise and cast him out of my circle because he persists in differing. He would be equally entitled to impose his belief on me, and such a conflict of rights is an absurdity. Earnestly confident

in our own respective positions, as we may each of us be, it is a social duty that we be modest, and each respect the other. Most careful and candid thinkers who have studied history learn the habit, paradoxical as it may seem, of calm security in their opinions, joined with an underlying recognition of the possibility of their making mistakes. The right of private judgment, and the belief that God alone is Lord of the conscience, refer to *your* private judgment and *your* conscience as well as to mine, and if God *alone* is Lord of the conscience then I may not lord it over your conscience with my opinions, nor may you over mine.

Thus far we have considered individual standards of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, however, has a technical sense. In this sense it refers to the religious thinking of a corporate body, constituting the Church of God. No one of our existing ecclesiastical organizations can claim to present the standard of Church orthodoxy, any more than any individual man may render his belief the standard by which the others shall be judged and treated. Church orthodoxy must be found in that which the Church, as such, holds and is committed to, in fundamental and obviously necessary things, without which the Church will cease to be the divinely instituted society on earth.

All ecclesiastical standards of orthodoxy are imperfect, as individual standards of orthodoxy are; although since the Spirit of God dwells in the Church in a fuller measure than is or can be true of any individual, or any mere aggregation of individuals, it is less impertinent for the Church to put forth a standard of orthodoxy than for an individual, or a mere group of individuals, to do so. It appears at the beginning of the Church's history, and it has been verified times without number in all lands, that there are certain facts of actual occurrence, and certain experiences in the soul, and certain expectations in regard to the outcome, in and as to which members of the Christian Church substantially agree;—the facts, be it always observed, as distinguished from the precise interpretation of the facts; the experiences, as distinguished from theories explaining how they became possible; the expectations, as distinguished from opinion about the exact mode of their fulfilment. These are the common property, the common conviction, of the whole Church. Two remarks suggest themselves. One is that the ecclesiastical standard of orthodoxy must be valid for the whole Church, or it is not truly an

ecclesiastical standard; the other is that the standard of orthodoxy on which the whole Church agrees contains few articles, and very simple ones.

Consider, then, the relation of orthodoxy to our doctrine of the Church. The Church is one. What we call Churches, when we apply the name to different ecclesiastical bodies, denominations, communions, are not Churches in the full sense. We cannot speak of the Christian doctrine of the Churches, as we speak of the doctrine of the Church. In that signification there are no Churches, there is only the Church. Perhaps it would be better that we should always use the term "sects," ugly as it is, so as never to forget that they *are* sects, sections, segments, fractional parts, not the whole. After all, the ugly name is appropriate for the ugly thing. They are branches or fragments of the Church. It takes them all together, and doubtless more, too, to make *the Church*, which consists of all those, throughout the world, in heaven and on earth, who are joined to Christ the head and become one body in Him. Only the Church in this inclusive and full sense has the right to impose a standard of orthodoxy. No one branch or fragment can lawfully demand, in the name of orthodoxy, the acceptance of that which distinguishes it from another branch or fragment. Can the so-called Roman Church, in the name of the Church of God on earth, rightfully exact belief in transubstantiation, in the infallibility of the Pope? Not unless the Roman Church is the whole Church of God on earth, or unless there is no divergence of belief in other branches of the Church on these points. Can the so-called Presbyterian Church, in the name of the Church of God on earth, rightfully exact belief in a particular doctrine of the divine decrees, or a particular doctrine of the mode of the atonement, or a particular doctrine of the Person of Christ, or a particular doctrine of the future state, while it at the same time affirms that there are other so-called Churches of equal standing and piety, which differ from it on these points? No more can the Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, Lutheran, Reformed nor any other fragment of the Church make its distinctive tenets tests of orthodoxy. When it does, it is using the name of the Church of Christ, and the divine authority committed to that Church, for the purpose of promulgating and enforcing that which the Church of Christ has never sanctioned.

But, it will be said, this takes away, at least in large degree,

the reason for the existence of the separate branches and fragments. Exactly. It is intended to do this. Branches ought not to exist separately. Fragments ought not to exist at all. That orthodoxy is the voice of the whole Church, and that orthodoxy ought to prevail in the whole Church, can have meaning only for those who really believe that the Church is one whole. And since a standard of orthodoxy can be set up only by a visible Church, the claims of orthodoxy demand that the *visible Church* be one whole. Œcumenical belief is the only orthodoxy. Even that is approximate only. The truly œcumenical declaration of belief has never yet been framed, and the best has been framed by ignorant and fallible men. But the most nearly œcumenical creeds—simple and brief—are the closest approach we have to a standard of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy, in these short, simple, yet immeasurably profound, historical and experimental creeds, testifies of Church Unity and demands it.

Consider, next, the relation of orthodoxy to elaborate systems of doctrine as Church tests. It follows from what has been said that such systems cannot be œcumenically imposed. The whole Church will never unite in any one of them. It follows, also, that no branch or fragment has a right to impose any one of them. The moment it does so, it is assuming to establish a sectional standard of orthodoxy. This it has no authority to do. It has no authority at all except what Christ has committed to it, and Christ has committed no authority to the Roman or Anglican or Protestant Episcopal or Presbyterian Church *as such*. He has committed authority to *His Church*; the various parts share in the authority, but do not thereby gain independent authority, nor the right to add to the ecclesiastical standard of orthodoxy what is peculiar to one or another of them.

Again, strict subscription, except for a very small body of persons, is hardly possible, and is inconsistent with growth in knowledge; loose subscription threatens honesty; broad and yet definite subscription is hard to secure, and when secured serves only to show the needlessness of subscription. Subscription to a long system, in any form, tortures sensitive minds, and drives away some of the choicest of them. But these objections are all more or less incidental. The fundamental evil of subscription to an elaborate creed is that such subscription is always imposed by a sect, and a sect has no divine authority to define orthodoxy.

I am not saying that those of us who have subscribed to elaborate creeds have sinned in so doing, nor that those persons who asked us to subscribe were sinners for asking us. I am speaking of the system, which I believe to be a wrong one; and, if so, our personal responsibility is the greater, the less we are willing to perceive the wrong and to correct it. Great abuses are cured slowly. True, œcumenical orthodoxy demands that we, while acknowledging all the obligations we have assumed, and discharging them to the best of our power, seek to renovate the system, to cure the abuses, and leave the standard of orthodoxy to the entire Church.

No doubt, the historical divisions of the Church have been means of emphasizing particular aspects of doctrine, and securing their full development and definition. Each one of these divisions has some specific contribution to make to the comprehensive theology of the future. Perhaps these several doctrines could not have been wrought out without the sharp clash of mind with mind. But, when we consider the many types of doctrine that were harbored in the early undivided Church, and look forward to the re-union of many types in the undivided Church that is to come, it is impossible to hold any longer that Church divisions on the basis of different types of doctrine are intrinsically justifiable. It is because we have forgotten, in some measure, what constitutes the Church, and have exaggerated the importance of particular phases of doctrine, that our recognition of the value of these phases can lead us to justify sects. The office of the sects in holding up aspects of doctrine ought to be performed by schools of thought, earnestly discussing great themes with each other, as parties in a State debate great issues—all loyal to the State, and all with common rights in it.

This does not belittle the truth contained in the elaborate creeds, nor discredit theology. Theology is discredited when it is set to doing what it cannot do, and fails. When a fence is made out of it, to keep people away from a Church, or fit office-bearers out of Church office, it is discredited, because that is not what it is for. When it is made to appear, what it really is, the thought of Christly men busied with the highest themes, and apprehending them ever more and more, the human mind will take large delight in it. Turn it into a mere Church test, and the mind revolts. The ethical sense refuses to accept it as a test. Theology has indeed grown in the divided Church. But it would have

grown far more amply, normally, beneficently, in a united Church. Truth does not need either prizes or penalties. It is better without them. They tend to exaggeration, repression, or distortion. Truth needs only freedom. Abolish subscription to a full theological system as a condition of church membership or office, and you strike off the bonds of theology, and give it free wing. In liberty it will live and mature; in a cage it pines away.

Consider, finally, the relation of orthodoxy to Church discipline. It results inevitably from what has been said, that Church discipline on the ground of false doctrine should not be exercised except when one of the œcumenical doctrines is rejected or assailed. As in the use of subscription, so in that of discipline, the fragmentary or local Church has authority only as authority has been given to the whole Church of Christ by its Founder and Master. In view of the confusions arising from our unhappily divided Church life, it is especially incumbent on each part of the Church to be extremely cautious in discipline on doctrinal grounds, and assure itself well that it is indeed attempting to vindicate a really orthodox doctrine, and not simply one which a majority of its members think important. A particular Church has no right to institute process against a Christian man or minister, because he holds or denies what is not involved in the standard of orthodoxy which the whole Church recognizes.

We attempt to justify ourselves, sometimes, with reference to discipline as with reference to subscription, by saying that no man is forced to enter our Church, our eldership, our ministry, nor forced to stay in when he has once entered. But observe the contradiction. We assume, as the Church of Christ, to exclude from Church fellowship or depose from Church office persons, in regard to whom we in the same breath say that they are good Christians and competent officers, and that they will find appropriate place and useful work in another branch of the Church. This we have no right to do. We cannot lawfully exclude from our Church, nor from our branch of the Church, any whom Christ recognizes as in His Church. We cannot lawfully remove from our ministry any whom Christ recognizes and places in His ministry.

A Church, let it be repeated and emphasized, is not a club, nor a political party, nor a voluntary association of like minded persons. *A* Church is only a branch of *the* Church, and *the* Church includes all those who belong to Jesus Christ, and has as its lawful

office-bearers all those whom Jesus Christ has called and through whom, in their ministry, He is graciously pleased to work.

Various puzzling questions of duty and truth arise, owing to our divisions, our elaborate creeds, our subscription formulas, and our defective understanding of what the Church really is. We must work through them patiently and slowly. It is a question to be decided in each individual case for itself, whether, or when, one who finds himself no longer in theological sympathy with those whose creed he formerly accepted, should seek other ecclesiastical association—go, that is, into another branch or fragment of the Church. But, certainly, no such branch or fragment has any right or authority to compel him to go, if he holds the œcumenical faith. Nor is condemning a man by inference a tolerable exercise of Church discipline. Deductive logic is not always a safe guide. Not every man holds opinions which syllogisms might deduce from those he does hold. Wise thinkers have shown apparent inconsistencies. Sometimes, no doubt, these would be removed if we could discern the higher unity. Two opinions may seem divided by an impassable chasm, when, if we knew the whole field, we should see, far back, the connecting path. It is monstrous to think of casting out a man for opinions he denies, simply because you judge that they ought logically to follow from opinions he affirms. There is no test of orthodoxy so good as a man's own, honest judgment of his own belief. One may, of course, be a liar. There is that peril in all human intercourse, with human nature what it is. But permanent falsehood about one's opinions is both difficult and rare. When falsehood about opinions is detected, then discipline has a more serious task than is often imposed by heterodoxy, namely, that imposed by immorality; we shall probably agree that lying is immoral, and that immorality does not belong within the Church. If, while holding the elaborate creed, a man finds himself out of sympathy with current interpretations of that creed, it is preposterous to say that he, on that account, should go to another branch of the Church. And as for attacking and seeking to drive out one who avows acceptance of the elaborate creed, because he holds some opinions which a chance majority, of average knowledge and average ignorance, cannot reconcile with some clause of the elaborate system, the very conception of it is totally inconsistent with the Christian idea of the Church and the Church standard of orthodoxy.

Heresy-hunters who pursue this method are themselves the heretics, the schismatics.

Orthodoxy is not a New Testament word. Neither is heterodoxy. Heresy is, but it always involves an ethical offence—it is divisive, selfish and degrading.

The time will surely come when the Church will agree with the New Testament, and call nothing heresy that is not schismatical and immoral; just as the time will come when no orthodoxy will be recognized that does not utter the harmonious convictions of a united Church, and spring from a life hid with Christ in God, a life abounding in the fruits of the spirit, a life that seeks chiefly that "end of the commandment" which is "charity, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned."

FRANCIS BROWN.

THE FUTURE OF CUBA.

BY THE HON. ROBERT P. PORTER.

THE fate of Cuba and the Cubans no longer rests in the hands of a small cabal of mediæval and selfish statesmen at Madrid, intent only upon enriching the mother country, but with the people of the United States, who are to-day actively and impartially discussing the future of the island. The question is not how much the United States can make out of Cuba, but how best to make a prosperous, peaceful and useful neighbor of an island within a hundred miles from the shores of the Great Republic. The people of Cuba must disabuse themselves of the idea that the future of their native land is in the hands of some one man or any set of men. On the contrary, it has been committed to the care of a liberty-loving people, as jealous of popular rights as those Cuban patriots, who, like Marti and Gomez and Maceo and Garcia and Quesada, risked their lives to make their country free. That the people of the United States will deal justly and fairly with the people of Cuba, does not admit of doubt, and the closer the people of the two countries come together on a platform of mutual trust and confidence, the sooner a stable government will be established.

It may be well for our Cuban friends to remember, that a considerable number of the seventy-five millions of the American Republic have themselves exchanged for the Stars and Stripes flags that mean as much to them as the Cuban flag to the most patriotic Cuban, and around which cluster as tender memories as those which the flag of the Cuban Republic suggests. The great newspaper press of the United States is discussing all sides of the Cuban question as intelligently and vigorously, and as fairly and honestly towards Cuban interests, as it does our own important domestic questions, and no Cuban need for a moment fear that the conclusions reached will be other than for the best interests of

all concerned. If, at the conclusion of military occupation, Cuba is made an independent republic, it will be because the people of Cuba and the people of the United States, acting jointly, so decide. If, on the contrary, the future of Cuba shall lie in the still greater independence of American Statehood, it will be by the mutual consent of the people of the two countries. There are no other possibilities in the final solution of the political future of Cuba.

The more stable the government of Cuba, the more certain will be its industrial development. The closer and stronger the ties which bind Cuba to the United States, the greater will be the prosperity and the more rapid the reconstruction of the island. To the outside world Cuba has become part of the United States. To call the present situation Military Protectorate or Military Occupancy will not alter the fact that the strength of Cuba to-day is its close alliance with the United States. Commercially and industrially the two countries fit perfectly together. The products of Cuba can all find a market in the United States, while the needs of Cuba can all be supplied by its continental neighbor. The Cubans have had a taste of the prosperity which followed reciprocal commercial relations with the United States. The golden possibilities of absolutely free intercourse between Cuba and the United States must be apparent to the more intelligent Cubans. That sentiment for a flag and a country is natural and laudable cannot be denied; but in the final and mutual coming together of Cuba and the United States, the single star becomes not less bright by reason of association or companionship with the other stars, together making a harmonious whole, and representing all that is best and most hopeful for mankind.

A good deal of honest and intelligent work has already been done by the United States for Cuba. A new tariff has been framed and put in operation by the War Department, aided by experienced officials from the Treasury Department. The Post Office Department has inaugurated an improved mail service. The telegraph lines are rapidly being put in order. The United States sanitary authorities are laying their plans for a vigorous campaign against epidemic disease this summer. The Governors of cities are as rapidly as possible cleaning up the streets and preparing plans for modern sewerage and drainage. Under the direction of General Brooke and the immediate supervision of General Chaffee, a complete system for policing the rural districts of the island with Cuban

police is in progress of organization. For this purpose the Cuban Army will be utilized, as far as possible. The United States has abolished many onerous taxes, stopped the draining away to Spain of the resources and revenues of Cuba, and has rigorously applied all available methods and instruments to the building up of the island and to improving the condition of the people. It has endeavored to establish the principle that the island should be governed in the interest of Cuba, by Cubans, for the people of Cuba.

There still remains a great deal of work to do. The thin end of the wedge of the stronger civilization has been inserted, but time and patience and strength will all be required to drive it home. The programme mapped out is a long and expensive one, and more money than is at present in sight will be required to carry it through. The building of public roads, the establishment of public schools, and the inauguration of sanitary work are three branches of the civil government that must be pressed forward with all possible vigor, immediately after the scheme for policing Cuba has been completed. The importance of teaching English in all Cuban public schools must not be overlooked, because the Cuban people will never understand the people of the United States until they appreciate our institutions. A complete reform of the judiciary must follow. The laws relating to ownership and transfer of property must be revived, safeguards added to the laws relating to mortgages, and some of the old customs repealed. Savings banks must also be established, for no people can become permanently prosperous where thrift is unknown, and where there are no opportunities for saving the surplus earnings of the population. The Government of the United States, acting in conjunction with the Cuban people, has a serious and important work to perform.

The Government, however, cannot be depended upon to do it all. The people must get to work again themselves, and help in every possible way in the task of reconstruction. To be successful, this work should be begun in the right way from the foundation up, or it will become top heavy, and the second condition of the Cuban people will be worse and more helpless than the first. The population must be got to work again in its strong industries, and the fields must be made to yield in abundance, before enterprises, of which so much is heard, and the success of which depends so largely upon the prosperity of the people, can be made to

pay. Sugar, tobacco, mining, agriculture, timber, fruit production and miscellaneous industries are the true sources of Cuban wealth. The industrial and commercial future of Cuba depends upon how thoroughly and how persistently these industries are worked, and not upon distribution of foreign capital in enterprises which, in the end, must be fed by the wealth coming from the soil. For judicious investment there is opportunity in Cuba, but the scramble for franchises of various kinds has inflated values, and, unless conservatism prevails, there is danger of repeating in Cuba some of the follies with which the New South is strewn. The basic industries must be vigorously worked in Cuba. Unless this is done, the writer sees only trouble and disaster ahead. To do this successfully, the labor market must be enlarged by immigration, and to attract immigration the condition of the laborer must be improved. Where is the labor to build up the wasted fields of Cuba to come from? It is a hard question to answer. Efforts are being made by those who best know the needs of Cuba to entice labor thither. They should be encouraged, for, unless more laborers can be found, the return of prosperity will be slow and prolonged over many years.

The opportunities for American labor in Cuba are circumscribed. If the climate were more temperate and the dangers of disease less, there would undoubtedly be an influx of labor from the United States. Just as the restless and hopeful population of the Eastern States has migrated westward, and to some extent southward, in our own country, so it would find its way to Cuba if conditions allowed of extensive settlement and homemaking. In the opinion of the writer they do not, and hence the industrial rehabilitation of Cuba must rely upon other sources than the United States for its supply of labor. Of course, Americans will settle in Cuba and do business in Cuba, and possibly make their fortunes in Cuba. Not in the way they have settled up our own vast area by purchasing farms and building homes, but in projecting and pushing enterprises. In Cuba, sugar production has become two distinct industries, one the sugar factory and the other the *colona,* or cane-raising farm, or estate. The central, or sugar factory, often owns large areas of land, but does not depend wholly upon its own acres for cane. Some factories depend more largely upon the *colona,* or small farms which supply the cane. This cane the central brings to the sugar house by the aid

of narrow gauge railways, extending over the estate and into adjoining farms. There are opportunities for farm laborers who can withstand a tropical climate, to settle on small areas of land and raise sugar cane. Every possible encouragement will be given to this class of immigrants. Mr. J. White Todd, who lived twenty years in Cuba, has informed the writer that in his opinion industrious immigrants from Southern Italy and Southern Spain will find ample opportunities in Cuba to establish homes and make a profitable living, raising cane for the sugar factories. If they are willing to work, the owners of the centrals or factories will gladly secure them the land and tide them over the first crop. This class of laborers, and the Canary Islanders, are the only ones likely to take up and work small sugar farms in Cuba. The experience heretofore with the negroes has not been satisfactory, though under a better system of government it may be different. The success of the sugar factory depends so largely upon the available sugar cane of the district, that the central is always glad to aid a laborer likely to become a thrifty *colono*. In coffee and tobacco there are possibilities on a small scale, and also in fruit-growing when roads and highways have been sufficiently improved to get the product to market. Herein lies the only feasible opportunity for small American capitalists who desire to live in a tropical climate. It is true that only a small portion of this wonderful island is under cultivation. In time it might all be utilized, the larger part, of course, in sugar. When Continental Europe tires of paying a bounty for producing sugar, Cuba must take its place as the first sugar-producing country of the world, a place it never would have lost had it not been for misgovernment, war and failure to promptly adopt modern methods when beet sugar first became a factor in the world's supply.

The particular lines on which the enterprise, ingenuity and capital of the United States can be utilized in Cuba, will undoubtedly be in the establishment of public and semi-public works and in the improvement of methods of production. Here are some of the enterprises likely to be taken up by American and English capitalists:

a. Sanitary Improvements and Water Works.

b. Street Railways and Light Railway Transportation in Suburban Districts.

c. Gas Works and Electric Lighting.

d. Unifying and Extension of Railway System.

e. Establishment of Better Facilities for Coastwise Transportation.

f. Navigation between Cuba and the United States.

g. Wharfage, Lighterage and Public Warehouses.

h. Telegraphic and Telephone Services.

i. Public Roads and Highways.

j. Savings Banks and Financial Institutions to aid commerce and industry.

k. Places of Amusement, Tropical Gardens and Hotels.

The directing hand of American enterprise will be soon felt in these branches of modern endeavor, and the effect must be an improved condition of life and of morals. To make these enterprises profitable, however, the real productive forces of the island must first be revived, and, if possible, increased. The strength of the building of our own nation lies in the fact that our productive powers were developed first, and the modern improvements and conveniences have been gradually coming along in the proper order. Nothing could be more unfortunate for Cuba than a wild and speculative plunge in the above direction, before the real strength of the island is again concentrated and put in vigorous working order. In the first place, it would temporarily take away the working forces from the land. In the second place, these enterprises cannot be made self-sustaining until normal productive conditions are restored. The effect, therefore, would be loss of capital and disappointment. The objective and immediate point for good work should be the land. If the new industrial impetus shall be in this direction, the Cuban problem will be simplified and the future of Cuba full of promise.

ROBERT P. PORTER.

MEXICAN HACIENDAS—THE PEON SYSTEM.

BY PRINCE A. DE ITURBIDE.

THE Mexican hacienda or farm is the most typical institution of the New World. It is the one establishment of Caucasian America that has no prototype, reflecting, as it does, the conditions of life that followed the Conquest, and having been little affected by the social transformations that developed the American world of to-day out of the world that it was when, yet, each Caucasian inhabitant of New Spain was styled a *Conquistador* and was distinguished from the conquered Aztec as *gente de razon*—a man of reason.

The relations between conqueror and conquered became the opposite, however, of what the conquest itself had foreshadowed that they might be, for never were circumstances better calculated to develop the brutal instincts of adventurers than were those that obtained in Mexico in the first half of the sixteenth century. But, the humane influence of the clergy prevailing, laws were never more benign than the ones enacted by the race of Cortez to govern the race of Montezuma; and the code that contains them remains a monument to Christian humanity, such as in Spanish America alone marks the passage of European power over a conquered land.

As to the conquered territory, its riches were, as they now are, in its mines and its haciendas. Around the mining centers, towns sprang up that followed the fortunes of the interests out of which they grew; some of them are among our larger cities. But out of the farming interests grew the hacienda, which is the origin of our customs, the basis of our society and, until very recently, was the main spring of our politics. And it is to-day, as it has always been, the surest foundation of our wealth. We can compete with the farmers of almost every region of the earth. Our sugar-cane and

tobacco are equal to any that grow on this hemisphere; our coffee, at different expositions, has been rated higher than any of its competitors; our vanilla, cocoa and other staples are of the first quality. Every fruit known to the tropics thrives in Mexico. Our flora is proportionately rich; our forests produce every variety of the resins, barks and woods that are used in medicine and in the arts—our india-rubber forests alone are an item of incalculable wealth; and the products of the colder climates thrive on our table lands, though some of them do not attain there the same degree of perfection and abundance as in more northerly latitudes.

As a consequence of these natural advantages, and in the absence of extensive commercial or industrial enterprises, Mexican fortunes were made mostly, and practically all invested, in haciendas, the owners of which constituted, until 1860, the richest class of men in America.

The haciendas that were established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries served, in some measure, the same ends that were attained in Europe by the feudal castles of the Middle Ages: they not only attached populations to agricultural districts, but, in many instances, were the sole strong-holds of civilization in vast, sparsely peopled regions, where they afforded the only protection and shelter upon which travellers and pioneers could depend. These conditions obtain to-day in those remote parts of the country which, for different reasons, have not yet benefited by the enterprise that, of recent years, has begun a very active development of Mexican interests.

Hacienda houses, consequently, were built with a view, not only to the accommodation of their future inmates and to the exploitation of the property, but to resistance to armed bands against which the government could not be relied upon for protection. They were frequently built, too, on a scale of lavish extension. This is true especially of the haciendas of the religious Orders, whose means, pecuniary and otherwise, were ample, and, above all, whose purposes were more varied; for the haciendas of the clergy, besides being what other haciendas were, served as outposts in the spiritual conquest that assimilated the Aztec vassals of the Catholic Kings into the grand fabric of the Spanish Empire.

A sociological history of the hacienda in Mexico would be an interesting and extensive work, and its importance is an assurance that it will be written some day. What has been said above, how-

ever, conveys a general notion of the origin and significance of haciendas as social factors.

The house of a great hacienda is imposing in appearance, on account, usually, of its size rather than of its architectural proportions. It is generally built around a large court, and, whether of one or two stories, conveys the impression of having been erected solely with a view to durability and spaciousness. The construction is invariably of stone or sun-baked bricks, plastered and painted, and, in most cases, presents an even elevation, broken only by grated windows, a *porte cochère* and loop-holes for musketry. This structure contains the offices, apartments for the owner, for the two or three principal employees and their families and for the servants, store-rooms, stables for saddle and for carriage horses, carriage space, and an indefinite number of spare rooms, according to circumstances. Conveniently situated in relation to the main building, are the habitations of employees, the huts of the peons, some times the *posada* or inn, for the accommodation of travellers, the church (which usually is a pretentious structure), the store, where every commodity of peasant life is for sale, the vast stables for horses, mules and oxen, store-houses for the produce of the hacienda, and others for agricultural implements, the wheelwright, blacksmith and carpenter plants, the saddler's and cobbler's shops, the loom, the bakery—in sum, all the attributes of a village, which an hacienda of this class is, practically, having a population of from five to fifteen hundred inhabitants.

It must not be supposed that, since the hacienda is a singular exponent of conservatism, it is, in any sense, a factor of retrogression or of stagnation. On the contrary, the great haciendas are in line with the scientific progress of the day, and in advance of the average towns in the trades and in mechanical establishments. It is in the rules that govern its community that the hacienda is conservative—and happily so; for those rules constitute the nearest approach to a solution of the labor question that our times afford, whilst by them the racial question is eliminated from the problems of life.

I have read a good deal that is erroneous, in the writings of English-speaking travellers, concerning the peon system. It may as well be said that a peon is a day-laborer—not necessarily a field hand; but, taking the word in the latter restricted sense, the peon

system is the only one in force, on this continent, that regulates the relations between capital and labor to the satisfaction of both. It does not obtain throughout the whole of Mexico with unvaried details; what I say concerning it applies to the middle belt of Mexican States, as distinguished from the ones bordering on our northern frontier and from that portion of the country known as Tierra Caliente. But variations in the peon system are not material in those different sections, except in so far as the diversity of climate and of agricultural products implies a corresponding diversity in labor and in the exigencies of life. The greater or less abundance of field hands, also, affects the system in question. In fact, each of the larger haciendas has its own unwritten constitution originating in its own special circumstances as well as in national or in regional ones, and dating back, as a rule, from one to three centuries; because few of these haciendas are of recent establishment. They may have been transformed in different ways, but their foundation is older, in most cases, than the century; and their traditional continuity is ensured by peon families and others that, in each case, are identified, by birth or by marriage, with the hacienda.

The peon, with rare exceptions, is of the Indian or mixed races. He is bound by debt to the hacienda on which he works, and, regardless of color, he may rise, along the scale of promotion, to the highest employments on the place.

The indebtedness referred to in the preceding paragraph is one of the essential features of the peon system, and is contracted by peons, either directly or by voluntary inheritance. In the former case, a peon seeking employment presents himself to the Administrator—by which title the manager of an hacienda is known—and asks for an *enganche*, that is, a retainer, the amount of which, as a rule, varies between ten and thirty dollars. If the applicant be acceptable, the retainer is paid, and the peon becomes part and parcel of the establishment. If he happens to be indebted to another hacienda and, for his own reasons, is changing employers, his debt being a recommendation, larger amounts than those named will be advanced to buy the debt and allow the peon a cash margin. His contract obliges him to work for the hacienda until his debt is cancelled. On the other hand, his prerogatives are such as no other laborer in the world enjoys. In the first place, it is tacitly understood that, while the peon remains in the employ of

the hacienda, his debt will not be cancelled, but, on the contrary, that it will be increased, until, if ever, his children are pleased to assume it, or death or old age wipes it out. The debt may not be sold, without his consent, except to a new owner of the hacienda. The peon is free, however, to change creditors at will. Only a part of his earned wages may be applied, each week, to his debt. Each week, he receives rations, sufficient for his maintenance and for that of his family. Each year, he and his family receive an ample supply of clothing. Medical services are furnished them, free of expense, and the sums of money that they may require for baptisms, confirmations, marriages or burials are advanced to them, regardless of the balance that the peon's account may show against him. Haciendas, such as are described in this paper, have schools to which the peon may—and, often, must—send his children. He is furnished space, of course, and material for the construction of his hut, and is entitled to the use of a fair measure of ground, which he cultivates for his own benefit, with the hacienda's stock, implements and seed. Finally, there are two days in the year on each of which the peon receives extra wages amounting to several dollars. And when, through age or accident, the peon is no longer able to work, he becomes a charge of the hacienda.

One of these establishments, in the State of Puebla, in 1887, furnished *data* that throw light upon the points in question. The number of the hacienda's inhabitants (men, women, and children) was about sixteen hundred, and their aggregate indebtedness to the owner amounted to a sum of more than twenty-six thousand dollars, of which one peon alone owed fifteen hundred. Several of the peons were free of debt, and a few of them were the hacienda's creditors. As the women and children were not considered in the financial figures, the same showed an average indebtedness of about seventy dollars per peon.

The women are very industrious, and, though not called upon by the hacienda to do field work, never fail to help the men in tasks from which their sex does not debar them. Their names do not figure on hacienda rolls, their earnings and expenses being entered on the accounts of the men of their families. In the harvest season, for instance, it frequently happens, at the end of each day, when the amount of a peon's work is noted, that he is credited with two, three or more days' extra work that has been accomplished by the women of his family.

On the whole, a peon's treatment by his white employer and officers is fair; whilst the hacienda employee of his own race is less considerate. He is intelligent, and is gifted, to a proverb, with physical endurance. He is influenced by habits and traditions inherited from his early Christian, and earlier pagan, fathers, and his life is so judiciously planned by the system that governs it that he can scarcely make it an unhappy one.

There, then, is a numerous class of human beings who are born, not only in poverty, but in debt, and heirs, by natural law, to all the misery of the proletariat—to which they would be a prey, if the peon system were not there to solve their problem of life. As it is, from his cradle to his grave, the peon will never lack food, raiment or shelter. His wife and his children will never know the pinch of hunger. If he has the capacity to rise above his class, the hacienda will afford him the opportunity to do so. If he goes through life an insolvent debtor, still at the hacienda he will have an open credit, and, not only his needs, but, in a measure, his limited appetite for the superfluous will be satisfied. In a word, he will be above the proletariat, and that through no charity of his employer; for all that is done in his interest is his due.

The peon system affords the farmer proportionate advantages. It is less expensive than others—so much so that, in many instances, peon labor competes successfully with machinery. The prerogatives and perquisites that it secures to the field hands could not be replaced by increased wages of reasonable amounts; hence, the owner secures greater satisfaction among his laborers, by this system, than he would by others that demand larger pecuniary disbursements. Then, the laborer becomes identified with the hacienda. It is his home, and he takes a natural interest in its welfare; whilst his relations with the owner are such as to preclude the antagonism that so often redounds to the detriment of both employer and employee.

This solution of the labor question is due to the clergy of the early Mexican church, who, perhaps, did not conceive the peon system, as such, but whose humanitarian efforts in behalf of the Aztec race constituted one of the forces of which the system in question is a resultant. It perhaps presents imperfections, but improvement may be sought in keeping with its principles; for it is an excellent general formula that has stood long and varied tests, with the result that Mexican haciendas collect an indigent popu-

lation into communities that know no want, whilst they furnish the most remunerative safe investment to be found in this hemisphere.

Our commercial isolation in past years explains, better than any other cause, perhaps, the disproportion that existed between the market value of haciendas and their productive capacity; and, though the ratio thus effected is being reduced gradually to normal standards, the effect of pre-existing conditions is felt still in the market for Mexican rural property. This circumstance is due, in great measure, to the fact that foreign capital has sought, in Mexico, employments similar to those which are most lucrative in the countries from which it has been imported, foreign capitalists, as a rule, being uninformed as to our agricultural advantages.

It would be difficult to formulate these advantages in terms applicable to our lands, in general, otherwise than by saying that they are perhaps unrivalled, and certainly, unexcelled. A mountainous country in the region of a tropic necessarily presents the most varied agricultural features within limited areas of its surface. This fact is strikingly manifested in that zone of Mexican territory that lies between the Tropic of Cancer and the seventeenth degree of northern latitude, and it has an extreme expression in districts that are contiguous to the Peak of Orizaba, where, within a radius of fifteen miles, there are lands that produce very nearly every agricultural staple of North America—ranging from coffee and other tropical products to root-grass, which, among plants of known usefulness, is the one that thrives nearest to the limit of vegetation. In regions such as the one in question, relative altitude, of course, is the most important agricultural factor; but there are many other circumstances that do not prevail elsewhere and that exercise decisive influence on agricultural matters, producing, in this sense, material differences between lands of the same altitude, latitude and geological formation.

The financial feature of haciendas is subject, however, to less variation, within any one of the three climatic divisions of our territory, namely, the "Cold," the "Temperate" and the "Hot" countries; but, among haciendas of different climates, there is a difference in the profits derived from them that is greatly in favor of properties in the warmer country. The conservative rule for valuation of haciendas, in general, is that they should pay for themselves in five years, if the income derived from them be

placed, at compound interest of six per cent., during that time; or, in the concrete, that an hacienda which yields an average income of, for example, fifty thousand dollars each year, has a market value of a little more than $280,000—to which must be added the peon debt, the cost of agricultural implements, and other amounts aggregating, in all, a capital upon which the hacienda will pay a yearly interest of fourteen or fifteen per cent. Such was, at least, the standard, until a few years ago, and I doubt that it has been materially modified. It does not convey an idea, however, of the more profitable rural investments that have been made, of late years, in Mexico, especially in plantations of coffee. It is probable that few, if any, of these properties yield, at the present time, a yearly income of less than twenty per cent. of the amount for which they could have been purchased in 1892; whilst a majority of those that were established during the "coffee boom", five or six years ago, pay now an annual interest of from forty to one hundred and fifty per cent. on the sum of their cost.

Of the haciendas of the cold climate, those devoted to the maguey (American agave) are said to be the best. They present the unique feature, at least, of their income being a daily one; whilst their specialty is but little affected by climatic irregularities. The maguey, among species of the vegetable kingdom, is second to the bamboo in varied usefulness; its staples, however, are pulque, another alcoholic beverage, known as Tequila, and a very strong though coarse fiber called istle. Henequin, also, is the fiber of a species of the maguey. The species of agave that produces pulque—which is the fermented sap of the plant—is similar in shape to those of which specimens are found in the gardens of this country; but its leaves, which are uniformly green, attain, in six or seven years, a full growth of from five to ten feet in length, and of proportionate breadth and thickness. These leaves converge to a common origin, where they form a cup into which the sap flows when the maguey has reached maturity, and from which the liquid is taken, twice each day, for a period of three months; after which, the plant dies. The sap is subjected to a process of fermentation, and in three days becomes pulque ready for the market, where it must be consumed within forty-eight hours, or be lost. So that the agricultural advantages of pulque haciendas over others are counteracted, in some measure, by commercial risks—not in a degree, however, to prevent them

from being favored properties, as investments, among Mexican capitalists. Pulque is a mild intoxicant, medicinal, and essentially a drink of the people, concerning the discovery of which there are different romantic Aztec traditions.

Tequila, the other liquor referred to above, is obtained, by distillation, from different parts of the maguey.

It is not my purpose to deal with agricultural technicalities, but a word concerning the use of machinery on haciendas may be in place, if only in explanation of facts that sometimes have been misunderstood. Agricultural methods, of course, have not reached, in Mexico, the degree of perfection that they have attained in older countries; and there is every reason to suppose that the large acreage of rural properties, in that country, and the extreme roughness of its soil will be obstacles, in many instances, rather than incentives to advancement in the above sense. But the well-conducted haciendas are fully equipped with machinery. I do not mean to say by this, that we use all the modern implements that are successfully adopted here in agricultural pursuits, but that we do use the ones that present material advantages over the methods that they are intended to replace. Many of those mechanical devices are not adapted to our soil in some instances, or to our requirements in others; or, being otherwise desirable innovations, they can not successfully compete with peon labor. As an example, I may cite the case of two haciendas in the valley of Esperanza, where, after repeated experiments and mechanical modifications, the wheat drill proved to be inefficient as a substitute for hand sowing in combination with the "Egyptian plow," on account, be it said, of the nature of the soil and of other local conditions—and the good will of the establishments in question may not be doubted, for they did more than any other hacienda of their size and importance, in the State of Puebla, to abet the adoption of advanced methods in agriculture.

This industry, in Mexico, encounters one serious obstacle, the lack of surface water; but that obstacle can be removed, without difficulty, in view of the hydrographic conditions of the greater part of Mexican territory.

A. DE ITURBIDE.

NATIONAL BIGNESS OR GREATNESS—WHICH?*

BY H. C. POTTER, D. D.

In entering upon the discussion of this topic, I may assist myself and my readers in what I have to say, by attempting, first of all, to define it by an illustration. The illustration is furnished to us by the two powers which, I suppose it may be said with justice, have as much, if not more, to do with the peace and well-being of Christendom than any other two powers in the world. One of them is England, the other is Russia, and they constitute what may be called a territorial illustration of my theme. I am speaking now of England, and not of its colonies, and of Russia without its colonies. How insignificant England is compared with Russia! The enormous disparity in territory is matched by an almost equally enormous disparity in population, but, when that has been said, the distinction as to greatness and bigness only seems to be emphasized. For who would undertake to say to-day, that it is an open question which of those two nations exercises the most influence upon the higher and better civilization of the world? Which of them has done most for commerce—to begin at the bottom? Which of them has done most for art? Which of them has done most for letters? Which of them has done most to promote the highest type of civilization, and strikes a note which, on the whole, whatever its defects, is the highest and finest in the great symphony of nations? There can be no difference of judgment on these points. The little seagirt island has managed, somehow or other, by the development of ideas along a line which began with the time of King John and the Barons, to create a civilization with which, in its intensive and extensive intellectual and

*It is due to my readers to say that this paper was delivered, originally, as a wholly unwritten address; to which fact any defects of literary form should be attributed. One should not be unduly concerned as to the matter of literary form, but one should not, without apology, impose upon any reader what may seem to disregard it.—H. C. P.

moral features, nothing in Russia can at all be compared. Such a contrast, we may wisely remember when we are beckoned by the lure of bigness and contemplate, for the first time in our history, the enlargement of our great domain by the acquisition of territory and populations and opportunities of various kinds which are supposed to follow in the train of the accession to a nation or an empire of what we are wont to call colonial possessions. And, in that connection, we may wisely ask ourselves, What, on the one hand, are the gains which we are supposed to get from such an accession of territory and populations; and then, What, on the other, are the perils?

I suppose it will be said, in the first place, that the gain of most consequence, and which translates itself most intelligently to the average American mind, is the gain which comes from commercial opportunities. The remarkable fact, however, appears that the pre-eminent position which our republic sustains to-day in the commercial world, has not been acquired under any conditions such as the possession of extra-continental territory, by the acquisition of colonies, or of anything which stands for a colony. To-day, the United States of America, unless I have been misinformed, sends twenty-seven per cent. of its whole product of grain to other countries, in no one of which does it own a foot of land. It sends more than forty per cent. of its product of oil in the same way. It sends nearly seventy per cent. of its product of cotton in the same way. Here, then, are three great representative values in which the export business of the country has already attained such a vast proportion, and this proportion has been achieved, from the beginning until now, without the extension in order to achieve it of a single territorial foot of possession beyond the American continent. It may be said, however, that what we want is not merely an accession of territory, but an accession of peoples. But we cannot ignore the character and the quality of the peoples that are likely to be acquired by such a policy of expansion as is urged upon us in some quarters to-day. What are the relations of the peoples, the various and heterogeneous races that will be included under our government, if we should acquire ultimately the title, not only to the near islands which are now in discussion, but to that group of 1,200 islands with some eleven millions of people, which lies almost on the other side of the globe? What homogeneity have they? What promise of productiveness have

they? What characteristics have they, that promise, in any near or remote moment, that they and we can sustain any mutually helpful and beneficial organic relation?

On the other hand, the moment we consider the great questions which confront our country in connection with the extra-territorial policy of the United States, we are compelled to look in the face the enormous perils which such a policy must inevitably involve. It must involve, in the first place, a great, and I believe a very great, standing army. Intelligent men will not easily be persuaded that an army of fifty thousand men, or a hundred thousand men, will be able to handle the colossal and most intricate problem of the proper government and administration of these alien, and, in some instances, utterly uncivilized peoples. But if we are to have only a hundred thousand men, or one hundred and fifty thousand men, the question arises, what will the new policy cost the country? The revenue of the United States Government for the month of January, 1899, in spite of recent legislation, had entirely failed to bring the revenue of the Government up to the requirements of the administration, and there was, for the month of January, a deficit of several millions of dollars. This is a time of peace, and yet the curious fact confronts us that the army appears to be costing us more in a time of peace than it cost us a little while ago, in the time of war. We are "cleaning up things," I suppose. There are "other explanations." The trouble is that there will always be other explanations, and, accompanying those explanations, there will be those illustrations of individual cupidity, of personal neglect, of manifold inconvenience, which unfortunately marked our late war. I confess for myself that when I contemplate the organization of a great army, which is to be created, and, above all, is to be officered upon the basis of the policy which has obtained during the last year in this country, in connection with the appointment of persons to positions of considerable and often of very great responsibility, I confront it with the utmost dismay.

The splendid contrast between the army and the navy, in which the friends of the navy rejoice, is that the navy is free from scandals which have disfigured the history of the army and its administration. But that fact will not secure the maintenance of the navy, by any less costly means than are required for a great army; and it is impossible to conceive of a great army holding the

position and possessions we have taken, without a great navy to support it. In modern warfare and in international affairs to-day the navy is a far more important, as it must be a far more costly, factor than the army.

So much for the vulgar aspect of my subject—that of material interest.

What is to be the result of the creation of a great civil service which must be behind and beyond both the army and the navy? We have not been very successful at that task at home. Those of us who have fought for the principle of civil service and have got it, feel like a sailor out on the yard-arm in a storm, who holds on to the sheet, which he is striving to reef, with his teeth as well as with his hands and his feet! Every now and then some cloud appears in the sky, that makes us feel that everything we had fought for and won in the great struggle for civil service is in danger of being imperilled, if not of being lost. The conviction of the country in regard to the soundness of the principles of civil service wabbles about, so to speak, in such a way as creates in the hearts of many of us the keenest apprehension. Now, then, open the doors of such vast opportunities of government and of plunder, as will be opened should we adopt the responsibility of ruling eleven millions of people and twelve hundred different islands—each one of which, I have no doubt it will be contemplated, shall have a governor of its own and a staff and all the rest—and then we get a picture of the realm of appointments into which the modern legislator will enter with keen and new delight. And what of us who are behind him, who have to pay the bills? Ah, yes; not merely that, but who have to feel the reflex influence of a condition of things in which a vast body of men discharge a responisibility, under conditions so remote and so unobserved by the public eye that it will practically be utterly impossible for us to know what they are doing, and how they do it—except from their own reports. If we could export the body of newspaper correspondents to the Philippines; if we could transfer two or three journals that we have in New York, of the yellow character, to that yellow climate, and have them send back pictures of the lives of these gentlemen who are to hold office there under the Government of the United States, we should doubtless have a good deal of picturesque and interesting, but not very encouraging, reading. But, as a matter of fact, we shall have a situation precisely such as that

which existed in India a hundred years ago, with its enormous vices and enormous corruptions. Yes, it may be said, but that is a most infelicitous allusion; for England, in its colonial administration, cleared itself of the stains which disfigured its early history in India and elsewhere. So it did. But it did so because it had behind it the steady growth of a public sentiment, which made official unfaithfulness under such conditions, after a while, after a good while, practically impossible. The question which I ask myself, with doubt and apprehension, is, whether we may dare to hope that we shall develop a public opinion of that kind, and whether the experience which we have had already affords us the smallest encouragement to anticipate any such result?

Then, what relations are these peoples in the future to sustain to us? I shall not attempt to touch the question of the immediate problems which will confront us, if we undertake the possession and the government, say, of the Philippine Islands. Whether we hold them or let them go, undoubtedly, for a time, we shall be obliged to keep order there. But if we hold them permanently, we can only hold them under one condition, and that a condition incorporated in our constitutional law, which is, that every man born within the territory of the United States is a citizen of the United States. In three generations, in other words, we shall have in the Philippine Islands twelve millions of citizens. As such, they will have absolute right to land in New York or San Francisco, unless we reconstruct the foundations of our republic so as to have a vassal class who shall be in us but not of us; who, though they are born on our soil, shall be denied what is the irrefragable right of everybody else who is born on it.

When we have got these twelve millions or thirteen millions, or so, of citizens, it will be an extremely interesting question to ask, What effect are they going to have upon the future civilization of the country? We have been talking a great deal about the "open door" lately, and I confess I haven't yet got a satisfactory definition of it. There is one fact, however, about the open door that is undoubtedly true, and that is, that it is a door that *will swing both ways* It will not only let people out of the United States into the Philippine Islands—perhaps, under especially favorable and exceptional conditions—but it will let people out of the Philippine Islands into the United States; and behind the Philippines lies China, that vast empire, with its teeming populations and

its tremendous possibilities of interference in the history of the future. I do not believe that as yet we have at all calculated those possibilities. I was crossing the Mediterranean a few years ago with an English officer, who was coming home on leave from India, and we were talking one day about China. Said he, "Did you ever realize what a menace China is to European civilization?" I said, "No." "Well," said he, "China has been shut within its four walls, so to speak, for all these centuries, but they are tumbling down now. It is building railroads; it is going to build more; it hasn't got on as far or as fast as the Japanese, but it is beginning to learn Western ways, and it is likely to go on learning them. Now, then, there are four hundred millions of people in China. Did you ever stop to consider how many people, if China knew how to do it, and had the manufactories of arms with which to do it, and the men trained as they might easily be trained, as they are being trained to-day, you know, in Turkey, by European officers, with whom to do it—China could put under arms? Have you ever stopped to consider what it would require, in the shape of an armed force, to resist the invasion of Europe by China over the Tartar steppes into Russia, and so on down into Germany, if once the Chinese could make up their minds to come? We talk of the armies of Germany, and of Russia, and of France; but, if you lump them all together, and add the troops of England and America to them, the Chinese could put into the field, for they have the human beings—which, after all, is the last requirement—an army that could wipe out the whole crowd." Now, we are putting ourselves, when we take hold of the Philippines, into very intimate and very suggestive relations with that great Oriental power, and it is our duty to consider, before we do it, what the door is that we are about to open in this way, and what that is which will come through that door when it is opened. I do not think that that is the path along which Providence beckons us to walk. It may be the path of bigness, but it is not the path of greatness.

What is the path of greatness? It is the path of great ideas; government of the people, by the people and for the people. "A just government is that which exists with the consent of the governed," is our historic definition. But neither of these things could we possibly have under the conditions of the populations that occupy the Philippine Islands to-day. On the other hand,

what is it that has made us great, not alone here, but in the eyes of all the world? First of all, it is, as I maintain, that with all our faults and our defects we have furnished to the world so fine and high an illustration of the ideal of government by the people. We have, so to speak, destroyed the monarchical concept of government in the minds of the great mass of intelligent people all around the world, and that England exists to-day as a monarchy is true, not because England is a monarchy in fact, but a monarchy only in name. It sounds like a tremendous exaggeration, but it is absolutely true that the sovereign who sits upon the throne of that great empire does not begin to have the personal power and authority with which the American people, under the principle of our form of government and under the experience of a century or more, are willing to entrust to their own President. Nothing could be finer than the demonstration of the faith of a great people in a great system which we have given during these hundred years. By what we have been and what we have achieved we have vindicated the republican idea, as it has been applied to our own great and constantly increasing and prosperous and peaceful possessions.

But a nation does not touch other nations alone by its forms of government, or by that exemplary method, so to speak, by means of which it illustrates what is excellent in its principles of government. It does so, also, in other ways, which as yet we ourselves, I think, have only imperfectly recognized. It does so by what it achieves in the domains of commerce and of letters and of art, and the like. And who in these things, in some of them most certainly, is the teacher of the world to-day? Was there ever a people, since the world began, that has demonstrated such an astonishing ingenuity for the surmounting of all problems and obstacles, as has been illustrated in the history of the United States of America? Go where we will, all around the world, we shall find the world acknowledging its indebtedness to the ingenuity of American engineers and inventors and constructors of every type and of every class. To ascend to a higher plane, all around the world, wherever men know English speech and read English written books, we shall find the footprints of our American literature. Let an American get out at a little station anywhere along the road, on the Rhine, or in Austria, or wherever he may be, and he will find that delightful and charming series of publications

known as the "Tauchnitz" editions, which those of us who are not familiar with foreign tongues welcome so eagerly in our long and lonely journeys; and he may note the constantly increasing proportion of American literature which is represented in that various and most valuable collection of good reading.

Who was it who asked in England little more than a quarter of a century ago, "Who reads an American book?" The question is to-day, "Who doesn't read an American book?" And the charm, the freshness, the fidelity, the interest, the picturesqueness of our American literature, its educative quality in the realm of the imagination and in the realm of conduct, I have heard scholars acknowledge wherever I have met scholars, and wherever we have discussed the question of English letters.

Let us now go up into the domain of morals, of conduct. We regard the peace and the safety of the individual in different nations as the standard of the prevalence of high ideas of law. Is it not a notable fact that, from sea to sea, and from extremest north to extremest south, we have nowhere anybody who is patroling a castle, or guarding a house, or protecting a family, or a railway station, or anything else, with a musket and a bayonet? The moment one goes on to the continent of Europe, one is struck with the great fact of militarism. One goes into Italy, and one finds the country roads patrolled by bands of military, and one is told that the traveler would not be safe without such protection. But in this country we have made life and property so secure that with the assistance—the very dubious assistance, I confess, it often is in our great cities—of our municipal police, we are both at peace and in safety. And then, in another way, as a witness to our standards in commercial matters, look at the history of our American products. How much the integrity of our work in those departments has had to do with establishing standards in other parts of the world! Not a great while ago, there sat in London a commission of gentlemen appointed by royal authority, whose business it was to make a collection of the food products prepared for shipment and for transportation all around the globe—what we should call canned goods, I suppose, and prepared meats and so on—which were manufactured and put up by the people of four or five great countries. One of them was England, one France, one Germany, one Holland, and one the United States. Americans might well be proud of the report of that commission. First, in the

standard of deterioration or of adulteration, rather, there came Holland; next France, next Germany, next England, and at the top of the list stood the products of the United States of America. That was something which translated itself, as an indication of our standards of honesty, all around the world. Wherever a man got a package of prepared food from the United States of America, he found the product what it professed to be.* These are the ways, and ways like them—commerce, literature, conduct, trade—in which I see our sphere for a true expansion.

Then, finally, I may call attention to the splendid work which has been done by Americans, in various lands and of various names and communions, in the way of missions—the unselfishness of it, the heroism of it. The little band, and their successors, who went out from under the apple tree at Williams College; Judson's work in Burmah; and the work of American men in China and Africa—these are the things which have interpreted us to the rest of the world, and these are the things which are the true notes of a nation's greatness.

"Yes," it may be urged, "that is all very well for the past. But what are we going to do now? Whether we were wise or not in getting some sort of a grip upon these distant possessions, we cannot let them go; we cannot abandon them to their fate; we cannot turn our backs upon them and let them perish." Here I wish to present an idea which may appear very bold, but which is the one suggestion which I should like to make in view of the existing situation. We have certainly achieved a position, in our relations to the rest of the world, which is absolutely unprecedented in our history. It may be almost said that we are in a position to dictate terms to individual nations, and that, if we should affiliate ourselves with that power beyond the sea in whose land are the roots of a great many of our people, we should certainly be able to dictate terms to most of the rest of the world. The Anglo-American alliance has, for that reason, a very attractive aspect, and I can readily understand that, to one who looks at the question from a purely selfish standpoint, it would seem to be the best possible thing that we could do to-day. But I think there is another and a better view above it. What we want all around the world is a system of international government. What

*Alas, that, lately, we seem to have been dealing less honestly with our own soldiers than with foreigners!

we want to create to-day is the highest court of appeal, that court of appeal to which nations could take their differences and their problems for final adjudication. In a very remarkable little book, entitled "World Politics," is a line of historic criticism and suggestion which impresses me as singularly original, and in which occurs something of that which I have in mind. Go over the history of the development of government out of the primitive and aboriginal forms of society. See how it climbed up from the club and brutal force, both in the community and in the state, to some kind of organized life, and something that represented order. See how this ascended to a conception of order which was not necessarily enforced by the hand of brute power, but which acquiesced in rulings and judgments which were the voice of an authority created by the state itself. We have got that far; and now, I believe, with our prestige and our position entirely outside the local quarrels of the rest of the civilized world, we are so situated as to be able to propose a still higher step to the rest of the world; to say to them: "Men and brethren, you have been settling your differences for a long time by what might be called the Queensberry Rules." These are, I believe, the rules which regulate the force, and the conditions, and the frequency and the places and things, in and with which one pugilist may hit another. Now, I am at a loss to distinguish any essential difference between that and the modern concept of war. They are both equally brutal; and they both aim at substantially the same results, except that war is infinitely more destructive and appalling in its consequences. Have we not got to a time in the history of the world when we can go up above that? Have we not reached the stage when it will be worth while for some great nation, so great that her suggestions and proposals shall command respect, to say to the other nations of the world: "Let us have done with the business of butchery. Let us see if we cannot, somehow or other, constitute a tribunal, to which questions of the kind which have been settled hitherto by slaughtering men and burning towns and destroying property, shall be referred for adjudication; and now, as evidence of our sincerity in making that proposition, when you with us have created such a tribunal, let us bring to it this question of the Philippines. It is far more your business than ours. You have got a great deal more to do with it, from your geographical proximity, from your trade interests, from your relations of populations and colonies

and the like, than we have. Come and let us adjudicate this question together, and decide, if possible, how we shall share the responsibility of administering this sacred trust, if we will so regard it, for the best interests of those whose well being we are to guard and promote."

"Ah," replies somebody, "that is all very fine. But it is absolutely visionary." It is not visionary. It is what we have been doing already. In 1814, when the Congress of Paris uttered the deliverance in regard to the infamy of human slavery, it struck the first note, as I believe, in that great movement in England and in France which issued in the emancipation of the slave. Consider, again, what has been done by tribunals of arbitration in the matter of the extradition of criminals, which has resulted in one of the most remarkable steps in the interest of international justice which have ever been taken by the world, and which fixes the fact that, so far as this extradition treaty is recognized, no criminal can outrun the law or the hand of Justice, wherever he goes. That was done in precisely the same way. Take another and very practical illustration—what is called the Postal Union. Here was something which seemed inconceivably difficult at the beginning. Take the one element of the division of returns. When that was discussed in the Postal Union, a gentleman in England who was concerned in it told me that the question which perplexed the most, after they had got so far as to believe that the thing was at all practicable by reason of the willingness of nations to concur in it, was the question of how they should make returns to the different nations, on some basis of equity—how they should keep the international accounts of postage, and so on. They cut the knot very simply, at last, by deciding that every nation should keep, much or little, the money that it took, and they said that they believed that the principle of the Postal Union was worth a pecuniary sacrifice of that sort. It was. It was worth it, because it was such a splendid illustration of what various powers, antagonistic and hostile in a great many interests, can do if they choose to do it, for the common good. I rejoice to remember that, in some respects, the most picturesque illustration of this principle that has been had in modern times, or in any time, was had in our own Washington in the year 1889. The great international maritime congress settled, finally, the rule of the road at sea, determined what lights should be carried; what rules should regulate

dealing with derelicts, with ships that were in danger; what general principles should govern the commerce and the communications of nations, by means of ships of whatever sort in whatever sea, all around the world. When we did that in Washington we showed over those dark waters the way for the rest of the world.

I believe we have reached a point, in connection with the great and grave question which confronts us to-day, when we may flash out our signals, and light the pathway down the glowing track of the future of the history of the world.

H. C. POTTER.

THE FRENCH RIVIERA.

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM GARDEN BLAIKIE, D. D., LL. D.

THE Riviera or southern sea coast of France, extending along the shore of Provence, from Hyères to Monte Carlo and Mentone, a distance of nearly a hundred miles, is a most charming region of the earth, increasing every year in interest and attractive power. Year by year all who can afford it like to spend the winter where there is no winter; where roses are as abundant at Christmas as they are in other parts at mid-summer, and where the sky for many days in succession is one speckless vault of blue, often showing those soft and tender tints which in colder latitudes confine themselves to mid-summer evenings. It is in some respects like Southern California or Florida, but it differs from them in this, that it has two histories—one very old, the other quite new. Lying in the highway between Italy and France, it attracted from the earliest times the warrior, the trader and the settler; and a few monuments, mostly ruins, remain to this day to recall the times of Greeks and Romans, Ligurians and Saracens. But it is the modern history that interests the world to-day. In the making of that history, it is not the French but the English race that has had the leading share.

A hundred years ago, when Tobias Smollett, the novelist and historian, was British Consul at Nice, he was struck with the mildness of the climate, and from his days Nice has been a resort for delicate persons, especially those of consumptive tendency, and for all who have desired a milder winter than usually greeted them at home. Among those who made for Nice, somewhere about the year 1832, was Henry, Lord Brougham, the great champion of the people in the days of the Reform Bill. The story goes that, that being the time of the great cholera scare, his lordship

was informed, when approaching Nice, that he must undergo a personal fumigation with sulphur, before he would be allowed to enter the city. This was too much for the high-minded Chancellor of England. "Let's stay where we are," was his remark to a friend who accompanied him, and stay they did. The place bore the name of Cannes, so called from the luxuriant growth of reeds or canes all about. It was charmingly situated in the bend of a beautiful bay, with an amphitheatre of wooded hills around, the little old town, surmounted by its tower, clinging gracefully to Mount Chevalier on the west, and in the horizon the jagged range of the Esterel Mountains forming a splendid screen for the setting sun. Lord Brougham purchased a beautiful piece of land on the western suburb of the town, erecting a villa, which he called the Chateau Eleanore, in memory of his only child. It was not long before he attracted neighbors of mark to the beautiful situation, foreigners with high sounding titles, like the Duke of Rochefoucault and the Duke of Vallombrosa, as well as countrymen of his own, titled and untitled.

But in the more recent extension of the town, preference has been shown for the eastern suburbs. The name "*Californie*" has been given to this region, from its resemblance to the American State, of which the palm, the vine, the orange tree, the pepper tree and the eucalyptus forcibly remind us. Here, or in this neighborhood, are several of the villas that of late years have created most interest. Among these are the Villa Nevada, where Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, Queen Victoria's youngest son, died in 1884; the Villa Edelweis, which the Queen herself occupied in 1887, and the Chateau Thorene, the property of Lord Rendel, whose guest Mr. Gladstone was for a considerable part of the winter before his death. The Nevada and the Edelweis are not of the highest class; the Thorene has much higher claims. It is one of the finest villas in the place, and the grounds surrounding it are large and magnificent. It is situated, like many more of the best villas, a considerable way up among the hills, commanding one of the finest views possible, both of sea and land. Mr. Gladstone could hardly have had a finer situation, or one where he could more fully enjoy the bracing influence of the place.

A few miles to the east of Nice, is a small territory which of late years has attained an undesirable fame, the little principality of Monaco, in which the famous gambling resort of Monte Carlo

is situated. Monaco, though probably the smallest independent state in Europe, has a very old history, having for many centuries been ruled by the family of Grimaldi; but its present pre-eminence is quite of recent date. It is not a pleasant reflection that when the pernicious habit of public gambling had been brought to an end at Baden-Baden and other places where it had been long carried on, but had become a public nuisance, it found a refuge in the little territory of the Prince of Monaco.

A more beautiful spot than Monte Carlo could hardly be conceived. From its spacious Casino on its commanding height, surrounded by gardens and villas embosomed in palms and glowing in the sunshine, you look out on the bay in its exquisite blue, surmounted by the blue sky above, peacefully laving the jagged rocks that run into its bosom, and with its brilliant color forming a fine contrast to the dark promontories that fling themselves out in the distance. It is the very ideal of peace and purity, and it is hard to believe that it is the resort of idlers and gamblers, prostitutes and desperadoes, not a few of whom end their unblest career by suicide. Yet the place has a great air of respectability; magnificent hotels, unrivalled concerts, fashionable balls, Parisian shops, exquisite gardens attract many of whom it were not fair to say that they are vicious. All the same, it is the curse of the Riviera; nor does there seem any near prospect of its coming to an end; agreements extending to long periods between the Prince and his lessees produce such revenues to the one and such profits to the other, that, until greed ceases to rule human nature, or until some political convulsion violently changes the order of things, this moral nuisance seems likely to flourish.

Another few miles to the east is Mentone. In common parlance, it bears the Italian name we have given it, but in all official documents it is spelled in the French form, Menton. It is only within the last forty years that Mentone, Nice and the main part of the coast of Provence have belonged to France. Mentone has decidedly an Italian cast; the tradesmen's names on the sign posts are Italian, and, indeed, the Italian boundary is but a mile from the town, with its custom house officers to stop your carriage, if you are taking a drive, and to ascertain that you are carrying no cargo of tobacco.

The discovery of Mentone as a health resort is ascribed to an English physician, a Dr. Bennett, to whose memory a statue

has been erected in the town. It is probably the warmest and most sheltered of all the towns in the Riviera. The magnificent hills approach much nearer than in the case of Nice or of Cannes; in summer weather the atmosphere must be close, and but for the sea breeze it would be stifling. Perhaps more has been done for Mentone by Mr. Spurgeon than by Dr. Bennett. For many years he went to it for a winter holiday, and body and mind alike found refreshment and renovation in its sunshine and its scenery. It is wonderful how many persons, even in distant parts of the globe, are attracted to a place which is known to be dear to some man of mark. Many a tourist from the United States bent his steps to Mentone because Mr. Spurgeon was there. Alas! even its magic atmosphere could not avail to arrest the hand of disease when it had taken the firm grip it had got of Mr. Spurgeon. He died in the Beau Rivage Hotel, opposite the Eastern Bay, his windows looking out on the blue Mediterranean, and on the bright canopy above, so true an emblem of the peace and the beauty of Heaven.

Across the Italian boundary, we have more health resorts of the same character, particularly Bordighera and San Remo. Bordighera has become famous as the winter residence of George Macdonald. Many have been attracted to it by the famous writer, who has not only created such an interest in his books, but an equal interest in the man that wrote them. Those of us who knew him in the days when his locks were black, his eye bright and his face full of life and joy, must be painfully struck by the marks of decay that are now but too apparent. But Macdonald was always a delicate man, and we may be very sure that but for Bordighera, winter would long ere now have proved too much for him. It is something surely that one who had to give up the ministry in early life through severe attacks of hemorrhage has reached his seventy-fifth year, and is still able to work. We do not agree with all his theological opinions, but we honor the writer who has striven so hard on a Christian basis to spread among his fellows the spirit of love and joy.

But we did not mean to cross the Italian boundary, for our subject is the French Riviera. We have noticed some of the principal resorts in Provence; but we have no idea that they have reached their limit. Our expectation rather is that from time to time new places will be added, until the whole border of Provence is studded

with health resorts. Very recently Hyères has been attached. And more are in the course of formation. When we visited San Raphael, between Cannes and Hyères, we found the process in operation with which Americans are familiar, when a new town is in the course of being laid out—a railway station, of course, streets and roads graded and named, but as yet with hardly a house; villas here and there, designed to show what nicely situated residences might be had; the site marked for an "Anglican church;" in short, the very features that thirty years before one could have seen when Cannes was in its infancy. In the same neighborhood, but inland, is Valescure, where a Grand Hotel rears its massive form as a signal to ordinary homes to gather round it. We learned that Lord Rendel and other rich men have acquired land in that neighborhood for the purpose of forming an inland health settlement. Much has been done by syndicates in such undertakings, often, doubtless, with benefit to themselves as well as to the public, but sometimes with heavy loss. These are not the times when hopeful enterprises can find no capitalists to back them; the means are seldom wanting even when the chance of success is but small. *"Situations de l'avenir"* are made much of.

And now the question naturally arises: What are the conditions of this strip of Provençal coast that make it so attractive to seekers after health? What enables it to turn "the winter of our discontent" in other parts into "glorious summer?" In the first place, the chain of the "Alpes Maritimes," which run parallel to the coast, protects it from the fierce winds of the north, and, moreover, forms a kind of mirror for catching the sun's rays, which are also reflected from the surface of the sea, and thrown, as it were, on the neighboring shores. As long as the sun shines all is bright and warm, but immediately after sunset the air rapidly cools, and within half an hour the genial warmth of the sunshine is converted into sharp cold. Warnings have to be constantly given to invalids to be on their guard against this hour. If they have been at all heated by the sunshine, the evening cold is apt to produce a chill, from which disastrous results may flow.

North of the Maritime Alps, Provence is cold and dry; it is only the southern border that has the semi-tropical climate. The wind known as the mistral (a contraction of magistral, the "domineering" wind) is called "the scourge of Provence"; sometimes even the Riviera gets a taste of its quality. But it makes the at-

mosphere for the most part very dry and clear; hence the beautiful sky. A well known scientific writer on the Riviera, M. Charles Lenthéric has an interesting theory, that opposite coasts of the same sea usually show a remarkable resemblance to each other, both in flora and in climate. He finds a correspondence in these respects between the south of France and the north of Africa. But the resemblance does not extend beyond the Riviera.

It is not to be supposed, however, that in this winter climate we have nothing but blue skies and bright sunshine. If it were so, the country would be a desert. And, of course, winters vary in the degree of occasional frost, and in the amount of the rainfall. The winter of last year was remarkably open; the frost but slight; snow unknown except on the tops of the mountains; rainy days but a small percentage of those of bright sunshine, and the mistral fairly well behaved. In fact, it was difficult during the winter months to realize that it was not July. The illusion is the greater that the hills for the most part are covered with green. The native trees, conspicuous among which are the olive, the umbrella pine, and the cork tree, retain their foliage throughout. And those which have been imported, the eucalyptus, the palm, the pepper tree, the bamboo, and others show a still richer green. January has hardly arrived when the buds of the mimosa begin to swell, and by the end of the month every grove in the neighborhood of Cannes is a blaze of yellow gold. And in the grounds of villas and chateaux the flowering shrubs are hardly less beautiful. Camelias may be seen, a mass of flowers. The golden apples of the orange show beautifully in the setting of its bright green leaves. And as for flowers, it is impossible to convey an idea of their abundance and luxuriance. Visit the flower market of Cannes or of Nice, and you are dazzled by the profusion of daffodils and jonquils, of roses and carnations, of mignonette and violets, primulas and pansies, cineraria and heliotrope, anemonies, white, crimson and purple—all grown in the open air. In some situations, cactus and acacia are in full blaze, and in choice gardens, like that of Mr. Hanbury, near Mentone, the living aloe may be seen, rearing its mighty stem in preparation for its display, and the dead aloe, exhausted by the flowers of last season, which are still seen clinging in a withered state to its dead stem. Of late years there has sprung up a new industry, connected with the trade in flowers. The post office gives facilities

for their transmission, and every day a profusion of little boxes is sent by visitors to their friends at home, and larger cargoes are sent to flower dealers in Paris, London, Berlin and other distant places.

We have said that it is the modern history of the Riviera that gives it its great interest to-day; but it is likewise interesting to think that, hundreds of years before Christ, human eyes looked on the blue sky and the blue sea as they do now; saw the sun in all its magnificent drapery, set behind the Esterel Mountains; saw the crimson zone encircle the horizon for three-fourths of its extent, as we see it sometimes now; and that there men breathed in winter a more genial air than in most parts even of Italy or Greece. The very name of Nice points to the early occupation of the Greeks, for what is it but the modern form of Niké, "victory"—a commemoration of a victory gained over the early Ligurian inhabitants. So Antibes, which stands on a promontory over against Nice, is a popular contraction of Antipolis, "the opposite city." Monaco, supposed to have been dedicated to Hercules, was his Monos Oikos, "only house," no unsuitable term for a temple on a narrow rocky promontory, two hundred feet above the level of the sea. The Romans likewise left diverse names; for the very word Provence is the Latin *provincia*. Fréjus is the modern equivalent of Forum Julii, after Julius Cæsar. At Fréjus there is an amphitheatre, of which the walls are in good preservation, that afforded accommodation, it is believed, for nine thousand spectators; some of the corridors and doors still remain, by which the wild beasts were let in on the Christian martyrs and other offenders, amid the jubilations of the assembled thousands. There are also the remains of a handsome aqueduct, by which water was brought from the hills. Fréjus is now a poor, dilapidated village; in those days it had a good harbor (rendered useless by the receding of the seacoast), and it must have had a thriving trade and a large population. There are the remains of another amphitheatre at Cimiez, near Nice, easily known to be Roman by the small square stones which the Romans always used, but it is of smaller dimensions than the one at Fréjus.

Coming to early Christian times, the most interesting of all places on the Riviera are the two islands called "the Lérins." Their present names are St. Marguerite and St. Honorat, but of old they were called Lero and Lerina, or the big and the little Lero. They

are mere morsels of islands, the larger containing some 400 acres, the smaller about 100. To a Scotsman they recall two little islands in the Frith of Clyde—the two Cumbraes; and a well known prayer ascribed to a Highland minister, who used to ask God to bless "the Muckle Cumbrae and the Little Cumbrae, and the adjawcent islands of Great Britain and Ireland." The island St. Marguerite is famed for a legend of a prisoner called "the man in the iron mask," in the time of Louis XIV., an unknown person of note, who wore, not an *iron* mask, as the legend has it, but a *velvet* mask—was never seen by any one but his jailor, and after being confined for ten years in the castle of the island, was transferred to the Bastile, where he died. The smaller island has sometimes been called the Iona of France, and the work done from it has been compared to that of Columba and his brethren from the island of Iona. This may be something of an exaggeration, for the Monastery of Lerins did not engage in the far-spreading missionary labors that made Iona famous. But in its way, and chiefly as an educational institute, it was not only one of the most famous of French monasteries, but one of the most efficient in advancing the cause of Christianity in pagan times.

But the middle ages have likewise furnished us with interesting memorials in the Riviera of their turbulent history. A few miles inland, we meet with little towns built on the tops of hills that to our notions are the very last places where it is desirable to dwell. Such is the little town of Mougins, near Cannes, but more striking examples are to be seen near Mentone and beyond the Italian border. Nothing but necessity could have driven people to these all but inaccessible heights. But between the invasions of pirates by sea and Saracens by land, they had very hard times, for these enemies were as remorseless as death, and spared neither man, woman, nor child. The heights where their forefathers were compelled by necessity to make their homes, habit and possession have continued as the abodes of the present inhabitants. Such towns as Gorbis, Castellar, Gourdon, Dolceacqua and Isolabona seem altogether out of place in the end of the nineteenth century. Perched on heights many hundred feet above the level of the sea, the mere carriage of the necessaries of life to them involves an expenditure of human toil that would seem to leave little if any strength available for other purposes. Within recent years excellent roads have been made to them, or near to them, roads imply-

ing remarkable ingenuity of engineering, and reducing the gradients to the lowest possible figure; but even yet, in the case of some of the places, you may see women toiling up footpaths with their washing on their heads, or men with loads of wood, and even children getting their first lessons in the art of carrying heavy burdens up hill. It seems so strange that when in our cities we have contrived by means of lifts or elevators to save strong men and women the trouble of carrying their own bodies a few feet upwards, we should find the natives of these distant places carrying heavy burdens up heights the very thought of which would appal the modern Englishman or American.

And what sort of places are they when you reach them? Not at all inviting or interesting. For the most part dilapidated, and always untidy, as if the people were too poor to be able, or too tasteless to care, to make them look nice. Generally the people are owners of vineyards or gardens below, yielding them a poor living. And all their care seems to be needed to keep these in order. For on the sides of mountains you can only have vineyards by elaborate terracing, and the many tiers of walls you see, representing the labor of centuries, demand unceasing care in order to support a level patch no larger than an ordinary room. Much of the living of the people used to be derived from the olive, but the oil of the olive has found a serious rival in the mineral oils now so abundant, and besides, the olive itself is not always to be depended on, the olive crop having recently proved a failure.

But some of the valleys through which you approach these high places are exquisite, and the views from the heights transcendant. The plantations of olive are often very fine. Most persons are disappointed with the olive on first acquaintance, and wonder what there is in its dull color and gnarled trunk to make men speak of "the beauty of the olive." But one's opinion changes when one sees it in a congenial valley, covering great ranges, its mild color contrasting pleasantly with the bright blue of the sky, and its richly clad branches and drooping leaves reminding us somewhat of the hanging glory of the birch—a tree, by the way, which we never see in those parts. Vineyards are not pretty, especially in winter; but where the mountains tower to a great height the vineyards become insignificant, and the eye is filled with the vast masses that shoot their jagged tops into the sky. And when these are seen in the light of the setting sun, which seems as if it came

through a diamond lens, the effect is overpowering. You get a wonderful revelation of the transfiguring power of light.

Vineyards, however, do not take up all the arable soil. Of course, there are patches of grass, wheat and vegetables, and there are orange groves and flower gardens. Near Grasse, a little town to the north of Cannes, you find rose gardens in great abundance. Grasse is renowned as the great centre of the perfumery business. It contains about seventy perfume distilleries. It is said to possess a monopoly in France, perhaps in the world, for the production of perfumes and other products of fruit and flowers. Germany, Russia, and, above all, America, send immense orders. The perfume industry is an interesting one and gives much employment to young and old; but there are persons whose nerves cannot stand the strong scent, whether of the orange or of the rose. It is an odd sight, when the orange blossoms are gathered, to see men and women perched, like so many monkeys, on the branches of the trees.

Hitherto, the benefits of the Riviera as a health resort, or as a means of escaping the sharpness of winter, have been confined to the upper classes and a few of the middle. It has been a great favorite with the royal family of Great Britain. Queen Victoria has spent winter months at Cannes, Grasse, Mentone and Nice. For those of moderate means comfortable quarters may be found in pensions and hotels that board strangers at the rate of about two dollars a day. Even for a poorer class there is a limited provision. The *Asyle Evangelique* at Cannes, the Villa Helvetia at Mentone for governesses and other young ladies in poor health, and the English Hospital at Nice provide the means of enjoying the climate of the Riviera for a few of the numberless cases where, if it were within their reach, benefit might probably be derived from it. Whether these benefits shall ever be enjoyed on a larger scale seems doubtful, unless we should come to know a far wider development of the spirit of unselfish beneficence than our world has hitherto seen.

W. Garden Blaikie.

A NEW LAW OF HEALTH.

BY ELIZABETH BISLAND.

To say that the Sphere of Wisdom is not a globe sounds like a contradiction in terms, but the accuracy of the paradox is demonstrable. If in setting out toward a fixed goal of truth, one's face be turned in the wrong direction, no persistency in endeavor and no length of travel will ever conduct the wayfarer to the haven where he would be.

This fact in moral geography is, however, one that has been late of discovery and is still far from unanimous acceptance. Perhaps certain inherent weaknesses of human nature will forever preclude its universal reception. Chronic childishness is so common a failing that it would be useless to hope for the adoption of any new truths, were it not that the adult intelligence of the few eventually and inevitably imposes its conclusions upon the multitude. The few are continually dragging the many into the path of fact and common sense, and the immature-minded many are as persistently lusting after a miracle and kicking against the pricks of plain truth. They forever recoil from the steady, dull plodding that lies between them and their ends if they seek them by that path, and turn again longingly to supernaturalism for a charm to conjure away the barriers fencing them out of the Eden of their desires—for a spell to break the chains binding them bondslaves of space and time, of heat and cold, of poverty, pain and disease.

They fashion for themselves dreams of flying carpets, of magic lamps and rings; of transmutable metals, of fountains of youth and elixirs of life, which are to achieve their purposes without effort or drudgery. Bullied and shamed out of these puerile inventions, they substitute legends of fasts and macerations whose

courage and asceticism are to make the gods tremble with respectful admiration, whose triumphs over material passions are to give occult freedom from material limitations. Buddhs and Mahatmas are imagined, who stand moveless and speechless till the birds nest and rear broods in their hair, and who thereby grow so mighty that the mountains rock beneath the weight of their thoughts, not to mention their acquirement of powers which render the services of the post office unnecessary and make railways ridiculously superfluous.

Splendid energies, passionate faith and ardour, master intellects have been wasted in this long fruitless endeavour to find some magic by which nature is to be conquered and man made master of circumstance, without drudgery—all thrown into that bottomless pit of error which can never be filled.

Even now that it has been demonstrated beyond cavil that nature is to be conquered by her own natural means only, and only in accordance with her own natural laws, there are still a lamentable number of descendants of Lot's wife, continually casting longing glances back to the Sodom of their intellectual sins. It is nothing to them that, having once faced about in the right direction, the same amount of effort properly directed has achieved exactly the marvels after which the supernaturalists vainly sought—that, eating our due amount of food and attaching no mystical significance to anything, we have torn our way through mountains, flashed our thoughts under the oceans, sailed straight into the teeth of the winds, annihilated distance with steam, learned to look at our own bones through our solid flesh, to bottle up dead voices as one might preserve cherries, and reproduce for our own amusement upon a screen the life of yesterday exactly as it passed before our eyes, even to its minutest movement or play of expression. These are the marvels which have rewarded those content to tread by slow steps the plain, straight road of dull facts, and perhaps the most dazzling and surprising discoveries that lie along this Path of the Tortoise have been those affecting human life and health—discoveries to which the harebrained are still seeking the ever elusive short cut.

There was once a little girl who, after the manner of her sex, feared greatly all and sundry of certain fierce beasts, such as mice, bats, bumblebees, spiders, and, more vividly and especially, dogs.

On a day, having been bidden to deliver a message to an op-

posite neighbor, she set out radiating the pleasing results of soap, brushes and a fresh pinafore, but was brought to a sudden pause by a specimen of the worst of enemies—which seemed to the perspective of an eye only three feet from the ground to be easily the rival of an elephant in size—lying prone across the path, lolling an intimidating tongue and rolling an eye which, though outwardly calm, might be guessed to conceal a horrid intent. Immediately there was a swish of starched skirts, a twinkle of bare ankles, and an appeal was preferred to that infallible power and knowledge which Providence has so beneficently placed in maternal hands. This particular parent, being a person of nimble imagination, realized that a mastiff as large in proportion to her own inches as was this one to the normal height of five years, might daunt even her adult courage, and she forebore to remonstrate or reason.

"There," she said placidly, "is a lump of sugar. Put it on your tongue and hold it there. Of course, the dog will not touch you while you have a lump of sugar on your tongue"—and, so fortified, Five Years set forth with a conviction of immunity which carried her successfully past the source of terror.

The incident is in itself, perhaps, not of historic importance, but it is a particularly vivid example of the complete divorce existing in the undeveloped mind between the laws of cause and effect; and in no department of human thought has that divorce continued so long and so entire as in all that relates to human health.

Every one of us can revive from childhood a memory of the soothing balm which overspread the injured temple, when a sympathetic nurse bestowed the richly deserved spanking upon the offending chair corner that had caused the pain, or applied the clearly indicated plaster of a kiss; and medicine long followed these intelligent suggestions from the nursery and administered, to the bitten, hairs from the biting dog. Medicine as a science has, of course, shared in the general growth of knowledge, but the bulk of mankind still continues to put sugar on its tongue as a protection from wild beasts; to castigate the chair corners, and apply remedies as unknown to the pharmacopœia as the feminine kiss. Perhaps the stolen potato carried in the pocket, or the bit of red flannel bound about the left wrist, is a less trusted remedy for rheumatism than it was fifty years ago, and the dried heart

of a mouse in a bag about the neck has lost some of its potency against epileptic seizures; but the rise and popularity of innumerable systems and cures that have no reasonable relation to the ills they affect to assuage prove that the laws of health are still as heterogeneous from the intelligence of the mass as the laws of the differential calculus. It would be diverting, were it not so pathetic, to see the constant endeavor on the part of the multitude to lift itself up by its own hygienic bootstraps in the form of barefoot cures, all-wool cures, mind cures, cures by clairvoyance, by Christian Science, by electricity, and by bone manipulation. Like children we still move about in worlds unrealized, seeing no reason why some power that wishes us individually well should not break through the immutable sequence of cause and effect on our behalf, and release us from the unpleasant results of our own foolishness. Our childish "let's pretend" sweeps away for the moment the tiresome persistency of facts, and opens the gate of a world where one may eat one's cake and have it, too, and after dancing escape the bill for the fiddling.

It is, of course, only by a figure of speech that the laws of health can be called new, all natural laws being of their very nature eternal. What is new is the realization that there are *laws* governing health—that suffering is not a haphazard chance, or the visitation of some capricious punishment by a higher power, but the orderly sequence and expected result of some infringement of the physical laws of being. We have long been aware that if we ate or drank certain poisonous substances the result would be pain or death, and we do not even hope to evade by prayer or faith the swift and certain results of a dose of prussic acid. We have been quite convinced by ocular demonstration that, if we walked over the edge of a cliff, faith would not interfere with the laws of gravitation, and that, when we reached the earth below, the results were certain to be uncomfortable, if not mortal. The more civilized communities have become entirely convinced that public filth and the use of impure water are absolutely certain to breed disease, and take their measures accordingly, having abandoned confidence in processions and vows to erect churches; but what still waits for general acceptance is the truth that all disease and suffering arise from perfectly preventable causes. We continue to use poisons which are quite as certain, if less rapid, than those bearing the warning skull and crossbones on their

labels, and we continue to walk over hygienic precipices, full of hope that the results will not be disagreeable. To take the commonest example of this inconsequent behavior: Every one is aware that oxygen is necessary for life, is also aware that an adult exhausts the oxygen from three cubic feet of air with every breath he draws, and that two minutes breathing of impure air will appreciably affect for evil every one of his organs and every corpuscle of his blood; and yet nine persons out of ten sleep for eight hours out of the twenty-four in an unchanged atmosphere, and wake to wonder at the unpleasant results, perhaps to call in some conjuror to charm them away.

There is, it is true, as great an inequality in the inheritance of health as in the heirship of wealth or brains. Some are born with a fortune of vigor and soundness so large that not a lifetime of eager squandering will leave them poor, and others enter the world paupers of need so dire that no charity from medicine can ever raise them to comfort; but most of us have just that mediocre legacy of vitality which renders us undistinguishable units in the mass. It lies in the hands of each to improve or waste that property as he chooses, for there are self-made men physically as well as financially; those who, because of ancestral wastefulness, have only a sixpence of health, and turn it into a fortune; and there are spendthrifts of health who come to as sorrowful case as spendthrifts of gold. The body is a realm where a wise and frugal ruler brings happiness as surely as a foolish one insures distress, and wisdom here, as elsewhere, lies in learning and obeying natural laws. It is just those natural laws—simple, severe, immutable—which must be obeyed all day and every day, against which we chafe, for which some magic pill or potion is offered as a substitute. Temperance, cleanliness, activity are the three virtues of the body, as faith, hope and charity are of the soul. As tithes of mint, anise and cummin are easier to render than to practice the law, justice and judgment, so the easy sacrifice of burnt offerings of drugs is offered to the goddess Hygeia in lieu of constant obedience to her regimen. Forty days of Lenten abstention are considered adequate atonement for a year of the sins of the flesh, and a brief retreat to a "cure" of mineral waters (where the high priests of health are bribed by passing confession and submission) is considered a penance which should obliterate all past offenses. As it is easier to repeat formu-

las of prayer than to persistently keep oneself unspotted from the world, so it is easier for fat old sinners to paddle about barefooted in the dew than to permanently abandon their little darling sins of greediness, indolence or self-neglect. To a constant cry of "Lo, here! and Lo, there!" the world runs to sit under the blue glass, or to swathe itself in wool in the ever renewed hope that some substitute may be found for unfailing observance of the three rules.

An obscure but witty romance, whose vivacity attracted less attention than it deserved, told of an undiscovered country in the heart of the Andes where crime was looked upon as the unfortunate result of congenital temperament—a disease demanding sympathy and treatment; but ill health aroused only reprobation as a wilful offence against wise and well understood laws. A bronchial case resulted in arrest and imprisonment, and friends of the family considered it untactful to cough in the presence of the criminal's relations, but a severe attack of embezzlement aroused widespread sympathy, and cards were left upon the invalid with kind inquiries as to whether he was receiving the best moral attention. A condition of affairs which would be less whimsical than might at first sight appear!

Paracelsus—accused of wizardry because of the simple natural means by which he effected his cures—believed that, if he were allowed absolutely to direct from its birth the diet of a fairly healthy infant, he could build up a constitution which might be made to last out a century in undiminished vigor, and there are those prepared to accept literally the stories of the age of the antediluvian patriarchs because of their theory that, bread not being at that time in use, digestions never called upon to deal with starch could easily sustain life to Methuselah's term.

Because of the long neglect and ignorance of the true laws of health, the subtle, but supremely important, chemistry of nutrition has been neglected in favor of matters of less moment. The same skill which developed the science of bacteriology and pursued the most elusive microbe to his most secret fastness, might perhaps have been more practically applied. After being found and named, the average microbe remains no less virulent and dangerous, and how much more valuable would have been a knowledge —equally obtainable—of exactly the amount and nature of the food required for the best results of health and growth.

There is in the West Indies a farmer ant who, upon a carefully prepared soil of flowers and leaves, grows a tiny fungus on which he feeds. The eggs, laid by a queen, seem when hatched to produce a uniform type of larvæ; but these, through different feeding, develop, when perfected, either warriors, farmers or queens, as may be needed. If, through accident or the result of battle, the supply of warriors is dangerously lowered, these able pismires transfer some of the larvæ being fed with such food as produces farmers to the nursery for young soldiers, and change of diet changes their natures so radically that the creature which should have developed the peaceful industry suited to agricultural pursuits becomes instead a warlike insect who defends the nest against the assaults of those fierce nomads, the black ants, whose inroads are so dreaded by these laborious communities. Ah! what a triumph of science, could we too know upon what meat should these our Cæsars feed that they might grow so great. What a much more important achievement that would be than the discovery and naming of all the myriads of microbes, who would be impotent to harm the perfectly nourished body.

Medicine, despite all its modern discovery and progress, has done less to spread the reign of common sense and a general comprehension of the laws of health than might have been hoped for. More advance had been possible in this direction had we adopted the logical method of the Chinese, who pay medical bills as long as under the physician's advice they continue in health, and cease payments the moment of attack from disease; arguing lucidly that immunity from pain is a good worth any price, and that suffering implies some incompetence on the part of their advisers. Our reversal of this intelligent system has naturally turned the thoughts of the faculty more toward therapeutics than to the study of preventive medicine. Doctors, after all, are but men with like passions with ourselves, and examples such as that of Paracelsus discourage those who would be wiser than their age. Men do not pay doctors to remind them of their hygienic sins, or insist upon the practice of tiresome rules. They call upon them to give them absolution for their offences, and sell them indulgences in the form of pills which will make renewed infringement of the code possible.

What would become of the practice of a physician who should say to a patient: "You need no drugs. Your ruined nerves are

the result of too rich and too varied a diet, and physical indolence. Take no medicine; walk five miles every morning at six o'clock and live entirely upon gruel and water for a month ?" It would be instantly borne in upon the seeker for health that this was an ignorant quack who had failed to understand his case. Naaman, the Syrian, felt the same blank sense of disappointment when he was bid to dip himself three times in the river Jordan, and but for his servant he would have scorned to try so simple a cure. Simple cures are but little more valued in our day than in the era of the stern Jewish prophet, and, since doctors must live by satisfying their patients, they will continue to gratify the desire for something more startling in their prescriptions than plain sense, and refrain from insistence upon unpalatable truths.

The sect who call themselves, in exquisite confusion of ideas, Christian Scientists, and who practice the latest abracadabra to conjure away the effects of fixed causes—asserting that pain is the result of sin and can be abolished by faith—have hold of one of those half truths so confusing to the untrained intelligence. But they childishly overlook the fact that pain, while it is the undoubted result of offences against physical morals, is in itself not an evil, being simply the message sent to the brain over the telephone wires of the nerves to inform it that some member of the body's commonwealth is in danger and requires assistance. That the mind should refuse to act upon the news otherwise than by declining to believe it, appears to be the gist of their system, stated in plain terms.

Not by stopping the ears, not by the practice of any magic, is health to be obtained. By no flying carpets may it be reached. Fasts and prayers will not call it down from heaven. Fixed, immortal, the laws remain, always unchanged, always inexorable. The wages of disobedience are disease. To know the law, to practice it daily—that is the lost path to the Fountain of Youth; that is the long-hid secret of the Elixir of Life.

ELIZABETH BISLAND.

BRITISH RULE IN INDIA—II.

BY THE REV. J. P. JONES, D.D., MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD, AT MADURA, SOUTH INDIA.

II.

We shall now consider a few of the most frequent charges brought against Great Britain in this land. None is presented with more readiness and warmth, or appears more warranted by facts, than the claim that the land is being denuded of its wealth, and its treasures carried annually in immense sums over the seas. It is concretely expressed by Mr. Dutt, in his recent work, "England and India," in the following words: "The annual exports from India exceed the annual imports of merchandise and treasure by over £20,000,000. For this excess of exports India receives no commercial equivalent; it is a steady drain on the resources of India." This, like many other remarks, has an element of truth commingled with serious error. He himself acknowledges that a third of this outflow is in payment of interest on money invested here by Englishmen, chiefly in railroads. This interest is at a low rate, often guaranteed by government. It is usually the only way in which the State can undertake large enterprises, not only necessary for the country, but which also do wonders for its development. Should that immense wealth of Englishmen which has flowed into India, and the work which it has wrought in the upbuilding of the land, be swept away to-morrow, India would drop instantly out of the realm of civilization and re-enter upon its semi-barbarism of the past. To claim that these investments by Westerners in the land are not a rich boon, and to speak of the interest received upon the same as an unjust drain upon the country, seems irrational. If the wealthy men of this land were only prepared to take up such public work and invest their money at low or moderate interest in enterprises for the public weal, the

charge might seem less unreasonable than it is. But native wealth cannot be made to flow into such channels. In this district, where the writer has long lived, there is much need of a railroad as a famine preventive through a much neglected portion of the field. For years the road has been surveyed at government expense, and it has been shown that the investment would be fairly remunerative; and the native community has been strongly appealed to, more than once, to invest in so necessary and important a public work. Within the neglected area through which the road is to run, there live a class of native money lenders who have means enough to build the road ten times over. And there are two petty Rajahs also living in the district. The two latter, while squandering their own patrimony, are content to petition the government to have the road built. These money lenders, on the other hand, decline to spend a rupee on such public works, as they can more than quadruple the interest by money lending to their miserable countrymen. After thus patiently waiting for years, the people are greatly rejoiced now to learn that English capitalists have come into the breach and will build the road at an early date. It will be an untold blessing to the million residents of that region, and to none more than the grasping, selfish money lenders and the spendthrift Rajahs. And yet the meagre income of this investment will be regarded by some as a drain on the country!

Another third of the sum above mentioned is consumed in the support of the army. This is truly a heavy burden, and there is reason to believe that it is much too serious a charge upon so peaceable and indigent a people. Imperial interests have caused this item to grow ominously of late years; and this has led the best friends of India to protest against making this poor land bear the largely growing expense incident to the protection of the Empire from outside dangers and enemies. There is no doubt that Russia's threatening approach to the north of India is a mighty argument in the mind and mouth of the martial defenders of the Empire in favor of the subjugation of the turbulent tribes on the northern frontiers and of the erection of mighty defences. But if this is necessary it is rather for the integrity of the British Empire than for the safety and defence of India; and the expense should in good part be borne by Great Britain herself. Sir Henry Brackenbury, a late military adviser to the Viceroy of India, re-

cently remarked, with justice, before a Royal Commission appointed to apportion expenditure as between England and India: "The foreign policy of India is directed entirely from England by Her Majesty's government, and it is the part of British foreign policy generally to secure Great Britain's rule over her Empire. If we desired to maintain British rule in India only for India's sake, then I think it would be fair to make India pay to the uttermost farthing everything that it could be shown was due to Britain's rule over India. India affords employment to thousands of Britons, India employs millions of English capital, and Indian commerce has been of immense value to Great Britain. Therefore, it seems to me that India, being held by Great Britain not only for India's sake, but for Great Britain's sake, the latter should pay a share of the expenditure for this purpose." In any case, there is little doubt that the whole army of India, at its present size and weight, should not hang as a millstone around India's neck. And the sound sense of justice which characterizes England gives ground of confidence that she will assume this just burden as soon as the present commission will report and reveal the situation. If this is not done, the other alternative of a speedy reduction of the army, which now numbers 75,000 Britons and 150,000 Indians, will become necessary. The army in India is, of all departments, the most vulnerable to attack, both on the score of expense and character. The British army is certainly the greatest trial to the Indian, and brutally rides roughshod over all his sensibilities. If "Tommy Atkins" could only be left at home, with safety to British interest in this land, it would help largely to improve the situation between the two races. It would also save England from the terrible disgrace of immorality which the army is instrumental in carrying as a plague wherever it goes. Awful, indeed, is the prevalence of the social vice in the native community itself. But the English army spreads the demoralization in a most disgraceful way wherever it is found. And the worst aspect of the whole question is the apparent inability of those at the head of the army and of government to strike at the root of the evil. They assume that the evil is irremediable, that the soldier is born to this special sin and must be indulged in it and protected in the indulgence. The consequence is that nearly half the army to-day is *hors de combat*, and no punishment whatever is inflicted upon the misguided son of passion for disquali-

fying himself for service. How much better and more effective it would be, from the standpoint of morality and of military discipline, to say plainly to this son of Mars that he is engaged and supported to defend the country; that to disqualify himself for that service by sinful indulgence is not only unmanly and unjust to his employer, it is also a breach of military discipline, for which he will be severely punished every time he transgresses. Such a summary and wholesome course would save England from much of its present disgrace in the eyes of, and sins against, a heathen people, and would be more effective than a whole code of "Contagious Diseases Acts."

The opium and the abkary business is one which has drawn forth large criticism. From the moral standpoint the critics have a very strong position. The evil which the opium traffic of India has inflicted upon China—against her will, too—has been enormous. The large army of opium eaters which it has created, only to destroy them with a terrible death, has long been an argument to which no nation of England's position and pretensions can render satisfactory reply. In like manner, the State monopoly of the drink traffic is neither honorable nor wise. It not only gives unwonted and unwarrantable dignity to a disreputable business; it also inevitably involves the State in the business of making a large army of drunkards in the land. It is not enough for her to reply that if the trade were in private hands the people would drink just the same. Even if that were true, it seems hardly proper for so august a body to become the sole manufacturer and vendor of the demoralizing stuff. But it is not true that the people would drink all the same if the government restrained the business instead of promoting it. To take up a traffic like this for the revenue there is in it, is to trifle with the higher interests of the subjects and to become instrumental in the corruption and misery of the people whom it is bound to protect. It is questionable whether any other civilized government has so involved itself in such unworthy means of creating a revenue. Doubtless, opium and drink represent, morally, the weakest part of this government. Of course, the all important defence lies in the revenue thus acquired. These two items of revenue, as is too well known, flow more easily than any others into the depleted treasury of State. To give these up, in behalf of what is termed a sentiment, is to necessitate the imposition of other heavy taxes. This is an aspect of

the question which has too easily silenced and secured the acquiescence of the Indian community. But its evil is great and is spreading. The drink curse is rapidly becoming one of the crying problems of India. It was slanderously remarked, some years ago, that if England then left this country the only monuments of its life left behind would be broken whiskey bottles. There is indeed ground to-day for the charge that, if England were to abandon the land, it would leave as the saddest monument of its past an immensely increasing army of whiskey drinkers. This vice is growing at a most alarming pace among the Indians who are in authority—especially the Brahmans—men who until recently would no more defile themselves with liquor than they would eat beef or cross the ocean. Ten thousand times better were it for the State to renounce all such traffic and the price of blood which accompanies it. It cannot safely, for the sake of revenue, sacrifice the highest interest and permanent good of the people.

The recent utterance of the Archbishop of Canterbury on this subject should be heeded by the State. "The true principle of morals," he says, "is to have nothing whatever to do with that which is shown to be necessarily productive of evil. The English nation caused the opium evil in China, and we are responsible for that evil. I also protest against the principle of raising revenue by temptations to evil. It might be right for a government to pause before interfering with private trade; but in this case we ourselves are carrying on the evil trade. Such a thing on the part of a great government is, I think, without a parallel in the whole extent of the world."

The subject of taxation is one which the critics of the State are prone to dwell upon. It is, however, difficult to understand why this matter should be pressed, unless it be on the ground, apparently maintained, that the poverty of the people should exempt them from any of the burdens of taxation—a theory beautifully generous to the people, but fatal to the maintenance of any government. The salt tax does certainly seem cruel in its severe pressure upon the very poor, and yet it is the only way whereby this very large part of the community can be reached at all and made to contribute its mite to the State which protects it.

Comparing present taxes with those of the past, we should certainly expect heavier imposts now, because the government furnishes to-day as an equivalent of protection and blessing infinitely

more than former dynasties did. And yet, Sir W. Hunter has ably and clearly shown, from a comparison of taxes levied by the present and by the Mughal governments, that the modern Hindu is vastly better off than his ancestor of two and three centuries ago. To-day 5½ per cent. is collected in land tax; under the Mughal rule they had to pay from 33 to 50 per cent. Beside this, the Mohammedan imposed various other taxes, many of them on non-Mohammedans as a religious penalty. Nor were the Hindu governments a whit better, and even to-day the Native States are much harder upon the people than is the British Raj. The Famine Commission (the highest authority on the subject), in its exhaustive report of 1880, writes: "In the majority of native governments the revenue officer takes all he can get, and would take treble the revenue we should assess if he were strong enough to exact it. In ill managed States the cultivators are relentlessly squeezed, the difference between the native system and ours being mainly that the cultivator in a Native State is seldom or never sold up, and that he is usually treated much as a good bullock is treated, *i. e.*, he is left with enough to feed and clothe him and his family, so that they may continue to work."

If we pursue the comparison to that with European peoples, Indian taxation would seem but a trifle. Even placing English taxes side by side with India's, we shall find instruction. The average income in the United Kingdom is £40, while the tax assessed is 44s., or 5½ per cent. In India, alas! the average income is only 36s. But then the tax is only 1s. 9d. per capita, which is a trifle less percentage than that for England. Here again we are not impressed with any injustice of the people. Indeed, when we remember the vast efficiency of the government of to-day, as compared with any in the past, we are impressed with the reasonableness of the tax assessed.

III.

We shall now hurriedly glance at some of the blessings conferred by England upon this land.

The least valuable, even if the most marked and manifest, is the material progress which meets one on all sides. Already, the splendid railway system upon which travel is as comfortable as, and perhaps cheaper than, that of any other country in the world, has extended 20,000 miles and reaches the remotest parts of the land. No other Eastern country lends itself so easily to the globe

trotter for travel and observation. And these throbbing arteries carry life and enterprise to all portions of the land. And many regions not yet made thus accessible will soon listen to the neighing of the iron horse and feel the pulsations of new life thereby. Two hundred and fifty million pounds have been expended in this work alone.

But better, if possible, than these roads is the grandly developing irrigation system which brings security of life and works prosperity wherever it reaches. Thirteen million acres are now artificially cultivated under this system. The last great enterprise in this line is the "Peryar Project," in South India. It was grand in its conception, perfect in its execution and is rich in its blessings. It consists in the diversion of a large river which vainly poured its treasures down the western mountain side into the Arabian Sea, causing its water to flow into the eastern plains to fertilize the thirsty land as far as the Bay of Bengal. It embraces the second largest dam in the world, a tunnel one and one-quarter miles long through the mountain, and many miles of distributing channels. It will irrigate at least 150,000 acres for rice cultivation and will feed 400,000 people. The writer lives in the heart of the region thus fertilized and refreshed, and can appreciate the joy of the people, who also stand astonished before the magic power of these white people who do for them what, they say, even their gods failed to accomplish.

Add to this the water works which are rapidly covering all the important towns of the land, and which save many thousands of lives annually.

In the town of Madura, where the writer lives, terrible cholera epidemics were of annual occurrence. Their devastating work we shall never forget. But during the last decade—since the water works were completed—this demon of diseases has lost its hold, life has resumed its preciousness, and sanitation has become a blessed reality. This grand effort to spread the blessings of good water throughout the land is the surest way to prevent the terrible scourges of famine and plague, and to add a large premium upon life and health.

Looking at the commerce of the Victorian reign alone, we see a growth of 1,000 per cent. in the imports and exports of India. The export of tea alone has risen from nothing to seventy thousand tons, and that of cotton from nothing to 220,000 tons. There are

now in the land 150 cotton mills with 150,000 laborers. Three million tons of coal are annually mined, and gold mines yield one million pounds, sterling, every year. It may indeed be said that India has now, for the first time in its history, taken a place as a land of manufactures, trade and commerce.

Political progress is also very marked. Before the British reign, India had never experienced the first taste of representative institutions. To-day, the query which arises in the mind of disinterested persons who know and love India is whether political rights and liberties have not, of late years, been conferred too rapidly upon the people. It should not be expected that a people who, by natural taste, instinct and unbroken heritage, are the children of the worst kind of autocratic and absolute forms of government, should acquire in an age or a century wisdom or aptitude to rule themselves. Taking the mass of Hindus, they ask no more, and seek nothing better, than a wise and kind paternal government. In this, as in all else, they love to be led; and they follow easily.

But there is a small and growing party of the soil who have aptly learned many of the lessons taught them by the rulers. The best acquired of all these lessons is that of the power of agitation and of the efficacy, among the Anglo-Saxon race, of the cry for human rights. The only difficulty is that one might suppose, from the language of some of these men, that England has not yet conceded to worthy Indians any of those political privileges which every Anglo-Saxon subject demands for himself. As a matter of fact, we see in all the municipalities a form of popular government such as not all Western countries enjoy. The power of franchise in the election of municipal commissioners is vested in all those who may be possessed of the least modicum of property. Even women enjoy this franchise. And it is a curious fact that natives in South India are protesting to-day, in the newspapers, against the granting of this power to women, because, they say, the power is exercised only by dancing girls and other public characters. To those who watch carefully the working of this municipal franchise and see how easily and speedily the natives have adopted all the vices and tricks of the representative system, it does not, by any means, seem an unmixed good. And the hardest critics of the system that the writer has met have been intelligent and loyal natives, who believe that this meed of self-government is fraught with evil. The District Boards also are composed almost entirely of native

gentlemen, and these have large powers in the administration of the internal affairs of the land. Moreover, these municipal and local bodies, together, elect members for the Provincial legislative bodies, where they enjoy recently enlarged powers of interpellating the government—a power which, by excessive use or abuse, they may soon forfeit. To all this must be added the freedom of the press, which also has recently been abused by the dissemination of seditious sentiments, but which adds immensely to the power of the people. Then the "National Congress" is a peculiar institution, which, while it gives scope to the political aspirations of many natives, adds, by its very existence, to the lustre of the British reign in the land. Just imagine, for a moment, such a Congress existing under Russian rule! It is true that the chief work of the Congress, in the past, has been to criticise and abuse government. By this it has alienated many of its best friends. Still, even as a public censor, it has doubtless done good, and it offers to the discontented a wholesome vent for pent-up ill feeling. It is also a remarkable gathering and illustrates one of the wonders which this government has accomplished. To think that, out of the babel of Indian tongues, there should gather together in one place annually some three thousand native gentlemen, to discuss state questions and to criticise one of the most modern of all governments in the pure English accents of Addison or of Macaulay! What an object lesson of progress in itself!

Nor is Great Britain as remiss, or as selfish, as many would lead us to believe in the distribution of the loaves of office. There are only 100,000 Britishers in this land—one to every three thousand of the population. Of these only 750 are found in the higher offices of government. In the Provincial services 2,449 natives are employed in high judicial and administrative posts. It is a significant fact that, out of 114,150 appointments, carrying Rs. 1,000 annually, 97 per cent. are in the hands of natives. To all offices below that of a Governor of a Province, natives are eligible. As Judges of the High Courts and as members of the legislative bodies, not a few Indians are now found; as they are also in the Indian Civil Service, which was so long exclusively filled by Anglo-Indians. It hardly appears how England can hold this great land to herself, and as a great member of her Empire, with fewer of her own citizens than are now found at the helm. Nor does it yet appear that a strong, efficient and acceptable government can be

maintained by a large reduction of this force. I use the word "acceptable" advisedly; and it is certainly the business of Great Britain to discover and consult the wishes of the people—not the hungry office seekers—in this matter. After many years of observation and living among the people, the writer is convinced that nine-tenths of the people would be prepared any day to vote in favor of the relative increase, and not the decrease, of the European official force. The people have found them to be just and honest. They know that they can be depended upon to administer justice with an even hand, and that they are incorruptible. In their own native officials they have no confidence. They have found, alas, too often that justice is sold to the highest bidder. The "middle men" who arrange such matters are too well known as the accompaniments of native courts of justice. It is true that some native officials are above such venality. But the writer knows how general is the want of native confidence in natives. Many a time has he been importuned to use his influence to have cases transferred from the jurisdiction of the native to the Englishman. And the reason invariably given is that "the white man will not accept bribes and will give justice." Indeed, it may be said that the chief difficulty which confronts the Government, in its great work, is that of saving the people from low, mercenary and unprincipled native officials—especially those of the lower and lowest grades. The police department is corrupt to the core. The common people dread the police almost more than they do the highwayman; for the constable rarely touches a case without making something out of the transaction, and is expert in manufacturing cases. It is hard to imagine how a department can be much more corrupt than this. And yet it is difficult to suggest a way of improving the department; for the system is not to blame, but the wretched class of men who have to be employed. What India needs to-day, above all else, is an honest, faithful, efficient class of officials. And the presence of the few English dignitaries does ten times more good to the land in purifying and toning up the service than their salary is worth.

The educational advance of the country has been quite phenomenal.

It is sadly true that, at present, only one male in ten, and one female in one hundred and sixty, is able to read. It is also true that, owing to the poverty of the country, such an excellent

and efficient system of popular education as the United States enjoys is an impossibility. Government in the main tries to aid and encourage private bodies in the educational line, and is supposed to conduct only a few model institutions of its own. It is also well known how opposed the people, even the Brahmans, have been to female education. And yet there are to-day 3,500,000 youths attending the public schools. And, of these, one-ninth (400,000), including 75,000 girls, are found in mission schools. There are 140 colleges affiliated with the few examining universities of the land. And in these are found 17,000 students, of whom more than 5,000 graduate yearly. Among the colleges the Madras Christian College stands supreme, with nearly 2,000 students in all its departments.

Under the influence of this educational work, which is conducted in such a way as to add supreme emphasis to an English training, there is a growing host of young men who are almost crazed with a passion for English culture and degrees. It is one of the problems of the day to direct the mind of this increasing army of university graduates to other professions than the over-crowded government service. There is a persistent feeling among these youth that it is the business of State to supply them with lucrative posts upon their graduation. And it is the disappointed element of this class which furnishes so many of the discontented, blatant demagogues who are almost a menace to the land.

Yet this educational work is one of the potent leavening influences of the land and is helping greatly in carrying quietly forward one of the mightiest revolutions that have been witnessed in any land. In its trail follows closely the social elevation of the people. The relaxation of the terrible caste system, the elevation of woman and her redemption from some of the cruelties and injustice of the past; the loud and general desire for a many-sided social reform—these and many other things bear unmistakable testimony to the new social life upon which the country is entering. It is true that a great deal of hollow cant and mawkish pretense joins in this chorus. Many prominent men eloquently proclaim, upon the platform, the glories of progress and the sacredness of individual liberty. The next hour they grovel as the abject slaves of debasing customs in their homes, and bend submissively to the reactionary dictates of their ignorant and superstitious grandmothers. But there is a small and growing body of men who

are tired of such loud-mouthed hypocrisy, and are demanding an all-round and heroic advance in all matters where reform is needed. And their voice will prevail.

Religiously, India has entered upon a new and wonderful era; not simply, or chiefly, because of a visible and strong tendency towards Christianity. The religion of Jesus is certainly making encouraging headway. Its more than two and a half million adherents in this land furnish abundant cheer and hope for its rapid and early triumph in this land of the Vedas.

Deep tides of influence, invisible to, and unfelt by, any save those in the country, are moving mightily towards the end of Christian hope and aspiration for this great people. The desire of India for Christ is not articulate, nor is it fully conscious of its trend. Even a strong feeling in the minds of many is peculiarly anti-Christian and pro-Vedantic. There is a cry from many for the conservation of the ancestral faith and for a hearty return to the faith of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the Bhagavad-gita. There is among such a fierce antagonism to all that is Christian, and especially to the missionary. But these noisy few are not the people; nor are they always sincere in their cry. The great excitement of a year and a half ago has passed. It was then that Vivekananda returned in triumph from his American campaign through which he claimed that he had gained numberless converts to his Vedantic faith. He led many to believe that Hinduism had suddenly waked up from its slumber of ages and was entering upon a glorious era of world-wide conquest. That wave has now subsided, and the yellow-robed "Swamy" with it.

Among the evidences of the religious progress of this era, are found more than twenty laws enacted by this government for the abolishment of cruelties carried on under the sanction of Hinduism. Not only Suttee, infanticide and thuggism, but other hideous and nameless evils have been prohibited; so that this ancient faith has put on an appearance of respectability, which would puzzle its devotees of a century ago could they return to see it now. Witness also the many Somajes which add picturesqueness to the religious life of the land. Perhaps the most noted, though not the most popular, is the Brahmo Somaj. The members of this new eclecticism and religious reform are not many, but they wield a large influence and they reveal a part of the general discontent with the religious past of the land.

Thus, to sum up, England has done bravely and well the mighty work undertaken by her in this historic land. She has not been, and is not now, without failings; and her line of progress is studded with many errors. But she has been faithful to her trust and has carried it out in no narrow, selfish way. The warm and deep loyalty of India bears testimony to this; for native sentiment reveals marked appreciation.

Mr. Dutt, an Indian and a retired member of the Civil Service, in his recent book on "England and India," remarks: "We have thrown in our lot with a nation, not only one of the greatest on earth, but also one of the most progressive. . . . Surely the history of India during a hundred years has been emphatically a history of progress. . . . The times are with us, and the signs of the times are so clear that he who runs may read."

Great Britain cannot be too careful in correcting her errors in her Indian rule and in studying to solve well the large and vital problems before her.

But she certainly merits all praise from the world for the heroic work done here during the last century and a half and the marvelous results achieved. And she deserves the supreme gratitude of a great people whom she has raised out of the depths of semi-barbarism and carried, in many respects, abreast of civilization and progress. This gratitude she has not only won; she is enjoying it, too, from the hearts of the many millions of this stolid but appreciative people.

J. P. JONES.

REVIVAL OF THE MORMON PROBLEM.

BY EUGENE YOUNG.

It is with no little wonder that the American people—still vaguely grappling with the results of the war with Spain—have turned from visions of imperial destiny to find renewed defiance of their political and social system in the very heart of the Republic. The nation had believed the Mormon question settled. When the Mormon leaders and conferences agreed, in 1890, that they no longer wished to disobey the will of the American people, and asked that they be considered only by the standard of Americanism, their pledges were accepted, and they were welcomed as prodigals, who thenceforth were not to disturb the domestic tranquility of the nation.

There seems to be a subtle connection, however, between our national troubles and the progress of Mormonism. The war with Mexico found the so-called Latter Day Saints leaving our Republic, embittered against all things American, and determined to find, in the unexplored West, a haven where they would be free from interference. They wanted a holy land—even like Judea of old—where their prophets would be kings, and where the test of the public official and the defender of the state would be his faith in their theology. They found this land, but, after they had settled it, our statesmanship made them Americans still in name, and changed the object of their ambition to that of swaying the great Republic to their own ends.

The beginning of the Civil War found this same people restrained from open sedition only by the presence among them of a strong military force, that was woefully needed for stamping out the first flames of rebellion in the South. The Mormons fretted under the nation's authority. They derided our laws and our system of marriage. They demanded, as of right, sovereign state-

hood, which would permit them to live their religion as they chose, to foster polygamy, and to perpetuate the terrible doctrine of blood atonement for sins. Such, indeed, was their disloyalty to their country in its time of peril that the troops, when called away for service against the forces of secession, destroyed cannon and ammunition rather than leave these stores where they might fall into Mormon hands. During the period of reconstruction the Americanism of Utah rested upon the guns of the fort which frowned upon its capital. Mormons openly defied the Government to administer its laws against polygamy, terrorized those who might think of leaving their fold or of ferreting out its secrets, and, finally, seeing the futility of armed resistance, stubbornly carried their fight into the courts of law in a vain endeavor to impress their practices upon the nation.

The contest, begun with the Civil War, lasted for thirty years; and, after they had exhausted every resource in their efforts to defend themselves, the Mormons declared they had surrendered to overwhelming power. They had, indeed. Their lands had been escheated. Their courts, their juries, their elections, their laws were controlled from Washington, and were in the hands of those who had no sympathy with their beliefs. Polygamists had been disfranchised in Utah and all Mormons disfranchised in Idaho. More than that, leading men and women were in prison for polygamy, or were in hiding from officials whose movements spread terror throughout their villages. Threatened with greater evils even than these, they had no alternative except to give some promise that would shield them for a time. That they did so only when they had fought their case through Congress and then through the Supreme Court of the United States and had found they need expect no mercy, shows how strong a hold their faith had upon them. Their surrender left Mormonism unchanged, however. They did not declare that they had been in the wrong. They did not admit that polygamy was not a part of the divine plan for the salvation of the world, nor that it was not proper for those who hold the keys of the priesthood to dictate the laws for the State. The most they said was that they would suspend these doctrines.

In view of such conditions, it is not strange that, at a time when the nation is preoccupied with great world problems, this people, whose one idea is that they are to overturn all worldly

government, should have found their opportunity of presenting again to Congress those principles for which they had sacrificed so much. That they have never really abandoned the idea of one day making these principles triumphant, and that their pretended surrender was only a *ruse* to gain the protection of statehood, are thoughts that are now impressing the minds of those who have followed the course of Mormonism since the supposed revolution in their faith.

In the first place, polygamy has not been abandoned as a necessary part of Mormon doctrine. It is still a principle as vital to salvation as that of repentance. The revelation which the "prophet," Joseph Smith, promulgated begins solemnly:

"Verily, thus saith the Lord unto you, My servant Joseph, that inasmuch as you have inquired of My hand to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified My servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, as also Moses, David and Solomon, My servants, touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines: Behold! and lo, I am the Lord, thy God, and will answer thee as touching this matter. Therefore, prepare to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same; *for behold, I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not by that covenant then ye are damned;* for no one can reject this covenant and be permitted to enter into My glory; for all who will have a blessing at My hands shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof *as was instituted from before the foundation of the world;* and as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of My glory; and he that receiveth the fullness thereof, must and shall abide the law or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God."

There is no hint, in these high-sounding phrases, of the polygamy of the Orientals, none of the merely physical elements on which are founded the harems of the Turk and the dreams of houris of the Arab. There is no suggestion of immorality that instinctively offends the senses. Rather, in the eyes of those who believe Joseph Smith was the "prophet," paving the way for the coming dispensation of Jesus Christ, the revelation is the reassertion of a majestic principle instituted by the God of the universe, and far above all thoughts of mere human passions. The revelation continues:

"Abraham received promises concerning his seed and of the fruit of his loins, from whose loins ye are—namely, My servant Joseph Smith—which were to continue so long as they were in the world, and, as touching Abraham and his seed out of the world they shall continue. This promise is yours also because ye are of Abraham. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into My law and ye shall be saved."

Succeeding prophets of the church have added to this doctrine,

strengthening the idea that the plan of plural marriage was not a temporary expedient, but a necessary part of the plan of salvation. Brigham Young told the people that Eve was only one of the wives of Adam when they came to this world to people it, and that Adam had come from among the gods, and was the only god with whom this world would be concerned. Men were taught that their position in the world to come would depend upon their activity in peopling this. Women were informed that the last dispensation—when Jesus Christ Himself should appear—was not far away, and that millions of souls were awaiting in the other world to be given "tabernacles of flesh" before that glorious time. Those who entered the order, it was declared, should become gods and rulers and queens in the world to come, while those who held themselves aloof should be only angels and servants to the faithful. In the Mormon theology, it will thus be seen, polygamy is not a question to be decided on grounds of human inclination, but a great vital principle on which is hinging salvation for themselves and for those souls in a previous existence who cannot reach the highest glory without being born into this world.

Against this stern and "everlasting" doctrine stands only one utterance of the Mormon church—the manifesto issued in 1890 by the late "prophet," Wilford Woodruff. By the liberal ones among the Mormons, and by the Gentiles hopeful of true Americanism in Utah, this document was taken as a formal abandonment of polygamy. Yet, when one reads it carefully, it appears woefully weak beside the command uttered by Joseph Smith. "My advice to the Latter Day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land," are the only words in it that can be construed as an abandonment of polygamy. In court, it is true, President Woodruff explained that the manifesto was intended to lead his people to "obey all the laws of the land." The present prophet, Lorenzo Snow, testified that the intention was that "the law should be observed in all matters concerning plural marriage." The manifesto was further interpreted in a petition for amnesty in 1891, addressed to President Cleveland, in which it was stated that "the present head of the church, in anguish and prayer, cried to God for help for his flock, and received permission to advise the members of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, that the law commanding polygamy was henceforth suspended."

Suspended! There is the key to the revival of the polygamy problem. There is not one syllable, in authoritative Mormon utterances, to show that the obligation to "do the works of Abraham" has been lessened in the theology of the church. There is nothing to show for what time the doctrine is suspended, and the inference is obvious that, whenever the Mormon priesthood shall decide to end the period of suspension, the revelation of Joseph Smith—still threatening damnation to those who refuse obedience—will have all its old force in Mormon theology. Nor is there any need of making public announcement of this decision. It may be carried in secret from the head of the church through the priesthood meetings to the faithful members, and no Gentile and no doubtful Mormon be the wiser. The revelation of polygamy for nine years was denied by Mormon leaders while they lived under the system, and was not announced until 1852, when, in the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, it was considered safe to give this new doctrine to the world.

Now, to turn to the other objectionable phase of Mormonism, it can be asserted with equal positiveness that the doctrine of church control in political affairs has not been modified, but at best merely altered in its application. It is this doctrine that has filled Mormon history with tales of riots and bloodshed, emigrations and suffering. From the organization of their church the Mormon people have always recognized a higher authority than the Government of the United States. That higher authority they have called God, but it has been represented by the "prophet" president of the church, his two counselors and the quorum of twelve apostles. Until the division on national party lines in Utah, in 1891, that authority had always been followed blindly and unitedly by the people. Such slavish obedience had aroused the anger of the people of Missouri and Illinois in turn, and in the first half of the century had caused the expulsion of the Mormons from the regions of civilization. In Utah it awakened the most bitter sentiment, Americans resenting the idea that any other motive than the good of the Republic should dictate the acts of voters.

Mormon theological works are filled with commands to the people to obey their leaders in the priesthood in all things. "His (the prophet's) words ye shall receive as if from My mouth," says one of Joseph Smith's revelations. "Whatever I might have ob-

tained in the shape of learning by search or study," said Wilford Woodruff in the days of his apostleship, "whatever principles I may have imbibed during my scientific researches, yet, if the prophet of God should tell me that a certain theory or principle which I might have learned was not true, I do not care what my ideas might have been, I would consider if my duty at the suggestion of my file leader to abandon that principle or theory." "If Brother Brigham (Young) tells me to do anything, it is the same as though the Lord told me to do it," said Heber C. Kimball, a leader of olden days. "Mormonism is comprised in one sentence," said Apostle George Teasdale a few years ago; "pay your tithing and obey the priesthood." It was under such doctrines as these that Joseph Smith, in Illinois, bargained with politicians for the votes of his people, and the successors of the "prophet" dictated the choice of officials in Utah from ward justices of the peace to delegate in Congress.

Immediately following the issuance of the manifesto on polygamy, or in 1891, the Mormon first presidency in an authorized interview gave what purported to be a promise that church and state in Utah should be separated. "The church will not assert any right to control the political action of its members," they said. They went even further, and made this personal statement: "As officers of the church, we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body." Here again, however, is a careful avoidance of any qualification of the vital principle of the Mormon faith. The pledges bind nobody as to action in politics, but simply disclaim a right supposed to exist. Mormon officials are as free as ever to "counsel" their followers in politics, as they do in church affairs and business matters, perhaps not asserting any right to dictate, but knowing that their doctrine makes their counsel the word of God to the faithful among their followers.

That a far stronger interpretation was put upon these pledges, by the liberal Mormons, by the Gentiles of Utah and by the people of the country, cannot be doubted. Americans are not used to the subtleties of Eastern diplomacy. They accepted the Mormon utterances in the broadest sense. Nor is this surprising when we remember that even those who had been able most keenly to penetrate the depths of Mormon practices, failed to note the inconclusive nature of assurances upon which the Mormon people

asked for statehood. Those who doubted had their suspicions set at rest by the belief that the Mormons themselves were weary of polygamy and priestly rule, and were prepared to resist any attempt to restore the conditions under which they suffered so grievously. Delegate J. L. Rawlins, now Senator, voiced the conservative sentiment in Utah when he said, in the House of Representatives, in 1893: "The people of Utah shrink from no test not violative of the fundamental principles upon which our institutions rest;" and "the practice of polygamy is not only discontinued, but, so far as the great mass of the Mormon people is concerned, is eradicated as a belief."

It is only now—when Utah has sent as its Representative in Congress one who typifies militant Mormonism—that the real nature of Mormon surrender has been learned; and the Gentiles of Utah are coming to realize that they are at last under the complete control of a sect which seems determined to compel the nation to recognize that which it has been at so much pains to repress. This is a strong statement, involving as it does the weal of a people three hundred thousand strong. I would hesitate long to make it, had not personal investigation, conversations with those who have watched the growth of Mormonism for a score of years, contact with Mormons who guide the policy of the church, and a close study of the course of affairs in Utah since 1890, brought the conviction that the un-American policy of Brigham Young is the policy of Lorenzo Snow and his followers.

Sufficient evidence in support of this statement is found in the attitude of Brigham H. Roberts, whom the people of Utah elected to Congress last November by a majority of 6,000. Around him have centered many of the dramatic events in the recent political history of Utah, and he represents, perhaps better than anybody else, the aspirations of the Mormon leaders and the obedience of their followers. He is a high official, one of the "first seven presidents of seventies," the leaders of the great body of elders. He is the author of the leading modern works on Mormon theology, including an essay to prove that all the Christian churches apostatized after the time of Christ; a pamphlet to demonstrate that Brigham Young was the legitimate successor of Joseph Smith; a discussion of the first principles of the Mormon gospel, and finally a volume upholding the divinity of the mission of Joseph Smith. He has devoted many years to missionary work

for the church, and, in 1893, he was formally recognized as the leading speaker in it by being chosen to present its doctrines to the Congress of Religions at the World's Fair in Chicago.

In his latest volume, "The New Witness for God," is found the advanced belief of Mormonism. The work was examined by a committee of theologians, appointed especially by the first presidency of the church, who pronounced it "orthodox and consistent with our teachings." It was published in 1895, years after the supposed revolution within the church, and yet there is in it no sign of abatement of the doctrines taught by Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. No stronger assertion of the ideas underlying polygamy could be found than in this passage:

"When I say that the prophet taught that the resurrection is a reality, that the relationship of husband and wife is intended to be eternal, together with all its endearing affections, I mean all that in its most literal sense. . . . Instead of the God-given power of pro-creation being one of the chief things that is to pass away, it is *one of the chief means of man's exaltation and glory in that great eternity* which, like an endless vista, stretches out before him. Through it, man attains to the glory of the endless increase of eternal lives, and the right of presiding as priest and patriarch, king and lord over his ever-increasing posterity. . . . Through that law, in connection with all the other laws of the Gospel, *man will yet attain unto the power of the Godhead.*"

Nor is the assertion of the authority of the priesthood any less emphatic. Speaking of the organization of the Mormon church, he says:

"First and highest of all officers, stands the first presidency, consisting of three presiding high priests. *Their jurisdiction and authority are universal.* Their jurisdiction extends over all the affairs of the church, as well in temporal as in spiritual things. . . . The quorum of the twelve apostles are equal in power and authority to the first presidency. . . . The first quorum of seventies" (of which Mr. Roberts is a president) "are equal in authority to the quorum of the twelve. . . . None, not even the highest, is beyond the operation of the laws and councils of the church."

Now, having demonstrated, I believe, that Mormonism is still unchanged theoretically, it remains only to inquire whether its practices are still in accord with its theories. Has it really abandoned polygamy as an active tenet, and has the authority of the priesthood been absent from the councils of state in Utah since 1891?

Answering the first half of the question, we have abundant evidence that polygamy in one form, at least, is still being actively practiced in the State. Mr. Roberts was opposed, throughout his canvass for Congress, on the ground that one of plural

wives had borne children to him within two years. This not only was not denied, but it brought forth the statement that the leading men of the church were in the same position, President Snow himself being publicly charged with having a child by his last plural wife within the last two years. The Presbyterian missionaries of Utah declared that more than 2,000 children had been born in polygamy since Utah became a State on the first of January, 1896; and the reply of the Mormon church to this assertion was an editorial in the "Deseret News," the official church organ, declaring that there was an "understanding, not to say, contract," with the nation that old relations should not be disturbed, and that the system should be permitted to die out with this generation. There is no disposition anywhere to deny that polygamous relations entered into before 1890 are still continued.

This in itself is highly significant, as indicating a Mormon purpose to uphold plural marriage at all hazards. That there was no "understanding" that these relations should be continued is easily demonstrated. The amnesty proclamations of both Presidents Harrison and Cleveland extended executive clemency to those polygamists only, who should not thereafter transgress the law against "cohabitation" with plural wives. Moreover, the Mormon legislature of 1892 passed a territorial law to punish all who might commit this offence; that law was drafted into the statute books of the State by a code commission headed by a Mormon, and it still exists there, though now made a dead letter.

There would be little disposition, however, to renew the attack on the Mormons, if this were their only offence. It might be considered too ungenerous, no doubt, to demand that women who had been sealed to men in plurality for "time and eternity" should be put aside by their husbands. The really important question in this connection is, whether the disregard of this one obligation by the people is paving the way for the announcement that new polygamous marriages are being made, and that the doctrine is being taught within the church with its old vigor.

In a recent visit to Utah I had occasion to investigate, in Salt Lake City, twenty cases wherein it was charged that new polygamous marriages had been made. These were not isolated instances, either, for I received evidence that such cases could be multiplied many fold in other parts of the State. The evidence, I found, was of such a nature that I could not doubt there had

been new marriages, that the church had sanctioned them, and that every precaution was being taken to keep them secret, until the time should come when the church should see fit to announce openly its determination to restore plural marriage. Former Senator Frank J. Cannon, in a recent address in Salt Lake City, has openly charged two leading apostles with such a design. Members of the twelve apostles and the first quorum of seventies, who, to quote Mr. Roberts, "are the witnesses of the Lord Jesus Christ in all the nations of the earth," figured in these instances.

In cases of this nature the ceremony is believed to have been performed outside of Utah, in order to retain the appearance of respecting the constitutional prohibition of polygamous marriages, exacted by Congress as a condition of statehood. There are large colonies of Mormons in Canada and Mexico, and in them it is charged such marriages are being performed. Proof of the ceremonies is, however, inaccessible. The whole power of our Government could never bring forth a record of polygamous marriages, and only twenty-nine convictions for the offense of taking new wives were made in the seven years of the polygamy prosecutions, as against hundreds for "unlawful cohabitation."

Such a state of affairs, in fact, would be in thorough accord with the present teachings in the church. "The belief in plural marriage is as much a part of our belief as it ever was," are the words uttered last year by Owen A. Woodruff, the youngest member of the Apostles. "I feel to sustain the principles of the gospel, even to the extent of taking more wives, if necessary," are the words of Apostle Heber J. Grant, spoken only last November. Mr. Roberts taunted the Christians in the "Improvement Era," a church publication, last May, with the necessity of believing in polygamy if they believed in Abraham. Such teachings within the last three years, in priesthood meetings, gatherings of young men and women, in the Mormon press, and even in the conferences of the people, are portents of the new revival within the church.

Turning now to the latter part of our question, the proof is more definite as to the relations between church and State. Revelations of secret manipulations made within the last three years demonstrate that at no time have the church leaders lost their control of politics. My statements on this point are based on evidence of which there has been no attempt at contradiction.

The division of the Mormon people in 1891 into Democrats and Republicans was not a spontaneous popular movement. It was decided upon at a meeting of the church leaders and the territorial committee of the People's or Mormon party. The Saints, left to their own resources, turned overwhelmingly to the Democratic party in the first year of their freedom. The Mormon leaders soon found this unfortunate, however, for their representatives were received coldly by President Harrison and a Republican Senate when attempts were made to secure statehood and amnesty for polygamy. Orders were then given that the people should be more evenly divided, in order to enable the leaders to hold a balance of power, as well as to make both parties anxious to gain the support of the prospective State. Apostles went through the territory, and in priesthood meetings actually designated men to be Republicans, and gave orders for the equal division. The result was a great decrease in the Democratic vote in 1892, and the election of a Republican delegate in 1894. An admission was made in the recent session of the Utah Legislature, on behalf of George Q. Cannon, of the Mormon first presidency, that in this time "he did plead with some of the brethren that they did not have to be Democrats."

This programme was opposed by an influential element in the church, the leaders of which were Moses Thatcher, B. H. Roberts and A. W. Ivins. These men gained a great following by 1895, the year of the first election of State officers. In the northern and southern counties of Utah, they had organized formidable opposition among the young Mormons, and had set at defiance the orders of the priesthood. Mr. Ivins was the choice of the younger Democratic element for Governor, but a week before the party's State convention he was ordered to take charge of the Mexican mission of the church, and could do nothing but obey. Mr. Thatcher was nominated for a Senatorship and Mr. Roberts for Congressman. In the midst of their canvass, President Woodruff criticised them for not taking counsel of their church leaders before accepting the nominations, and it was then that a Democratic State convention was reconvened, open charges of the use of church influence were made by Mormons, and strong resolutions demanding the divorcement of church and state were adopted. Mr. Thatcher and Mr. Roberts both defied their eccelesiastical superiors, and were supported by a great body of the churchmen.

They were defeated, however, and at the next conference a manifesto was issued by the high church authorities, which said:

"We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the church and by every leading official thereof, that, before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn whether he can, consistently with the obligations already entered into with the church upon assuming office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position."

Mr. Thatcher refused to sign this document. He was stripped of his apostleship, hurt in his business affairs, partially ostracised socially, and defeated in his effort to be elected to the United States Senate. Mr. Roberts signed the manifesto. He retired from the editorial chair of the "Salt Lake Herald" because of his action, and for two years took no part in politics. In the meantime, the leaders of the independent element of young Mormons were crushed politically, or sent away on missions for the church, and the rebellion died out. The result was the nomination last year of Mr. Roberts by a Democratic convention, which obeyed the will of Apostle Grant, the church leader who had been most active in suppressing all opposition to the political manifesto. Of those young Mormons who led the fight against church and State, Mr. Roberts is the only one who has succeeded in Utah politics, and the favor undoubtedly has come to him because he gave his influence to the church at the critical moment when it had set out to crush Mr. Thatcher.

Practically every important executive office in Utah is now in the hands of those who can be trusted to make no objection to the plans of the church leaders. The Legislature is kept in constant touch with the church office, when in sesssion, by a committee of high churchmen, who watch all legislation and counsel policy in all matters in which Mormon interests may be concerned.

Only one political organization of importance is held by the Gentiles—the School Board of Salt Lake City. An election for members of that body, last December, is the best illustration of the union of church and State, even in the centre of enlightenment of Utah. The Mormons needed one member of the Board to divide it evenly and two for a majority. They wished to control the Salt Lake City system, in order to abolish a high school which seriously competes with their church seminaries, to stop the liberal

teachings that have been turning young Mormons away from the doctrines of their fathers, and also because of patronage and a salary list of $155,000 yearly. Once in control, the Mormon leaders could put devout churchmen in place of the teachers now employed—many of whom are of their faith however—and could exact from appointees the payment of the tithing which the church demands.

In one of the municipal wards of Salt Lake City, in December, a Mormon was openly a candidate against a Gentile who had been nominated by a non-partisan convention. In another, a candidate who had been nominated by a mass meeting was apparently unopposed, but learned only on the day before election that the Mormon leaders were plotting to defeat him, and that orders had been given by priests that all good Saints should vote for another man. These priests worked for the Mormon candidate at the polls next day, and it was only by a few score of votes out of 2,200 that the people's candidate was elected. Some liberal Mormons refused to follow priestly counsel, and saved the schools to the Gentiles; but the proof is clear that the great body of the churchmen in the capital itself are ready to do what they are told is in the "interests of Zion."

These are the conditions which have driven all the ministers of the Protestant churches of Utah together, and have brought a firm belief to many of the Gentiles that the old Mormon and anti-Mormon parties will soon be restored. What the end of such a fight would be no person can tell. The Mormons comprise about three-fourths of the population of Utah, and, with its immense power, the church could always rely on having a substantial following among the Gentiles. It would be forced to meet discontent and dissatisfaction within its own ranks, but a serious schism could not occur. Any attempt to start a movement against the designs of the leaders would be crushed, just as the Thatcher rebellion was. At any moment, the whole business, political and religious pressure of the priesthood can be brought against any man who might dare stand as a leader against it. In the history of Mormonism nobody has been found strong enough to resist this pressure. Mr. Thatcher, the strongest of all the revolutionists, bowed before the threat that he would be cast out from the body, believing, as he did, that by excommunication he would lose his hope of salvation.

The priesthood can always rely on the women. They have been the strength of the church, even under that system of polygamy which made them "living martyrs." They have the full right of suffrage, and none who is not in accord with the church authorities need look for their support. The men are subject to a constant discipline that keeps them at all times in sympathy with the ambitions of the leaders. There are 1,500 Mormon missionaries now in the foreign work of the church, the brightest of its young men, the future leaders in all matters. They are compelled to sacrifice everything and to labor for two or three years far from home in the interests of their religion. None who goes through this experience ever forgets the power of the priesthood, and each understands that if he should show too great a spirit of independence, he may be called again to make the sacrifice. No young man in the church may be married in one of the temples unless he is faithful and obedient to his superiors, and no young woman would consider herself married in the sight of God unless she was "sealed" by the proper authorities. In business, in politics, in social life, everywhere, the young man meets the church, and he must be of iron if he dares to stand out against it. Many have done so in the past, but they have been the exceptions. Their numbers have never been sufficient to offset the church itself.

Thus, at present, the control of affairs in Utah lies wholly with the priesthood. It has spread its influence from Lethbridge, in Canada, to the centre of Chihuahua, in Mexico. Mormons have eleven members of the Legislature in Idaho, their settlements are spreading through Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Washington and Nevada. Their ambition is to control the nations of the world, and they have been promised that the time is not far distant when they will spread over North and South America, and become rulers of men, indeed. They have 300,000 members now. They gained 63,000 in membership last year, exceeding all other churches in their success in missionary work. Aggressive, devoted, determined, they present again a problem that well merits the attention of our wisest statesmen.

EUGENE YOUNG.

RECOLLECTIONS OF "ORION" HORNE.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

THE recent publication of the love letters which passed, in 1845 and 1846, between Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett, has blown a little of the dust off several names which were brightly before the public then and have become sadly obscured since. The two learned lovers speak of Mr. Serjeant Talfourd and of his incomparable tragedy of "Ion," of Sir John Hanmer and his sonnets, of the terrible criticisms of Chorley, of the writings of Abraham Heraud and Silk Buckingham and Cornelius Mathews. These are faded notorieties with a vengeance. But amongst these names, faintly echoing from the earliest Victorian period, we meet with one more than the rest deserving of perpetuation, with at all events a greater mass of actually accomplished work attached to it, the name of Mr. Horne, the author of "Cosmo de Medici," of "Gregory VII.," and, above all, of "the farthing epic," the once extremely celebrated "Orion." And with this there comes vividly back to me a vision of an extraordinary personage, of whom I saw a great deal in my youth, and of whom I feel disposed to garner some of my impressions before I lose them.

He had been baptized Richard Henry Horne, but in late middle life he had changed the second of these names to Hengist. It was in 1874 that I set eyes on him first, in circumstances which were somewhat remarkable. The occasion was the marriage of the poet, Arthur O'Shaughnessy, to the eldest daughter of Westland Marston, the playwright. There was a large and distinguished company present, and most of the prominent "Preraphaelites," as they were still occasionally called. In the midst of the subsequent festivities, and when the bride was surrounded by her friends, a tiny old gentleman cleared a space around him, and, all uninvited, began to sit upon the floor and sing, in a funny little cracked

voice, Spanish songs to his own accompaniment on the guitar. He was very unusual in appearance. Although he was quite bald at the top of his head, his milk-white hair was luxuriant at the sides, and hung in clusters of ringlets. His moustache was so long that it became whisker, and in that condition drooped, also in ringlets, below his chin. The elder guests were inclined to be impatient, the younger to ridicule this rather tactless interruption. Just as it seemed possible something awkward would happen, Robert Browning stepped up and said, in his loud, cheerful voice: "That was charming, Horne! It quite took us to 'the warm South' again," and cleverly leading the old gentleman's thoughts to a different topic, he put an end to the incident.

This scene was very characteristic of Horne, who was gay, tactless and vain to a remarkable degree. He had lately come back from Australia, where nothing had gone well with him for long together, and he did not understand the ways of the younger generation in London. But to those who could be patient with his peculiarities, he offered a very amusing study. He had delightful stories, many of which are still inedited, of the great men of his youth—Wordsworth, Hunt, Hazlitt, in particular. But he himself, with his incredible mixture of affectation and fierceness, humor and absurdity, enthusiasm and ignorance, with his incoherency of appearance, at once so effeminate and so muscular, was better than all his tales. He was a combination of the troubadour and the prize-fighter, on a miniature scale. It was impossible not to think of a curly white poodle when one looked at him, especially when he would throw his fat little person on a sofa and roll about, with gestures less dignified than were, perhaps, ever before seen in a poet of between seventy and eighty years. And yet he had a fine, buoyant spirit, and a generous imagination with it all. But the oddity of it, alas! is what lingers in the memory—those milky ringlets, the extraordinary turn of the head, the embrace of the beribboned guitar!

In a pathetic little letter which Horne wrote to me in his eightieth year, he said, quite placidly, that though he was now forgotten, no poet had ever had more pleasant things said of him by people dead and gone. It was perfectly true. Wordsworth and Tennyson, Leigh Hunt and Walter Savage Landor, had all praised his poetry; Carlyle had declared that "the fire of the stars was in him," and G. H. Lewes that he was "a man of the most unques-

tionable genius." How highly Robert and Elizabeth Browning regarded him may be seen, over and over again, in the course of their correspondence. But his talent was of a very fugitive kind. He was a very remarkable poet for seven or eight years, and a tiresome and uninspired scribbler for the rest of his life. His period of good work began in 1837, when he published "Cosmo de Medici" and "The Death of Marlowe;" it closed in 1843, with the publication of "Orion," and the composition of all that was best in the "Ballad Romances." If any one wished to do honor to the *manes* of poor old Horne—and in these days far less distinguished poets than he receive the honors of rediscovery—the way to do it would be to publish in one volume the very best of his writings, and nothing more. The badness of the bulk of his later verse is outside all calculation. How a man who had once written so well as he, could ever come to write, for instance, "Bible Tragedies" (1881), is beyond all skill of the literary historian to comprehend.

But, although Horne was, for a short time, a good poet, he was always more interesting as a human being. His whole life was an adventure; it was like a "book for boys." He was pleased to relate that even his birth was not ordinary, for he came into the world so exactly at the stroke of midnight on the last day of the year, that it could never be decided whether he was born in 1802 or 1803. I do not know who his parents were or what his family. In the days when I saw so much of him, he appeared to be quite solitary; he never spoke of possessing a relative. He was trained for the army, and lost his chance through some foolish escapade. But before this he had been at school at Enfield, where Tom Keats, the poet's brother, and Charles Wells, who wrote "Joseph and His Brethren," had been his school-fellows. He used to tell us in his old age that he was once scampering out of school, when he saw the chaise of Mr. Hammond, the surgeon, standing at the door. John Keats, who was Hammond's apprentice, was holding the horse, his head sunken forward in a brown study; the boys, who knew how pugnacious Keats was, dared Horne to throw a snowball at him, which Horne did, hitting Keats in the back of the head, and then escaping round the corner at a headlong pace. It used to be very thrilling, in the eighties, to hear the old gentleman tell how he had actually snowballed Keats; almost as though one should arise and say that he had sold Shakespeare a cheese-cake.

Just before he should have entered Sandhurst, the young Horne was lured away to America, and offered himself as a volunteer in the war of Mexican independence. He entered the new Mexican navy as a midshipman, and dashed about under irregular fire at the bombardment of Vera Cruz and at the seige of San Juan Ulloa. He used to tell us that he never would miss his swim in the sea in the morning, nor return to the ship until he had been well within range of the guns of Vera Cruz. The Spaniards could never hit him, he said; but one day when he was making a long nose at the gunners, he was as nearly as possible swallowed from behind by a shark. I forget how he accounted for his escape, but there was always a good deal of Baron Munchausen about Mr. Horne.

When the Mexican War was over, he strolled across the United States, with a belt full of doubloons girded about his person, and visited the Mohawks, the Oneidas and the Hurons. After many strange adventures, he must needs bathe in public under the cataract of Niagara. Two of his ribs were found to be broken when he was fished out again, insensible. He then took a steerage passage in a steamer that was wrecked in the St. Lawrence. He walked in moccasins over to Halifax, Nova Scotia, and started again in a timber ship, whose crew rose in mutiny, and set fire to her in mid-Atlantic; Mr. Horne quelled the mutiny and put out the fire, to the eternal gratitude of the captain, who fell upon his knees upon the deck and kissed his hands. I delighted in Mr. Horne's stories of his past life, but sometimes I used to fear that he exaggerated.

It was not until he was thirty years of age that Horne began to take up literature, and he was thirty-five when he enjoyed his first success with "Cosmo de Medici," an historical tragedy in blank verse, which has some very fine passages, and was greatly admired in the London coteries. Then came the period of seven years, of which I have spoken, in which Horne really took his place, with Browning and Tennyson, as one of the most promising young poets of the age. If he had died in 1844, he would probably hold a high place still, as an "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," but unfortunately he lived for forty more years, and never discovered that his talent had abandoned him. His "Orion," which was published in 1843, was brought out at the price of one farthing. Elizabeth Barrett sent out to the nearest book shop for

a shilling's worth, but was refused her four dozen copies. Purchasers had to produce their brass farthing for each "Orion," and no change was given. This was done "to mark the public contempt into which epic poetry has fallen," but it was also a very good advertisement. Everybody talked about Mr. Horne's "farthing" poem, and after some editions had run out, the price was cautiously raised. But when the tenth edition appeared, at a cost of seven shillings, the public perceived that its leg was being pulled, and it purchased "Orion" no more. In spite of all this, "Orion" is far, indeed, from being a humorous composition; it is an epical romance of Greek mythology, with some remote relation to the "Hyperion" of Keats, and contains some noble passages of poetry.

Space is not here at my command to say what varied employments Horne took up when the Muses began to abandon him. He was sub-editor of "Household Words" under Dickens, and special commissioner of the "Daily News" to Ireland when the great famine broke out. Suddenly, and desperately determined to marry, he went down to stay with Miss Mitford in Berkshire, and proposed to all the neighbouring heiresses one after another, to the intense indignation of that lady, who declared that he had used her hospitable dining-room to propose to a lady (with £50,000 a year) at lunch, and to another (with £40,000 a year) at tea. None of these efforts was crowned with success; perhaps, he had the presumption to be in love with Elizabeth Barrett, whom he had at that time never seen, although oceans of correspondence had passed between them. At all events, directly Robert Browning had carried off his eminent bride, Horne appeared with a little Miss Foggs upon his arm, whom he presently marrried. They did not get on together; why should history conceal the fact, when Horne himself was wont to dilate upon it so freely to his friends? Mrs. Horne, in tears, threw herself upon the paternal sympathy of Charles Dickens, and Horne sought a southern hemisphere.

In Australia he was commander of the Gold Escort, and it was delightful, years afterward, to hear him tell how he convoyed several tons of bullion from Ballarat to Melbourne amid every species of peril. Then he became Gold Commissioner to the Government, but here his flow of high spirits carried him away. He then flung himself into the cultivation of the cochineal insect, edited a Victorian newspaper, became Commissioner of Waterworks, gave

lessons in gymnastics, professed the art of natation, and was one of the starters of Australian wine-growing. Long afterwards, when the first Australian cricketers came over to England, Horne wrote to me: "I learn that the cricketers have made *each* £1,000 over here! Why, oh! why did not I become an Australian cricketer, instead of an unprofitable swimmer? When years no longer smiled upon my balls and runs, I might have retired upon my laurelled bat, and have published tragedies at my own expense. Is there any redress for these things in another world? I don't think so; I shall be told I had my choice." He certainly paid his money. No one, I suppose, ever failed in so many brilliant, unusual enterprises, every one of which was sure to succeed when he adopted it.

When he came back from Australia, I think about 1869, he was in very low water. He had managed very deeply to offend Charles Dickens, who had taken up the cause of Horne's neglected wife. What happened to Horne in the early years after his return, I never heard; I fancy that he went abroad for some part of the time. A little later, Robert Browning, who had always felt a sincere regard for Horne, was able to be of practical service to him. He was encouraged to republish his poems, and to appeal by means of them to the new age. In these days, one used to meet him at afternoon parties, carrying with great care, under his arm, the precious guitar, which he called "my daughter," and was used ceremoniously to introduce as "Miss Horne." A little later Horne would be discovered on a low stool, warbling Mexican romances, or murmuring with exaggerated gallantry to the prettiest girl in the room. At this time he was thirsting for publicity—if he could only be engaged to sing in public, to box in public, to swim in public, how happy he would be! It used to be said that when he was nearly seventy, Horne persuaded the captain of a ship to tie his legs together and fling him into the sea, and that he swam with ease to the boat. A wonderful little ringletted athlete, no doubt!

A great deal of Horne's work in verse, and even in prose, remains unpublished, and is not very likely, I should think, to be ever printed. As I have said, his faculty, which had been so graceful, faded away from him about forty years before he died. When he was in Australia he wrote a good deal, among other things a choral drama, "Prometheus, the Fire-Bringer," which was actually composed out in the bush, and lost, and written all over again,

still in the bush. The first edition of this poem is styled "by Richard *Henry* Horne," and the second, which followed soon after, "by Richard *Hengist* Horne," showing the period at which he adopted the more barbaric name. I have glanced through a mass of Horne's manuscript, which I possess (I believe that Mr. Buxton Forman possesses a great deal more), to see whether I can find anything unpublished which is good enough to offer to the readers of this REVIEW. The following impromptu is at least brief; it was composed when the poet was in his seventy-eighth year:

"THE SPRING-TIDE OF THE BARDS.

"Ah, where is the Spring-tide of Poets of old,
When Chaucer lov'd April and all her sweet showers,
When Spenser's knights felt not their armor strike cold,
Tho' lost in wet forests or dreaming in bowers?
'Tis a far other planet to us in this season,
And Nature must own we complain with some reason!

"For north winds, and east winds, and yellow-fac'd fogs,
And thunders and lightnings that scare buds and shoots,
May cheer the hoarse chorus of cold-blooded frogs,
But Man craves life's future, and fears for its fruits.
Then come again, Spring, like the dear songs of old,
Where the crocus smiled daily in sunlight and gold."

Horne's cheerfulness was a very pleasant feature in his character. Life had treated him very badly, love had missed him, fame had come down and crowned him, and then had rudely snatched the laurel away. If ever a man might have been excused for sourness, it was Horne. But he was a gallant little old man, and if it was impossible not to smile at him, it was still less possible not to recognize his courage and his spirit. Curiously enough, Elizabeth Barrett, who carried on so close a correspondence with Horne in her unmarried days, but who, warned by Miss Mitford, never would allow him to call upon her in person, had an accurate instinct of his merits and his weaknesses, and all the casual remarks about Horne, which she makes in the course of her letters to Robert Browning, strike one who knew Horne well in later years as singularly exact and perspicuous. His edition of her letters to him, published about twenty years ago in two volumes, is becoming a rare book, and contains many things of remarkable interest and importance.

It was from 1876 to 1879 that we saw him most frequently. He was living at this time in two rooms in Northumberland Street, Regent's Park, in very great poverty, which he bore with the gayest

and most gallant *insouciance*. An attempt was made—indeed, several attempts were made—to secure for him a little pension from the Civil List, and these were supported by Carlyle and Browning, Tennyson and Swinburne, to name no smaller fry. But all in vain; for some reason, absolutely inscrutable to me, these efforts were of no avail. It was darkly said that Mr. Gladstone would never, never yield; and he never did. When Lord Beaconsfield came into office, he granted the poor little old man £50 a year, but even then he had not too much food to eat nor clothes to keep him warm. Still he went bravely on, shaking his white ringlets and consoling himself with his guitar. He was fond of mystery, which is a great consoler. For economy's sake, he used to write on post-cards, but always with a great deal of care, so that the postman should be none the wiser. I have such a post-card before me now; it is an answer to a proposal of mine that he should come in and take dinner with us:

"Nov. 29, 1877.

"The Sharpshooter's friendly shot just received. By adroitly porting my helm, and hauling out my flying-jib, I shall, by 7 o'clock this evening, be able to get the weather-gauge of the Cape I was bound for, and run into your Terrace. Thine, REEFER."

Nothing, surely, could be more discreet than that.

To the very last he was anxious to regain his old place as a man of letters, and his persistency was really quite pathetic. One did not know what to do with his suggestions. I appeal to any one acquainted with the business of literature whether anything can be more trying than to receive this sort of communication:

"Don't you think curiosity might be aroused if you could induce the editor of the —— to print something of this kind: 'We understand that a leading periodical will shortly contain a Dramatic Scene by the Author of 'Orion,' entitled 'The Circle of the Regicides,' in which such interlocutors as Dr. Kobold, Prof. Franz Tollkopf, Hans Arbeitsdulder and Baron Dumm von Ehrsucht, will represent certain well-known characters. There will also be brought upon the scene the Apparitions of Brutus, Cromwell, the patriot Mazzini, and the philanthropist Robert Owen; together with a chorus of French and Russian revolutionists, with a trio and chorus of female Regicides.' On second thoughts, perhaps, better stop after 'Owen.'"

It was difficult to bring such suggestions as these within the range of practical literature.

Horne's physical strength was very extraordinary in old age. It was strangely incompatible with the appearance of the little man, with his ringletted locks and mincing ways. But he was past seventy before he ceased to challenge powerful young swim-

mers to feats of natation, and he very often beat them, carrying off from them cups and medals, to their deep disgust. He was nearly eighty when he filled us, one evening, with alarm by bending the drawing-room poker to an angle in striking it upon the strained muscles of his fore-arm. He was very vain of his physical accomplishments, and he used to declare that he was in training to be a centenarian. These are things that should never be said, they tempt the fates; so one day, just after poor Mr. Horne had been boasting, he was knocked down by a van in Lisson Grove, and, although he rallied in a wonderful way, he was never the same man again. Presently, on the 13th of March, 1884, he died at Margate, whither he had been removed to take the benefit of the sea-air. He was in his eighty-third year. It would be a great pity that a man so unique and so picturesque should be forgotten. As long as the world is interested in Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Horne can never be entirely forgotten, but he deserves to be remembered for his own sake.

EDMUND GOSSE.

BRITISH CAPITAL ABROAD.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F.S.S.

THE rapid growth of British investments in foreign countries is one of the most striking features of the concluding quarter of the nineteenth century. Widespread and vast as is the colonial empire of England, the rule of British capital is still more extended. It may be termed universal; for there is hardly a nook or corner of the globe where we are not confronted with docks, railways, shipping, banks, newspapers, water works, tramways, factories, etc., bearing the hall-mark of British gold, as conspicuous as the letters, "S . P. Q. R.," in ancient Rome. The heart of the true-born Englishman swells with pride at this manifestation of British wealth and enterprise, and yet he is, perhaps, mistaken in his reading of the oracle. And here, by way of preamble, it may be well to lay down a few general remarks, viz.: (1.) Investments abroad are a portion of the floating capital of a nation; (2.) The floating capital of Great Britain is much larger than that of other European countries; (3.) Floating capital may increase or diminish without reference to national wealth; (4.) Borrowing countries are sometimes richer than those that lend; (5.) Any arguments based on the overflow of capital as a proof of prosperity are fallacious.

1.—FLOATING CAPITAL.

Under this heading are comprised all stocks and shares, of whatever kind, that may be transferred from hand to hand at a moment's notice. It includes not only every variety of joint-stock companies, but also all public debts, national or local, and hence must always be considered apart from public wealth. Any fresh issue of public debt increases floating capital, but adds nothing to a nation's wealth; in like manner, a reduction of

debt reduces floating capital, without detracting from the public fortune. Although there is no relationship between the two, it is well, for the sake of comparison, to place side by side the latest estimates of wealth and floating capital of the principal European States, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		Dollars per Inhabitant.	
	Wealth.	Float. Capital.	Wealth.	Float. Capital.
United Kingdom..	59,100	21,200	1,480	530
France.....	48,400	13,160	1,260	340
Germany.....	40,200	7,360	790	144
Russia.....	32,100	2,030	305	18
Austria	22,600	1,960	525	46
Italy	15,800	1,410	510	46
Belgium....	4,900	1,420	790	225
Holland....	4,400	1,090	980	240
Eight countries	227,500	49,630	700	154

Neymarck showed in 1895 that the floating capital of France consisted of 10,820 million dollars at home and 2,340 millions invested abroad. An official return for Belgium, in March, 1898, sums up 1,420 million dollars. The figures for the other countries in the above table (except the United Kingdom), are taken from a table published by *L'Economiste Frangais* in 1897. If we make a reasonable estimate for countries omitted, the total floating capital of Europe will be found to reach 52 milliards (52,000 millions) of dollars, which may be classified under three heads, as in the following table:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1848.	1870.	1897.
Debts.....	8,260	15,820	27,500
Railway Stock*.....	2,020	6,380	12,800
Miscellaneous.....	2,060	4,440	11,700
Total.....	12,340	26,640	52,000

Thus it appears that the floating capital of Europe has doubled since 1870, and quadrupled since 1848. Debts, national and municipal, have risen with astonishing rapidity, and the joint stock system has received unprecedented impulse from the onward march of commerce and civilization, calling for new railways, banks, mining and other enterprises, in all parts of the world.

2.—NEW CAPITAL CREATED

In 1893, Neymarck published a statement of the issue of new capital in Europe during twenty-two years, thus:

* This item represents the value of European railways at the respective dates, after deducting State railways.

	Millions of Dollars.		Millions of Dollars.	
	New Capital.	Yearly.	France took	Yearly.
1871-85	20,100	1,340	4,120	275
1886-92	10,100	1,443	1,400	200
Twenty-two Years. ..	30,200	1,372	5,520	251

Hence it would appear that the normal increase of floating capital in France is between 200 and 250 million dollars, or about half what it is in Great Britain. Meantime, the unfortunate result of the Panama Canal and the Dreyfus agitation have evidently had a depressing effect on French enterprise, the creation of new capital in 1897, according to *L'Economiste*, having been as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	Loans.	Companies.	Total.
Great Britain	105	545	650
Germany	90	365	455
Russia	23	125	148
France	3	77	80
Austria	32	20	52
Other countries	97	88	185
Europe	350	1,220	1,570

Although the creation of new capital since 1870 has averaged about 1,400 million dollars yearly, the actual increase has been much less. The floating capital of Europe, as already shown, rose from 26½ milliards of dollars in 1870 to 52 milliards in 1897, being an increase of only 944 millions per annum, or two-thirds of the nominal amount of new capital issued. This is easily understood when we call to mind that numbers of joint-stock enterprises either die in their infancy or have a brief existence. The lamented Neumann Spallart, shortly before his death, published a summary of the increase of floating capital in Europe, in a period of five years to the end of 1885, as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.	Yearly Average.
Loans	1,840	368
Railways	1,635	327
Banks	550	110
Mining	175	35
Electricity	150	30
Newspapers	125	25
Sundries	375	75
Total	4,850	970

The correctness of Spallart's estimate for the period in question is fully borne out by the result above alluded to, showing an increase of 944 million dollars yearly between 1870 and 1897.

The net increase of floating capital in Europe, therefore, during the last thirty years, has averaged three million dollars daily. We shall presently see what portion of the same belonged to Great Britain.

3.—OVERFLOW CAPITAL.

In some countries, notably in Great Britain, the increase of floating capital has been more rapid than the requirements of internal industries, and for this reason there has been an overflow of capital which has not only been beneficial to neighboring countries, but has fertilized many of the remote and hitherto unproductive parts of the earth's surface. On this subject, Mr. Georges Martin, of the Statistical Society of Paris, published an interesting statement, showing the number of securities of various countries quoted on the Stock Exchanges of Europe, viz.:

	Securities of				
Held by	United States.	British Colonies.	South America.	Other Countries.	Total.
Great Britain	341	473	230	569	1,613
Germany	94	0	14	483	591
Holland	128	10	11	237	386
France	3	8	26	297	334
Belgium	2	0	49	261	312
Switzerland	9	2	12	120	143
Other countries	0	0	4	21	25
Total	577	493	346	1,988	3,404

It must always be borne in mind that the same securities are, in many instances, quoted on the various Stock Exchanges of Europe, and as the number quoted in London, according to Mr. Martin, is only 1,613, we may conclude that the total does not exceed 1,700. The above table, meanwhile, affords us no guide as to the approximate amount of capital lent by one country to another. If we examine the details of Mr. Martin's researches, which are too lengthy to be given here, we find that Russian securities are largely held, not only in France, but also in Germany and Holland; that Spain and Italy draw capital from every country in Europe; and that the great bulk of Austro-Hungarian securities is held in Germany. We know, however, from independent sources, that the overflow capital of Great Britain is about 9,300 millions of dollars, that of France 2,340 millions, and we shall not be far astray if we estimate the total overflow capital of Europe at 17,000 millions, or one-third of its floating capital. No other part of the world has any overflow capital.

4.—BRITISH FLOATING CAPITAL.

The floating capital of the United Kingdom at three periods during the second half of the nineteeth century, was approximately as follows:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1860.	1882.	1896.
National Consols	3,700	3,500	3,200
Local Stocks	100	400	700
British Rails	1,700	3,500	5,500
" Banks	600	900	1,200
" Sundries	500	900	1,300
Home Investments	6,600	9,200	11,900
Foreign "	700	4,400	9,300
Total	7,300	13,600	21,200

The estimate made on the London Stock Exchange in 1882 showed that the gross value of securities quoted was 25 milliards of dollars, of which 13½ milliards were held in Great Britain. In 1896, the gross value would probably exceed 40 milliards, since the stocks held in the United Kingdom (as shown above) exceeded 21 milliards. The "Bankers' Magazine" gives a list of 325 first-class investments, the quotations of which in December, 1897, summed up a value of 16,400 millions of dollars; besides these, there are, as already shown, 1,300 investments of minor importance, held partially or wholly in Great Britain. The above table shows that British floating capital has trebled in 36 years, while the wealth of the nation has only doubled; the increase of the former averaged 286 million dollars yearly from 1860 to 1882, and 550 millions yearly from 1882 to 1896. Most people flatter themselves that commercial prosperity and floating capital go hand in hand, and that the latter is simply wealth in its most portable and useful form; hence its rapid increase is regarded as an unqualified blessing. This is, however, a manifest error. A country may be ruined by over banking, and in like manner by over capitalization. Therefore, a time may come when the floating capital of the United Kingdom will have reached such an amount as to cause motive for anxiety.

5.—BRITISH INVESTMENTS ABROAD.

If the increase of floating capital has been surprisingly rapid, the growth of foreign investments is unprecedented in the history of nations. The Stock Exchange estimate for 1860 was 700 million dollars, or less than 10 per cent. of the floating cap-

ital, whereas in 1896 British investments abroad reached 9,300 millions, or 44 per cent. of such capital, viz.:

	Millions of Dollars.		
	1860.	1882.	1896.
Foreign Loans	300	2,000	3,200
Colonial Loans	150	1,000	2,300
Railways	150	900	2,100
Banks, Mines, etc	100	500	1,700
Total Foreign	700	4,400	9,300

To go back no further than fourteen years, we find that, while home investments show an average growth of 200 million dollars yearly, the amount of capital that emigrated annually was no less than 350 millions. Money, like water, is said to seek its level; and, as it is impossible to find suitable means in the United Kingdom for the employment of fresh capital at a given rate of interest, the capitalists are compelled to export two-thirds of it to foreign countries, where it must necessarily be exposed to extra risk in case of war or international complications. Risk, of course, implies higher interest, and the creation of so much fresh capital every year in England for exportation is only another phase or development of the gambling spirit, which is said to be inseparable from the business of the Stock Exchange. If capitalists would content themselves with less interest (and less risk), we should see the home investments increase faster than the foreign. There are numerous desirable undertakings in England for which the capital is not forthcoming. The eminent American hydraulic engineer, Mr. Corthell, in his luminous report (1898) on the growth of commerce and steam shipping since 1840, shows that it will be necessary in a few years to deepen all the harbors and docks of Great Britain, as well as of all other European countries. Another beneficent enterprise would be to build Peabody blocks in every parish of every city in England, on the basis of drawing only 2 per cent. profit on outlay, so as to provide cheap and sanitary habitations for the working classes and even for the poor. Nor would it be less praiseworthy for British millionaires to employ a portion of surplus capital in reviving those branches of manufacture in Ireland that were suppressed by penal laws of the British Parliament in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It may, indeed, be absurd to expect that motives of philanthropy or justice could have any influence in the employment of capital. Investors look for a divi-

dend, and care little about legality of procedure or anything else. The Jameson raid in Africa is a fair exemplification of the moral code of joint-stock companies. Nevertheless, it is impossible to regard with equanimity the disclosures in the Hooley bankruptcy at London, or to shut our ears to the solemn warning of Lord Chief Justice Russell, at the inauguration of the new Lord Mayor, on the iniquities connected with the formation of new companies.

British capital in foreign countries has been, on the whole, a powerful agent of progress, and the effects produced by it have been in general of the most salutary kind. Like the overflow of the Nile, it has fertilized lands that would be otherwise arid and unproductive. It has opened fresh highways to commerce, and made all nations in some way tributary to England. Notwithstanding the chicanery and frauds connected with various South American loans, the people who advanced their money were the means of doing a vast amount of benefit to that part of the world, and of creating fresh markets for British manufactures.

We have, however, arrived at a period when the leaders of public opinion ought to give forth some sound advice and words of caution. The growth of floating capital must be kept within bounds, if we do not wish to see a repetition of the South Sea bubble. It is sufficiently ominous to mark that two-thirds of the fresh capital created in Great Britain since 1882 has taken the form of foreign investments. Not precisely that the United Kingdom ceases to offer any fields for investment, but that the speculative spirit is now so rampant that millions of money can be obtained, at the shortest notice, for ventures in any part of the world.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

RAILWAY POOLING AND THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION.

IN the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March, Mr. H. T. Newcomb, while discussing the opposition to railway pooling, takes occasion to argue in favor of the increased powers demanded by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mr. Newcomb seems to share with the Commission its desire for very much greater power.

There has been a constant tendency on the part of the Commission and its friends to treat its demands for additional powers as a necessary adjunct to any proposition to legalize pooling, when, in fact, the two subjects are entirely distinct.

Every proposition to legalize pooling has embraced a scheme for giving the Interstate Commerce Commission supervision and control, not only of the pooling contracts but also of the rates to be maintained under them. The Commission would thereby acquire new powers of the gravest importance, but no question is made in any quarter as to the propriety of conferring such powers as an incident to the authorization of pooling.

But the Commission is not content with an increase of power limited to the control of pooling contracts, and the rates maintained thereunder. What it desires is something in no wise connected with the subject of pooling—a power to make rates generally for all the railroads in the country, on all traffic whether pooled or not, and to put those rates into effect without any resort to the courts for their enforcement.

Mr. Newcomb's description of these powers closely resembles the Commission's description of them, in that it fails to impress the reader with their real magnitude. But the amendments proposed by the Commission as embodying what it wants show clearly that the power to fix rates and the power to enforce the rates so fixed, which the Commission desires, are practically unlimited, and will really vest in the Commission as much power as is given the most powerful State railroad commission in the United States. Mr. Newcomb himself, although he speaks of the authority desired as a "limited" rate-making authority, further on in his article, seems to regard the Commission, if its demands are gratified, as an agency "for fixing all rates," which it would undoubtedly be.

Mr. Newcomb fails to state any reason why the Commission's demands should be acceded to. He says that they are only intended to make the Interstate Commerce Law mean what the public supposed it to mean at the time of its enactment. The Interstate Commerce Act confers no rate-

making power on the Commission. In the lengthy debates in Congress preceding its enactment, the question of rate-making was rarely referred to, and the few references to it show virtually without exception that the law was not intended to give the Commission the rate-making power. The law provides no method for its enforcement, except a resort to the courts. It is impossible to understand, therefore, how any portion of the public could have thought, at the time of the enactment of the law, that it was intended to confer on the Commission the practically unlimited power to make rates, and to give "substantial finality" to its rate-making decrees.

Mr. Newcomb assumes that there is an intense public sentiment in favor of giving the Commission these tremendous powers which it is so actively seeking. There are no evidences of the existence of any such sentiment. Practically, the only cry that is heard for the granting of these powers is the cry of the Interstate Commerce Commission itself.

Although pointing out that the constant tendency of the whole modern industrial and economic organization is to secure ever cheapening transportation, by virtue of which fact railway companies now have no substantial power to determine their own rates, at any rate to the extent of securing extortionate returns, yet Mr. Newcomb intimates that the only reason railway companies can have for objecting to the Commission's aspirations is that they desire to continue to exact unreasonable compensation for the services they supply. The existence of such unreasonable rates, however, is wholly inconsistent with Mr. Newcomb's premises, and inconsistent with the facts. The Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, moreover, has admitted that rates excessive in themselves are practically obsolete.

The result of the genuine competition of trade, as Mr. Newcomb points out, is that railway rates tend uninterruptedly toward the lowest rate that will produce a revenue sufficient to meet the expense of operation and maintenance, and, in addition, the lowest recompense for capital. Nor is this tendency to reduce rates confined to what are called competitive rates. In the development of traffic, every railroad company is bound to and does make rates low enough to enable the products of so-called local or non-competitive points on its line to compete in the markets of the world with the products of sections having the most favored means of transportation. In this connection it is well to state that Mr. Newcomb is misinformed as to the policy governing the railways in the region south of the Potomac and Ohio rivers, and east of the Mississippi. He says they have formulated their rate schedules in accordance with the purpose—by them freely acknowledged and warmly advocated—to foster the wholesale and jobbing business of certain cities and to compel the residents of all other cities and towns to purchase their supplies in the favored cities, while restricting the sales of the merchants located in places discriminated against to the goods to supply the retail demand of their several localities. The railway companies in that section simply recognize competitive conditions which are beyond their control and make rates necessary to meet that competition. In doing this, they do not injure any locality or give any locality an advantage which it would not have just the same independently of the action of the railways. There is no rational motive which could induce a railway company to seek to build up a business at a city enjoying competition of other lines, and at the expense of business at some point local to its own line. For, in the latter place, it is sure of all the traffic that moves, and is sure to reap the benefit of any development of the business of

the place, whereas it must divide with competing lines whatever traffic may be developed at competitive points, and may possibly get none of it at all.

It is a significant circumstance that, in the report of the Commission, made a little over a year ago, it made various gloomy predictions as to the disastrous results which would follow certain decisions (then comparatively recent) of the Supreme Court of the United States denying to the Commission rate-making powers which it had, without any authority, undertaken to exercise. Yet, in its last annual report, made in the last few months, it appears that the Commission in the year covered by that report decided only eight cases involving alleged unreasonable rates; and that in five of them the Commission found the rates to be reasonable, and in the other three it would seem that, if the Commission is correct in the view that the rates are unreasonable, it is because they are unreasonable as compared with other rates in force. If so, the law affords ample remedy for their correction.

Indeed, whatever unjust discriminations, if any, exists at present in the published rates of any railroad between localities or individuals, are susceptible of complete correction under the law as it stands. The Commission is now conducting various legal proceedings to correct certain supposed unjust discriminations between localities. In these proceedings the only question is whether the rate adjustments involved constitute unjust discriminations. If so, the courts can and will undoubtedly prevent their continuance. In view of the fact that rates in general are so very low in this country, it is clear, if any particular rates are too high, that they are out of line with the general rate adjustment, and are, therefore, unjust discriminations and can be remedied as such.

The only serious evil in the railway traffic situation of to-day is that pointed out by Mr. Newcomb of secret reductions in rates by many carriers to persons in a position to extort such concessions. While the legalization of pooling would tend to decrease the evil (although it is feared the good results will not be nearly so great as Mr. Newcomb hopes for), it can be stated without qualification that the powers demanded by the Commission would not in the slightest degree tend to prevent or alleviate these illegal discriminations. There will be just the same opportunity and just the same motive for the secret cutting of rates fixed by the Commission as there is now for cutting the legally established rates.

There is, therefore, an entire absence of any substantial reason for complying with the ambitious designs of the Commission, and certainly such radical legislation should not be enacted without real necessity.

The serious objections to conferring such unlimited power on the Commission have often been pointed out, and it is unnecessary to repeat them here. It is sufficient to say that the Commission would be wholly inadequate to the intelligent discharge of the task of making the rates for the 180,000 miles of railroad and adjusting the conflicting commercial claims of the thousands of localities in this country. The power which it would necessarily have over the comparative commercial prosperity of all the localities in this country (entirely independently of the power it would have over the railroads), would make it by far the most potent institution in the country, although it is wholly unfitted for the exercise of any extensive or substantially conclusive jurisdiction, by reason of the fact that it discharges the wholly incompatible functions of detective, prosecuting officer, party complainant and court. The Commission, moreover, has constantly evinced a disposition to disregard commercial considerations of the greatest import-

ance, and to reduce rates to a mathematical basis wholly inconsistent with the rational development of commerce. The direct tendency of their efforts has been to obstruct the general dissemination of industrial or commercial activity in any line of business, but, on the contrary, to centralize the same in that place which would, according to the Commission's mathematical views, be given a preferential rate.

It is not so clear that as between conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission the wholly unnecessary power to fix rates, on the one hand, and the Government's assuming the ownership of railways on the other, that railway men should be frightened into accepting the former alternative. If rates on over 180,000 miles of railroad are to be fixed by a commission of five men, who cannot possibly master the details which would be involved, with almost unlimited power to impede or obliterate innumerable channels of commerce, it might be decidedly better for the railroad interests if the Government should acquire the railroads and should itself suffer the disastrous results of such rate-making experiments. If the Government acquire the railroads, the owners of the railroads will certainly be compensated for them. In this instance, at least, the railroads will have something tangible on which to rely, but if a commission be authorized to make rates for all the railroads in this country, the damage such commission will do in interfering with the channels of commerce and in depriving many railways of species of traffic now enjoyed with profit to themselves and to the benefit of the public, will be incapable of computation and irremediable.

The fact is, however, that no such alternative is presented. The public is not suffering from extortionate rates, and is not demanding that the radical and unlimited powers sought by the Interstate Commerce Commission should be conferred upon that body. The only serious evil of the rate situation—that of secret rate-cutting and the consequent unjust discriminations—cannot possibly be reached by the amendments proposed by the Commission. All other evils of the rate situation are susceptible of complete remedy under the law as it stands.

The demands of the Commission have no connection with the subject of pooling, and should be considered purely as an independent proposition. Considered as an independent proposition, there is no necessity or excuse for granting them. The persistence of the Commission and its friends in constantly coupling these demands for general and extensive powers with the entirely distinct subject of railway pooling is of itself strong evidence that those demands are groundless and cannot stand by themselves.

MILTON H. SMITH.

WOMEN IN NEW ZEALAND.

MOMENTOUS changes were expected to follow the granting of the franchise to the women of New Zealand. Society was to be turned topsy-turvy; women were to become men and men women, or, at any rate, the sexes were to exchange places in the every-day work and political government of the world. But these extravagant prophecies have not yet come to pass in the land of the Maori. Men there are still men, and women are still their mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives, and, socially and industrially, each sex pursues the work to which it is adapted by natural fitness or to which it is drawn by circumstance.

It is true that the enfranchisement of women has led to some note-

worthy changes. There has been an increase in the number of women's societies devoted to political organization and social reform. These, through their delegates, are co-ordinated into a National Council of the women of New Zealand. This council was founded in April, 1896, just two years and a half after women obtained the political franchise. It meets once a year; its session lasts about ten days and its members read papers and discuss resolutions which they believe to have a practical bearing upon the well-being of society. As the council represents thousands of persons who possess votes, its deliberations are watched by public men, and in many instances its recommendations are given effect to by the government, in either administrative or legislative reform.

At first the National Council of women had to put up with jibes and jeers, especially from the newspapers; but it has survived that ordeal and is now seriously accepted as a public institution. True, there are people who misjudge and misrepresent it. Not long since, one newspaper devoted to religion wrote disparagingly of the members as being imbued with "a dislike of motherhood, a love of money, a desire for power and a love of publicity," and charged them with clamoring for "a lax marriage and an easy divorce law." This, however, is in no just sense a true bill; in fact it is true only as a typical expression of the prevailing human characteristic described by the poet who says:

> "'Yes, and the creed of man's whole crew
> Is, 'Do forever as we do,
> Else be then damned; and leave us still
> To go whatever way we will,
> Or we shall damn thee.'"

As a matter of fact, neither the Wild Woman nor the New Woman of the comic papers has yet come to the front in New Zealand, and it is doubtful if either species exists in the colony. Of course, if the term New Woman is fairly applicable to women of character and culture, merely because they desire to effect reform called for on the broad principle of social justice, then it may be applied to a good many women in New Zealand. Judged by their representatives in the National Council, the women of New Zealand stand by the principle that, morally, constitutionally and economically, they are as much citizens as men. They, therefore, wish to share, equally with men, all the rights of citizenship, and to see the moral code which is applied to them as individuals and citizens applied with equal emphasis to men. Whether this creed is capable of being carried out in practice, whether men are or ever will be willing and able to adjust themselves to it, is a thing apart; but the object of its upholders is, beyond doubt, the betterment of society. They do not wish to kick the beam, but to establish a just balance as between the members of the state.

Amongst New Zealand women, this principle of common citizenship is the principle whence they start and to which they return in all their efforts as reformers. For instance, in advocating the economic independence of women, they do not seek to separate or discriminate between the interests of man and wife, but to get the law to recognize their equality as economic factors in the household and the state. This is already done by men with a logical and civilized sense of justice; and the advanced women wish, by means of the law and public opinion, to bring social usage generally into line with the principle. Then amendment is proposed in the law of divorce, not to facilitate divorce *per se*, or to undermine the institution of marriage,

but to adjust the moral obligations of the sexes, by placing man and wife on an equal footing under the law. Equal pay for equal work, in callings open to both men and women, is asked for on similar grounds; firstly, as a matter of economic justice, and, secondly, in order that the woman, as a citizen, may have the same opportunities and the same advantages as the man, and be under no temptation to accept, for economic reasons, the first offer of marriage that is made to her.

So with other reforms. Women in New Zealand, like women elsewhere, are, of course, influenced by their feelings; but, in advocating matters of public policy, they are seldom at a loss for sound constitutional or economic reasons. For instance, in asking for special legislative and administrative machinery to deal educationally with the waifs and strays of society, they plead humanity, it is true, but they take their stand chiefly on the ground that society suffers, not only morally but economically, by having citizens who have not enjoyed human sympathy and educational care in their youth.

Notwithstanding the good sense exhibited by women in connection with these and other matters, there are, in New Zealand as elsewhere, grave and reverend persons who regard the whole woman movement as reactionary, and even look upon it as a menace to the very foundations of society. But, surely, they may possess their souls in patience. Man need have no fear, at least, that women will unfeminize themselves. They will still be mothers, sisters, sweethearts and wives, and it will be only in exceptional cases that they will compete directly with men in governing the world, or in doing its more strenuous work. There are vocations of paramount importance to which women are never likely to turn their serious attention; for example, those of the navigator, the explorer, the soldier, the pioneer, the bushfeller, teamster, roadman, engineer, builder and bridgemaker. But, as a citizen, woman's human and economic value is equal to that of man, and, therefore, in citizenship, she claims to be in every respect the man's equal. On this plane there must be no economic or other distinctions. This is all that is meant by the woman movement—at least in New Zealand.

JOHN CHRISTIE.

WHEAT PRODUCTION FROM A FARMER'S STANDPOINT.

WITHOUT presuming to attack any position taken by Mr. Hyde in the February REVIEW, can it not be shown that the danger of a wheat famine in 1931 is, perhaps, purely imaginary? Mr. Hyde overlooks the possibilities of greater production upon the present area of improved land, except as it may be aided by science. It is to this feature that, omitting what may be expected from methods not already in use, the discussion will be confined.

For several years prices have, quite generally, been unremunerative and production consequently limited. Farmers have refrained from hiring help and have contented themselves with what could be produced by the family. I know of no farm that is yielding to its fullest capacity; yet some are producing more than twice as much per acre as adjoining farms equally good.

To illustrate: A farm of 200 acres, 160 of which are improved, receiving careful treatment and above the average condition of farms in the vicinity, has a cash income of from $600 to $700 yearly as the result of the work of two men. An adjoining farm of 40 acres, with the same labor, averages about $500. A "river" farm of 40 acres, with a little more work, gives about $1,000.

Small holdings, diversity of crops, and profitable prices will more than double our production without any increase in the area of improved land. France, with nine times our population to the square mile, produced over eight bushels of wheat *per capita* for the five years ending with 1897. Our production for the same period was but little more than seven bushels *per capita*. Let us see what that means.

As it would be manifestly unfair to compare France with the entire United States, let us take these twelve States: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan. This is our great agricultural region and is primarily as fertile as France. These States have an area 3.7 times that of France. Her population is 38,000,000. At the same ratio the States in question should contain a population of 140,000,000. At eight bushels *per capita* they would produce 1,120,000,000 bushels or 400,000,000 more than Mr. Hyde says we shall need.

Should these states reach the average already attained by Iowa, they would produce as much of the principal crops as does the whole United States at present. From 1870 to 1896, the North Atlantic States averaged 14.1 bushels of wheat. Mr. Hyde speaks of the very high average obtained by the Western States because of irrigation. For the same period their average was but 14.2. From 1890 to 1896, the North Atlantic States stood 14.9 against 14.7 for the Western States. In corn, the North Atlantic States exceeded all other sections, and were above the average in the production of oats.

There is no evidence that the yield will be less in the future than in the past. Quite the contrary is probable.

Let the great region, the Central States, adopt the methods which obtain in the Eastern States, and a marvelous increase in yield will surely follow.

The silo is adding very greatly to the productiveness of farms in the Eastern States. Every silo decreases the number of acres required to keep a cow, adds to the area that may be devoted to other crops and lessens the demand for Western corn. Yet we are only at the beginning of the experiment.

Is the result which has been suggested impossible of achievement? If so, there are still left three-fourths of the area of our country to contribute toward the deficiency.

For the four years ending with 1896, we exported to France a little less than four and a half million bushels annually. With a much greater consumption *per capita* than ours, she is very nearly self-supporting. With as dense a population, the Central States would have more than the total estimated population of the United States in 1931. Wherein are their agricultural possibilities inferior to the present attainments of France?

G. A. PARCELL.

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THE WAR WITH SPAIN.—I.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, COMMANDING THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE recent war with Spain was the logical outcome of the conditions which existed in Cuba. It was evident, not only to this country but to all the world, that Spanish rule on this side of the ocean must necessarily cease, if peace and international harmony were to be preserved. The great Spanish nation of the sixteenth century, with its rich possessions encircling the globe, had so decayed in the nineteenth century as to be unfit in every way, physically and financially, to control not only Cuba but her remaining colonies. One by one, through the same misrule, Mexico and the South American States had found her yoke unbearable and had gained their independence, Spain thus losing these vast possessions and the large income derived from them. Cuba, termed "The Ever Faithful Isle," and Porto Rico remained. For more than a century, Spain had been a dying nation; while the effect of her rule, or rather misrule, in Cuba was a menace to the peace and good order not only of this country but of every other country having any relations with the island.

While Spain was in possession of Florida, a succession of disagreeable events had occurred in connection with our commerce in the Gulf of Mexico, which involved great loss to us, and which so marred the relations between Spain and the Republic that,

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after much controversy, Florida was finally ceded to the United States—largely as a matter of compensation to our country.

The Ten Years' War, with all its cruelty and horrors, had ceased purely through the physical exhaustion of the insurgents, only to be recommenced, with renewed vigor, with the insurrection which had been in progress two years at the outbreak of the late war. The voice of civilization demanded intervention. The "Virginius" affair, involving the massacre of several of our citizens and others, had not faded from the memory of our people; nor was the final adjudication of that incident satisfactory. The summary execution of the victims, under the circumstances, was directly contrary to treaty obligations and to justice.

The character of the war waged by Spain against the Cuban insurgents was cruel, and often barbarous, despite the warnings given by our nation that it should be conducted in a humane manner. It was becoming a war of extermination. "The Pearl of the Antilles" was ruined, and its population reduced many hundreds of thousands by death, in many cases from starvation. With a forbearance that, perhaps, no other nation would have shown, we had preserved the strictest neutrality at great cost, with much loss in our trade relations.

On the 15th of February, 1898, the world was startled and horrified by the blowing up of the battleship "Maine," of the United States Navy, in the harbor of Havana, with the loss of 253 of her crew. It does not matter now how this was done; whether or not any Spanish official was concerned in the destruction of this magnificent ship, nor how it occurred; nevertheless, the disaster caused great consternation throughout our land, and from that moment Spanish rule in Cuba was doomed. The whole nation with one voice demanded its termination. Party feelings were forgotten, and, on March 9th, Congress appropriated fifty millions of dollars for national defence. With this large amount, the executive department was authorized to make preparations for the impending war. The Navy Department succeeded in securing large quantities of munitions of war, including a considerable number of rapid fire guns and ammunition, some third or fourth rate vessels, and quite a number of others that were used as an auxiliary naval force; yet, such priceless jewels are the modern appliances of war that, even with the large amount of gold available, our Government was unable to

purchase a single battleship, a first-class cruiser or a modern high-power gun of the greatest destructive power. It requires years to build these great engines of war, and they cannot be obtained in an emergency.

On the 25th of April, Congress declared war, making the declaration that war had existed from the 21st of April.

Congress had been much more generous in its appropriations for the Navy than for the Army, and much progress had already been made in the construction of battleships and cruisers. At the time of the breaking out of the war, indeed, the Navy was in fairly effective condition, except for a shortage in ammunition, and it proved to be in every way superior to the Spanish navy. The magnificent results of the operations and the splendid record of the Navy during the war were eminently satisfactory.

Although, for many years, Congress had been urged to make appropriations for the adequate protection of our seacoasts, it had been so tardy in doing so that, when the war broke out, the condition of our coast defences was far from satisfactory. A very few modern guns of high power had been placed in position. It is true that much work was in progress, but it takes years to construct guns and to build emplacements for them, so that at that time it required many months still to accomplish the necessary results. Suddenly attacked by a first-class naval power, most of our seaports would have been practically defenceless.

The Army, of 25,000 men, was doing duty in various parts of the country, where for many years it had paved the way for the advance of civilization, and had afforded constant protection to the citizens on the frontier. It was, as far as practicable, well trained and in excellent condition. It was fairly well armed and equipped, and it was ready for any emergency, its officers and men having been hardened by service and training in the West. It was, as far as intelligence, physical excellence, discipline and devotion to duty are concerned, unexcelled by any military body of equal numbers in the world. Such a force, however, was not even sufficient to have properly guarded our seacoasts, in the event of a war with a strong naval power.

The Militia, composed of the National Guards of the several States, was, as a rule, inefficient, and, as a body, could practically be disregarded. Its arms and equipment were obsolete, and unfit for use by troops fighting an army properly organized and

equipped. Never, in the history of the country, was the necessity so obvious to the people for proper legislation for the re-organization of the regular Army, as well as of the National Guard. Smallarms using smokeless powder had been manufactured for the use of the regular troops, but there was not a sufficient reserve supply of these arms to equip even the small army called into service at the time of its mobilization. Our field artillery, our siege guns and all our heavier guns were constructed for, and used, black powder. This in time of action proved to be a great disadvantage; and, in fact, the regiments of volunteers which were present with our Army in Cuba had to be withdrawn from the firing line on account of the obsolete firearms with which they were armed, while the field artillery was subject to the same disadvantage. Had our field artillery been of modern type, using smokeless powder, there is no question that its proper employment would have produced much more effective results. The same disadvantage was experienced by the Navy during its attack on the fortifications at San Juan, Porto Rico, when the smoke from the guns to a great extent prevented efficient firing.

It is safe to say that, with an Army of 75,000 men properly equipped, at the time of the declaration of war, peace could have been secured without requiring a single volunteer to leave the country, and thus the necessity of the enormous volunteer army, and the expense and inconvenience incident to its organization and maintenance, could have been avoided. In fact, only 52,000 men were landed on Spanish soil before the peace protocol was signed.

The President was authorized to call for volunteers by Act of Congress approved April 22, 1898, and, under the Act approved April 26, 1898, authority was given to increase the regular Army to 62,527 men, while the Act approved May 11, 1898, authorized the enlistment of 10,000 "immunes", to be organized into ten regiments, and of 3,500 engineers, to be organized into a brigade of three regiments.

In the volunteer act of April 22d, there was the following provision: "The President may authorize the Secretary of War to organize companies, troops, battalions, or regiments, possessing special qualifications, from the nation at large, not to exceed three thousand men, under such rules and regulations, including the appointment of the officers thereof, as may be prescribed by the

Secretary of War;" and under that authority the 1st, 2d and 3d regiments of Volunteer Cavalry were organized.

The first two acts, going into effect almost at the same time, had a bad effect upon the enlistment of the regular Army up to its authorized strength. Volunteers naturally preferred their own organizations complete, and it thus became difficult to enlist men in the regular service, which it was most essential to have rapidly brought up to its authorized strength. Enlistments, therefore, were necessarily slow, while at the same time most of the recruits thus received were utterly untrained and unfitted for immediate service. It was decided to permit the regiments of the National Guard to go into the service practically as they existed at the time, but they were not so mustered in. A large percentage of the trained officers and men, either through business and professional obligations or for other reasons, were unable to go and were replaced by men untrained and unfitted for the service—in some cases, it is stated, not over one out of three going with their regiments. With such a condition of affairs, the difficulty of getting an effective force into the field, properly trained and equipped, was considerable. A great rush was made for appointments to commissions in this volunteer army. Many officers were unfit for the positions given them, thus adding materially to the delay in bringing the force to its necessary state of discipline and effectiveness.

I had previously recommended that 50,000 volunteers should be immediately called for, who were to be thoroughly equipped; and, shortly afterwards, that 40,000 more should be enlisted, to act as reserves.

On the 23d of April, the President called for 125,000 volunteers, and, on the 25th of May, he made a further call for 75,000 more. These, with the 10,000 immunes, 3,500 engineers, and the troops "possessing special qualifications", added to the regular Army brought up to its full strength, gave a total force of 278,000 men.

In order to secure a proper uniformity in equipment, and to promote the efficiency of the troops, the following letter was written and orders published:

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., April 26, 1898.

SIR: I regard it of the highest importance that the troops called into service by the President's proclamation be thoroughly equipped,

organized, and disciplined for field service. In order that this may be done with the least delay, they ought to be in camp approximately sixty days in their States, as so many of the States have made no provision for their State militia, and not one is fully equipped for field service. After being assembled, organized, and sworn into service of the United States, they will require uniforms, tentage, complete camp equipage, arms, and ammunition, and a full supply of stationery, including blank books and reports for the Quartermaster's, Commissary, Medical, and Ordnance Departments. They will also require complete equipment of ordnance, quartermaster's, commissary, and medical supplies, hospital appliances, transportation, including ambulances, stretchers, etc. The officers and noncommissioned officers will have to be appointed and properly instructed in their duties and responsibilities, and have some instruction in tactical exercises, guard duties, etc., all of which is of the highest importance to the efficiency and health of the command. This preliminary work should be done before the troops leave their States. While this is being done, the general officers and staff officers can be appointed and properly instructed, large camps of instruction can be judiciously selected, ground rented, and stores collected. At the end of sixty days the regiments, batteries, and troops can be brigaded and formed into divisions and corps, and proper commanding generals assigned, and this great force may be properly equipped, molded, and organized into an effective army with the least possible delay.

Very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding.

The Secretary of War.

General Orders,
No. 54.

Headquarters of the Army,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, May 25, 1898.

The following standard of supplies and equipment for field service is published for the information and guidance of troops in the military service of the United States. The allowance is regarded as the minimum for field service:

Headquarters of an army corps.—Three wagons for baggage, etc., or 8 pack mules; 1 two-horse wagon; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 10 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 2 wall tents for commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Headquarters of a division.—Two wagons for baggage, etc., or 5 pack mules; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 1 two-horse wagon; 5 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 1 wall tent for commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Headquarters of a brigade.—One wagon for baggage, or 5 pack mules; 1 two-horse spring wagon; 2 extra saddle horses for contingent wants; 1 wall tent for the commanding general; 1 wall tent for every two officers of his staff.

Allowance of transportation for regiment of cavalry, 49 wagons or 144 pack animals.

Allowance of transportation for battery light artillery, 4 wagons.

Allowance of transportation for regiment of infantry, 25 wagons.

Supplies to be carried in wagons per company: Ten days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier; 250 pounds of officers' baggage and supplies; tentage; grain for animals; utensils for each company mess, not to exceed 350 pounds for each troop, battery, or company; horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicine for cavalry horses, not to exceed 300 pounds; to each soldier or civilian employee (compactly rolled in one piece of shelter tent) 1 blanket, 1 poncho and 1 extra suit of undergarments.

Whenever the amount of rations or grain varies from the above, the weight to be carried per six-mule wagon may be increased or diminished, but should not exceed 4,000 pounds, and for four-mule wagon 3,000 pounds, and if possible should be less per wagon.

Whenever obtainable on line of march, full forage will be allowed all animals, the rate of purchase to be regulated by the quartermaster's department.

To be carried on the person or horse: One overcoat, 1 piece of shelter tent, 50 rounds of rifle or carbine, and 24 rounds of revolver ammunition.

Supplies to be carried on pack mules for one troop of cavalry: Five days' field rations per man; 100 rounds of ammunition per soldier.

The utensils for each troop of cavalry must not exceed 350 pounds.

The weight of load per aparejo must never exceed 250 pounds, and should, if possible, be less than 200 pounds.

Troop of cavalry, company of infantry, or light battery.

	Troop of cavalry.	Company of infantry.	Light battery.
	Lbs.	Lbs.	Lbs.
Field rations, 10 days: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106; artillery, 125	3,640	3,858	4,550
Ammunition, 100 rounds: Cavalry, 100 men; infantry, 106 men	725	769	....
Officers' baggage and supplies	250	250	250
Tentage (7 conical wall for cavalry and infantry, each: 9 for light battery)	854	854	1,098
Grain for animals, 10 days, 6 pounds: Cavalry, 115; infantry, 12; artillery, 126	6,900	720	7,560
Utensils for each company mess	350	350	350
Horseshoes, nails, tools, and medicines for cavalry and artillery horses	300	....	325
Soldiers' baggage: Each 1 blanket, 1 poncho, 1 extra suit of undergarments, and 1 piece shelter tent	1,662	1,761	2,078
Total	14,681	8,562	16,211

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

General Orders,
No. 57.

Headquarters of the Army,
Adjutant-General's Office,
Washington, May 30, 1898.

After a prolonged period of peace our Army is once more called upon to engage in war in the cause of justice and humanity. To bring the military forces to the highest state of efficiency and most speedily accomplish what is expected should be the earnest effort and call forth the best energies of all its members of whatsoever station.

The laws and regulations which govern military bodies in civilized

countries have been developed to their present perfection through the experience of hundreds of years, and the faithful observance of those laws and regulations is essential to the honor and efficiency of the Army.

All authority should be exercised with firmness, equity, and decorum on the part of superiors, and should be respected by implicit obedience and loyal support from subordinates.

Every officer of whatever grade will, so far as may be in his power, guard and preserve the health and welfare of those under his charge. He must labor diligently and zealously to perfect himself and his sub ordinates in military drill, instruction, and discipline; and above all, he must constantly endeavor, by precept and example, to maintain the highest character, to foster and stimulate that true soldierly spirit and patriotic devotion to duty which must characterize an effective army. The Major-General Commanding confidently trusts that every officer and soldier in the service of the Republic, each in his proper sphere, will contribute his most zealous efforts to the end that the honor and character of the Army may be preserved untarnished, and its best efforts crowned with success.

This order is given upon a day sacred to the memory of the heroic dead, whose services and sacrifices afford us example and inspiration, and it is expected that all will be fully impressed with the sacred duty imposed upon the Army by the Government of our beloved country.

By command of Major-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN, Adjutant-General.

The difficulty of obtaining clothing and equipment for so many men was soon apparent. In fact, the canvas and other articles necessary for these equipments had not at that time been manufactured, and it would take a long time to supply them; while even the cartridges necessary to fight battles with were not in the possession of the government. Had our troops been available for immediate service, this fact alone would have rendered such service impossible.

Much time was necessarily lost for these reasons, affording Spain the opportunity to concentrate her troops in Cuba and Porto Rico, to supply them with food and munitions of war, to take steps to strengthen the defences of her seaports, and to render them as able as possible to withstand a siege; all of which things were done as far as lay in the power of such a Government.

On the 15th of April, the regular troops were ordered to be mobilized, the infantry being directed to proceed to Tampa, Mobile and New Orleans, and the cavalry and light artillery to Chickamauga. A portion of the infantry, however, was afterwards stopped at Chickamauga and went into camp there. These places were selected, as they were regarded as the most convenient points from which troops could be moved for an offensive cam-

paign in Cuba, which it was intended to commence as soon as possible. The work of equipping and organizing the troops was hastened with all possible speed. This, however, was necessarily slow. Efforts were made to purchase supplies abroad, with only partial success, as supplies of this kind, owing to the great demand the world over in these days of large standing armies, were difficult to obtain.

The history of warfare shows that operations beyond the sea are at best most difficult to organize and to carry on successfully. With the exception of the expedition of General Scott during the Mexican War, and our limited experience in the War of the Rebellion, we had had no experience, and we were in every way utterly unprepared in the way of transports and appliances for embarking and disembarking artillery, transportation, horses, etc., which, when required to be done at difficult points, and when the landing is contested by an enemy, are matters of great difficulty, requiring exact and full preparation to be successful. Transports had to be purchased or hired and put in condition for the use of troops, animals, stores, etc. The climate of Cuba and Porto Rico being necessarily hot and enervating, and storms and hurricanes being liable to occur in the season during which these operations were to be carried on, it was of the utmost importance, for the safety and health of the troops, that proper arrangements should be made for feeding and clothing them, and that this object should have the most solicitous attention from the authorities.

The lessons taught by the expeditions made by the British in this section were of immense value. San Juan, in Porto Rico, had been attacked by Sir Ralph Abercrombie in 1795, unsuccessfully. He stated that the expedition had been undertaken too lightly, that he had found Porto Rico well supplied, and that there was powerful artillery there. Havana had been besieged in 1762 by a large fleet, under Admiral Pocock, of the British Navy, and a force of about 15,000 men under Lord Albemarle. This force was landed on the 5th of June in the same year. Havana surrendered after a siege on the 13th day of August. It had been necessary to effect the reduction of the works, which were very strong, especially the Morro Castle, by regular approaches, and under very unfavorable circumstances. In this attack, about 5,000 troops from New England were used, yet two of the trans-

ports carrying them over were captured by the French, who were also at war with England at that time, about 500 of the Americans being taken with them. The losses of the British in this campaign were far greater from disease than from battle, being in all between 1,700 and 1,800 men, while the Spanish force opposed to them was about 28,000, or about twice the strength of the British. It is said, however, that at one time almost half the British force was on the sick report.

In 1553, the French occupied Santiago, evacuating it afterwards on the payment by the Spanish of $80,000, as a ransom. In October, 1662, a British fleet appeared off Santiago, and 900 men were landed at Aguadores, who, although opposed by the Spanish, marched on and seized Santiago. In July, 1741, a British fleet, under Admiral Vernon, sailed to Guantanamo, and a force of 5,000 men under General Wentworth, of the British Army, was landed there.

At the commencement of the recent war, the general impression was that the Spanish were much stronger on the sea than they proved to be. In fact, their want of energy was most remarkable. Even with the vessels that they had, handled by such sailors as the British or our own, they could have done untold damage to us. With their fleets free to act and their whereabouts unknown, the embarkation of a large number of troops at best was hazardous. Good judgment demanded that, before such operations should be commenced, these fleets should be destroyed or captured, and it was my opinion that no extended movement should take place until this was done, as was indicated in the following letter which I wrote to the Secretary of War:

Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1898.

SIR: Referring to my former letters concerning healthful camps for the troops and the uncertainty of Congress requiring an army to move to Cuba at this season of the year, I would respectfully call attention to the letter of the Surgeon-General of the Army, dated Washington, March 25, of this year, as to the danger of putting an army in Cuba during what is known as the "rainy" or "sickly" season. That opinion is also confirmed by reports of Dr. James Guiteras, of Philadelphia, a well-known authority on yellow fever, and others.

In my opinion it is extremely hazardous, and I think it would be injudicious, to put an army on that island at this season of the year, as it would undoubtedly be decimated by the deadly disease, to say nothing of having to cope with some 80,000 troops, the remnant of 214,000, that have become acclimated, and that are equipped with 183 guns.

And still another element of extreme danger would be to place an army there with the possibility of our own Navy not being able to keep the waters between our own territory and that island clear of hostile ships or fleets.

By mobilizing our force and putting it in healthful camps and using such force as might be necessary to harass the enemy and doing them the greatest injury with the least possible loss to ourselves, if our Navy is superior to theirs, in my judgment, we can compel the surrender of the army on the Island of Cuba with very little loss of life and possibly avoid the spread of yellow fever over our own country.

There is still time, if this is favorably considered, to put a small force of regular troops, number approximately 18,000 men, in healthful camps until such time as they can be used on the Island of Cuba with safety.

Very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding.

The Secretary of War.

The plan of campaign was carefully considered. The wet season, which would be especially dangerous to the lives of those not acclimated, and would render the movements of troops more difficult, was near at hand. It was utterly impossible to organize an army and equip it properly before that season commenced. Spain's army in Cuba was strong, well organized, and seasoned after long fighting with the insurgents. I was ordered, however, on May 9th, to take 70,000 men to Cuba, for the purpose of commencing hostilities immediately, and I sent the necessary orders for the movement of the advance corps, and instructions as to its landing on the north coast of Cuba; and supplies for ninety days for the men and thirty days for the animals were ordered concentrated at Tampa, Florida. It is with great reluctance that one hesitates to accept the command of an army of that magnitude in the field; yet, knowing the condition of the troops, the strength of the enemy, and the near approach of the sickly season in a district infested with yellow fever, I considered it my duty not only to the troops, whose lives must necessarily be sacrificed, but to the country, to explain fully to the highest authority the serious objections to such a movement at that time, and also to express my regret that I felt called upon to state such objections. The army was enthusiastic, composed of the best young men of the land, brave and resolute, but, outside of the regular regiments, not properly instructed and very insufficiently equipped, as far as proper clothing, tentage, camp equipage and transportation, hospital supplies, and all other munitions of war were concerned.

The most serious objection, however, to the movement of such an army, but partly organized, to encounter an enemy well equipped and acclimated, was the fact that, after assembling the amount of ammunition required by the troops going to Manila, and leaving a small amount for the troops necessary to guard the Atlantic coast, supporting the batteries, and to protect it against the possibility of any force landing on our shores, there was not ammunition enough left in the United States to last an army of 70,000 men in one hour's serious battle. Although the cartridge factories were making the only kind of ammunition that could be used by the troops with the Springfield and Krag-Jörgensen rifles, it was impossible for them to manufacture a sufficient amount to equip an army of the size mentioned to encounter a foreign army of equal strength in less than sixty days. These facts I reluctantly presented, and it was as reluctantly decided that the army must not move until it was ready. The feeling at that time in the country was one of impatience, amounting almost to impetuosity, and the cry of "On to Havana" was similar to that of "On to Richmond" in June of 1861.

In the public journals of that time may be found the following statement from myself in regard to this vital question:

"Regarding the matter of invading Cuba, General Miles says: 'With regard to the invasion of Cuba, I have nothing to say, except that the United States will in due time bring Cuba under its control by judicious methods and without useless waste of life. The United States is too great, too strong and too powerful to commit any foolish act in connection with the proposed invasion. As for myself, I have only to say that no officer is fit to command the troops who from any motive whatever would needlessly risk the life of a single soldier either from disease or the bullets of the enemy. I have never sacrificed the lives of the men under my command, and I do not propose to subject them to any unnecessary risks in the present campaign.' "

With a properly equipped army ready for action before the bad season set in, we could have divided Cuba into two or more sections, occupying the greater portion of the country, placing the troops in healthful localities, thus enabling the insurgents to organize and become thoroughly equipped, and simplifying the problem; and, with the Spanish Navy once cleared from the seas, and the coast thoroughly patrolled by our vessels, the Spanish forces must have yielded in a few months. The investment of Havana could have been effected at our leisure, and that city forced to surrender, in all probability, with inconsiderable loss.

Troops not being ready, and as the necessary army would not be available for at least two months at best, it was decided to send smaller expeditions to the coast of Cuba and supply the insurgents with arms, ammunition and rations. Several expeditions were organized and sent out with this object in view—those organized under Col. Hall, Capt. J. J. O'Donnell, Lieut. Crofton and Capt. Dorst with good results, a large amount of arms, ammunition and other supplies being successfully distributed. In addition to his other expeditions, on May 9th, 1898, Captain Dorst left Tampa for Cuba. Going to Key West, he thence sailed north and passed to the north side of the island of New Providence, thence south to the northeast coast of Cuba, going into the small harbor of Banes, which had all the time been held by the Cuban insurgents. He remained there for five days, and succeeded in landing 7,500 rifles, a million cartridges, 5,000 uniforms and a steamerload of supplies. This was a great boon to General Garcia's troops, who had been valiantly contending against upwards of 30,000 Spanish troops located in the eastern portion of Cuba.

Another expedition, much stronger, to consist of 5,000 or 6,000 men, with a large amount of supplies, was directed to be organized and placed under the command of General William R. Shafter. This expedition was to have landed on the south coast of Cuba and, strongly convoyed by war vessels, was to form a base of supplies for the insurgents. Important results were expected from it, and its organization was carried on as rapidly as possible; but shortly before it was ready to sail, information was received that Cervera's fleet had left Spain. This rendered the movement of the expedition very hazardous, besides which the Navy needed all its ships of war to meet the enemy's fleet.

On the 30th of May, it was finally ascertained that the Spanish fleet had taken refuge in the harbor of Santiago, and was there blockaded. In view of the supposed strength of the defences of the harbor and the presence of mines in the entrance, the Navy reported it impossible to enter and destroy this fleet, unless assisted by an army sufficiently strong to dislodge the troops guarding the entrance, they being thus enabled to take up the mines. The expedition above referred to was abandoned, and it was decided to organize another one of sufficient size to accomplish, in conjunction with our fleet, the capture or destruction of that of the enemy in the harbor of Santiago. General Shafter, being then the

senior general officer at Tampa, was designated to command this expedition.

Urgent despatches came from Admiral Sampson, stating the necessity of immediately sending a force to capture the garrison. On the 6th of June, he reported that he had silenced the forts and that "if 10,000 men were here, city and fleet could be ours within forty-eight hours. Every consideration demands immediate army movement. If delayed, city will be defended more strongly by guns taken from fleet."

The following day General Shafter was directed by the Secretary of War to sail immediately.

Later, on the same day, the same authority directed him, by order of the President, to sail at once with what force he had ready, provided it was 10,000 strong.

On the 30th of May, I left Washington for Tampa, arriving there early on the morning of June 1st.

In order to utilize as far as possible the assistance of the Cuban insurgent forces in Eastern Cuba, I sent the following communication to General Garcia on the 2nd of June:

Headquarters of the Army,
In the Field, Tampa, Fla., June 2, 1898.

DEAR GENERAL: I am very glad to have received your o cers, General Enrique Collazo and Lieut. Col. Carlos Hernandez, the latter of whom returns to-night with our best wishes for your success.

It would be a very great assistance if you could have as large a force as possible in the vicinity of the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, and communicate any information, by signals, which Colonel Hernandez will explain to you, either to our navy or to our army on its arrival, which we hope will be before many days.

It would also assist us very much if you could drive in and harass any Spanish troops near or in Santiago de Cuba, threatening or attacking them at all points, and preventing, by every means, any possible reenforcement coming to that garrison. While this is being done, and before the arrival of our army if you can seize and hold any commanding position to the east or west of Santiago de Cuba, or both, that would be advantageous for the use of our artillery, it will be exceeding gratifying to us.

With great respect and best wishes, I remain, very respectfully,

NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General Commanding United States Army.

Lieutenant-General Garcia, Cuban Army.

Colonel Hernandez, one of General Garcia's staff officers, left Key West with this letter on June 2d; General Garcia received it on June 6th, and I received his reply by cable on June 9th, as follows:

Mole St. Nicholas (via Washington), June 9, 1898.

General MILES,

Commanding United States Army:

Garcia's reply on June 6 to your letter of June 2:

"Will take measures at once to carry out your recommendation, but concentration of force will require some time. Roads bad and Cubans scattered. Will march without delay. Santiago de Cuba well fortified with advanced intrenchments, but believe good artillery position can be taken. Spanish force approximates 12,000 between Santiago de Cuba and Guantanamo, 3,000 militia. Will maintain a Cuban force near Holguin to prevent sending re-enforcements to Santiago."

The above given to me by Admiral Sampson to forward to you.

ALLEN.

The following is an extract from a cable message from Admiral Sampson to the Secretary of the Navy, which was repeated to me at Tampa on June 12th, for my information:

Mole St. Nicholas, Haiti.

General Miles's letter received through Colonel Hernandez on June 6. Garcia regards his wishes and suggestions as orders, and immediately will take measures to concentrate forces at the points indicated, but he is unable to do so as early as desired on account of his expedition to Banes Port, Cuba, but he will march without delay. All of his subordinates are ordered to assist to disembark the United States troops and to place themselves under orders. Santiago de Cuba well fortified, with advanced intrenchments, but he believes position for artillery can be taken as Miles desires. (Approximate) twelve thousand (12,000) regulars and three thousand (3,000) militia between Santiago and Guantanamo. He has sent force in order to prevent aid going to Santiago from Holguin. Repeats every assurance of good will, and desires to second plans. SAMPSON.

It will be observed that General Garcia regarded my requests as his orders, and promptly took steps to execute the plan of operations. He sent 3,000 men to check any movement of the 12,000 Spaniards stationed at Holguin. A portion of this latter force started to the relief of the garrison at Santiago, but was successfully checked and turned back by the Cuban forces under General Feria. General Garcia also sent 2,000 men, under Perez, to oppose the 6,000 Spaniards at Guantanamo, and they were successful in their object. He also sent 1,000 men, under General Rios, against the 6,000 men at Manzanillo. Of this garrison, 3,500 started to reinforce the garrison at Santiago, and were engaged in no less than thirty combats with the Cubans on their way before reaching Santiago. With an additional force of 5,000 men, General Garcia besieged the garrison of Santiago, taking up a strong position on the west side of the harbor, and he afterwards received Admiral Sampson and General Shafter at his

camp near that place. He had troops in the rear, as well as on both sides of the garrison at Santiago before the arrival of our troops.

The expedition for Santiago was delayed at Tampa, on account of the reported presence along the northern coast of Cuba of some Spanish war vessels, but it finally sailed on the 14th of June.

As most of the regular Army was included in this expedition, and on account of the importance of the enterprise, I desired to go with it, but was directed to return to Washington.

It cannot be denied that this expedition left in a very unsatisfactory condition, as regards accommodations on the transports for the men and animals, and the necessary facilities for landing troops. Fair weather, however, attended the expedition throughout the voyage, and the great discomfort and danger that would have been experienced in stormy weather was avoided.

Previous to the departure of the expedition the question of the best point and method of attack had been carefully considered, and I had obtained and furnished the Commanding General with maps and photographs of the country.

Covered by the Navy, on the 22d of June, a landing was effected by part of the troops at Daiquiri, and on the following day the remainder were landed at Siboney. The distances to these points from Santiago were very short, that from Daiquiri being not over sixteen miles, while the distance from Siboney was not over ten miles. The roads, however, were very poor, and the movement of supplies and artillery was difficult.

The troops had been landed, largely by the Navy, in a very short time, but the landing of artillery and general supplies was a much more difficult matter, the number of tugs, lighters, etc., being in every way insufficient. It was with great difficulty that enough supplies were landed for the absolute wants of the troops, while the necessity of providing for a number of refugees who had left Santiago made the conditions still worse.

The advance upon Santiago, the fights at Las Guasimas, El Caney and San Juan, and the final surrender, have been described so often that it is unnecessary to go into detail regarding them. The bravery of our troops, the energy and fortitude displayed by them under the most adverse circumstances, are a monument to their character.

The reports of General Shafter and his Division Commanders, Wheeler, Kent, Lawton, Bates and Sumner, show the number of troops, the difficulties encountered and the obstacles overcome.

A rough and broken country, covered with dense tropical forests and jungles, cut by only a few narrow roads and paths, made it difficult for the troops to push their way through, against even the small force of Spanish troops that disputed their way. Fortunately, our officers and soldiers had been accustomed to manœuver through thickets and wildernesses in the Civil War, and through the fastnesses in the Rocky and Sierra Madre Mountains against the wily Indians, and they were undaunted in their efforts against a more passive, yet a brave, foe. Although the advance positions and outer works of the enemy, like the three above mentioned, were held by a very small force, yet, concealed in their intrenchments and with their Mauser rifles, they were able to kill and wound more than half as many of our men in front of their positions as their own troops numbered; but, notwithstanding this sacrifice, the positions were gallantly taken, and a crescent-shaped line was formed, closely investing a good part of the city and garrison of Santiago.

NELSON A. MILES.

(*To be Continued.*)

CHINA AND THE POWERS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL LORD CHARLES BERESFORD, R. N.

NONE of the Powers has greater interests at stake in China, whether existent or prospective, than Great Britain and the United States. As will be seen by my Report on the China Mission, shortly to be published by Messrs. Harper and Brothers, the latest figures I was able to obtain during my visit to China last year (1898) showed that these two Powers had over seventy-two per cent. of the whole of the foreign trade with China in their hands; all the other Powers combined having only twenty-eight per cent. between them, of which Japan possesses the larger share.

It is perfectly true that, upon examining these figures, there seems to be a great disproportion between sixty-four per cent. of trade possessed by Great Britain, and the eight per cent. possessed by the United States. It must be remembered, however, that it was Great Britain who opened up, made possible, and developed the foreign trade of the Chinese Empire. For many years, Great Britain held an almost undisputed commercial position in that country. Subsequently, other European countries began to compete with her; but the American nation, which is probably about the latest of these competitors, has already outdistanced all rivals, and obtained eight per cent. of the whole trade, as against the twenty-eight per cent. of all other nations combined (including Japan). Viewed in this light, it will be seen that the disproportion between the trade of Great Britain and the United States is less real than apparent. There are one or two other factors which have to be taken into consideration in studying these statistics, which, like all figures, are more or less misleading.

The first point is that not only is a very large proportion of

American trade carried in British bottoms, but, in addition, a considerable amount is consigned to the old-established British firms in China, and therefore is rightly treated as British commerce by the Chinese customs. This trade in American goods is very large, I am told; and, while it is rightly classified as British, being British owned, and carried in British ships to Chinese ports, yet its place of origin is none the less American.

The second point is, that this eight per cent. of *actual* American trade as against sixty-four per cent. of *nominal* British trade, has been obtained in a comparatively few years, and the proportionate increase of trade in the last two or three years would therefore be found to be in favor of America.

The third, and still more important, point is that, while the British volume of trade is still growing, there is no doubt that in several directions, notably in drills, jeans and sheetings, the trade of the United States has steadily gone ahead in China, while in British trade there has been a decline. The cotton piece goods trade as a whole declined during 1897, but, in the items quoted above, there was actually an increase of nearly 500,000 pieces, all of American manufacture.

It is apparent, therefore, that the interest of the United States in the foreign trade of China is not only an increasing one, but is also a *proportionately* greater interest than that of all European competitors, with the exception of Great Britain, and this despite the fact that most of them had the start of the United States in competing with Great Britain for the China market.

I was pleased to find that on the whole the American press, as the representative of public opinion in the United States, warmly endorsed the views which I expressed relative to the open door, in my speeches on my way back to Great Britain, and all appeared to be very much interested in the China problem. Despite this interest, however, I was unable to obtain any definite expression of opinion in favor of an active policy in Chinese affairs.

The commercial community of any country knows its own business better than any outsider can teach it, and all I propose to do is to lay plain facts before my American readers, without presuming to dictate to them as to what their line of policy should be.

The position and importance of American trade with China I

have already shown to be considerable. The prospects of its development, and the many openings for increasing trade, will be found on reading my Report. The only question which remains, and which I propose to shortly deal with here, is the actual position and prospects of China herself, and how American interests are thereby affected.

Some of the American journals which disagreed with me, seemed to doubt the wisdom of the policy I suggested in my speeches in America, because, they say, "if inaugurated it would force the United States into a situation which might lead to war," and therefore the interests involved are not commensurate with the risks and responsibilities likely to be incurred.

I can quite understand this argument, and how strongly it must appeal to the people of the United States, who have always endeavored to observe a policy of non-intervention in foreign affairs, unless important interests of the American people were at stake, or their sense of justice was appealed to. This is a perfectly intelligible policy on the part of a commercial nation, to which peace is of the highest importance, because of the disturbing effect of war on trade and commerce. But there are occasions on which it is necessary to protect commercial interests by going to war, and there are occasions on which an energetic policy is necessary in order to prevent war, and to avoid irreparable damage to trade and commerce. The situation we are now facing comes under the last-named head. In my humble opinion, in the present state of affairs with regard to China, it would be better in the commercial interests of both the United States and Great Britain, that they should support China, and so prevent the total collapse of this immense Empire, together with the consequent disorganization of trade, and the expenditure of blood and money which will be required to restore law and order, and to re-establish that confidence without which trade cannot flourish.

If it were merely a question of the present value of American-Chinese trade being involved, I can quite see that it would pay the United States to remain an unmoved spectator of events in the Far East; but this is not the case. China is an almost untapped market. It is a vast country with an enormous population, and rich natural resources, all of which can be developed. Can either the United States or Great Britain afford to stand

aside, and see their present trade disturbed, if not lost; and, also, their share in the prospective development of China as a whole interfered with? There is no doubt what the answer of the commercial classes in Great Britain will be, and I do not think that there will be much difference between their views and those of the business men of the United States, when the latter have carefully examined the *data* with which my Report will supply them.

There are only two policies open. The one, I contend, will inevitably lead to anarchy and rebellion in China, and possibly to war between the foreign nations whose interests clash in that country. In certain phases of situations, no such thing as a policy of non-intervention is possible. This is one of them. To calmly await events really means to precipitate the dangers we all wish to avoid. Recent action on the part of the various European Powers has tended to discredit the Chinese Government in the eyes of the people. So called "spheres of influence" are being more or less openly mapped out. In those spheres, certain countries are endeavoring to set up a claim to exclusive rights and privileges. China is powerless to resist the demands which are made upon her, and, when she yields to one Power by "*force majeure*," she is immediately bullied by other Powers to give them compensation for things she had neither the moral right to grant, nor the physical power to refuse.

This selfish and cowardly policy has been pursued by all the European Powers in a minor or major degree. If it is continued much longer, it must inevitably lead to the break-up of the Chinese Empire. I will go further. It has been pursued too long already: events are moving so rapidly, that we can no longer adhere to a policy of drift. The effete and corrupt Chinese Government has been so severely shaken, that, the moment the people realize its impotence, it must fall. There are only two policies in my opinion to be adopted. The one is to acquiesce in this state of affairs, and so be compelled to join the dishonest "spheres of influence" policy, which means that everyone will take as much territory as he can. The second and alternative line of policy is that which I have described as "The Open Door, or Equal Opportunity for the Trade of All Nations." I will deal with both.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE.

It amazes me to hear people talk so calmly about the break-up

of an Empire of over 430 millions of people. It will be easy to destroy the present governmental system in China, but how is it to be reconstructed? What will become of the guarantees and undertakings of China, and what security have we that the expectant heirs of the Sick Man of the Far East will assume the responsibility for his obligations? The phrase "spheres of influence" is easy to use in theory, but *how* is the policy it indicates to be carried out in practice?

Nominal spheres of influence, such as Germany now possesses in Shantung, or Russia in Manchuria, may exist as long as there is a Chinese Government with some authority over the people to maintain law and order; but when that Government is overturned and the authority of the hated foreigner is substituted for it, the question becomes less easy to settle than it looks on the face of it. Are the Powers going to land armies to conquer or repress 400 millions of people, who even now show an undisguised hatred and contempt for the foreigner and all his methods? Are we going to destroy an Empire which has lasted for 4,000 years, and replace it with something else in a satisfactory manner, within a period of ten, fifteen, twenty or even a hundred years? What man of common sense can doubt that such a policy means endless trouble, anarchy and rebellion; and an interference with trade and commerce which may be felt for years to come? To foreign bondholders, it means a loss of between fifty and sixty millions, sterling, because the debtor and his guarantee will both have disappeared.

How are the rival interests of conflicting nations to be amicably adjusted, if such a state of affairs is brought about? Capital has been invested and railways are being built by one Power, in the "sphere of influence" regarded by another Power as peculiarly its own. For instance, in the Yangtse Valley, which, if "spheres of influence" are marked out, Great Britain will take measures to secure as her own, several nations have lately obtained territorial concessions, which have resulted in the disturbance of British firms who owned land within such concessions. It cannot be doubted that, if the disintegration of China begins, these and other questions will lead to international complications. Where is the United States' sphere of influence to be? I think the answer is very short. The United States' sphere of influence, like that of Great Britain, *should* be wherever

American trade preponderates over that of other Powers. If one Power is allowed to close the door in the South, and others in the North, no sphere of influence can compensate America and Great Britain for the loss they must sustain.

The policy of inaction will, therefore, by allowing the Chinese Government to fall to pieces, bring about a condition of affairs which must lead to an expenditure of blood and money to protect the lives and property of foreigners resident in China. It most probably will lead to international complications, and to a European war; and, most certainly, it will mean great disturbance to, if not eventual loss of, trade.

"THE OPEN DOOR."

The alternative policy to that which I have just described is that of the "Open Door, or Equal Opportunity for All." This policy was advocated in my recent speeches in America on the China question. I suppose that, even in a protectionist country, such as the United States, no one will deny the advantages of such a policy as applied to American exports to China; and that, whether the American manufacturer prefers to have preferential rights at home or not, it must be to his advantage that he has an equal opportunity with the foreigner abroad, and that no foreigner secures preferential rights in China which would leave American trade in the cold.

This being so, only the question of the cost remains to be calculated; and how such a policy is to be carried out if adopted. It is upon this point that I think some of the American journals misunderstood my arguments, which probably were not sufficiently clearly stated.

I deny that this policy can lead to war, or that it will cost the United States a single cent, or a solitary soldier, to carry it out.

The first thing is to see how this policy is to be undertaken, and then we can estimate the cost of it. It means a policy to be inaugurated now, whereas the alternative policy is a policy of procrastination. This is a most important point, when it is remembered that there are only two Powers ready to go to war in China to-day, or who can possibly do so with any chance of success. As time goes on, this will be altered. At the present moment Great Britain, with her enormous fleet in Far Eastern waters, and the 100,000 native troops she can bring up from India within a shorter time than any other Power can land an army,

combined with her possession of the chief coaling stations, is pre-eminently in a position to deal with the China question by war, if she so desired. Next to her, comes Japan, with a fine fleet in close proximity to the scene of operations, and a capacity to land 200,000 troops in China at any moment. Apart from these two, the United States, by her position on the other side of the Pacific, and the object lesson she has just given the world of her ability to mobilize men and ships rapidly and effectively, has also to be counted with; while, as any trouble in China would probably mean European complications, Germany would have to be regarded as an important factor in the position. Above all, these four powers represent the foreign trade interests of China, the proportion divided up amongst other nations being so inconsiderable that it has no such strong claims.

These four Powers, therefore, have a moral right to protect their own interests, and the ability to do so. If they agreed to combine, not for purely selfish motives, but to guarantee the independence of China, and the maintenance of a fair field and no favor for all comers, who can suppose that any other Power could reasonably (or even unreasonably) object. The whole *raison d'être* of such an understanding would lie in the fact that it would be too powerful to attack, and that it could maintain the peace while preserving the open door to all. There would be no menace to other Powers in such a combination, because the bond of agreement between the contracting parties would be the preservation of the open door with equal opportunity for all. To China herself, the Powers would prove friends in need. By guaranteeing her integrity, they would give a new lease of life to the Chinese Empire. They would be entitled to ask, and powerful enough to secure, that reforms for the benefit of China and the improvement of foreign trade should be carried out.

The re-organization of China's finances and her army, would enable her to stand alone in the near future. It is not necessary to go to Congress, or to the Imperial Parliament, to secure the men necessary to assist China to effect these reforms. As long as the four Governments induced China to undertake the reforms in return for their protection, men would easily be secured from all of these countries, and also from other nations, who would assist the Chinese in building up their Empire on more stable foundations.

The moral and political support of China by the four Powers I have named is all that is needed. They need not expend a single shilling, or move a single man, officially, in order to carry it out. All that is required is that China shall be assisted, and, in return for such assistance, shall employ foreigners of all countries who will reorganize her army and her finances, on as sound lines as the Imperial Maritime Customs of China is established.

Observation of recent events teaches us that, if we continue to leave China to herself without recuperative power from within, or firm and determined assistance from without, her ultimate disintegration is only a question of time. The reforms which are urgently required in China, both for the benefi of that Empire and its people, and for the development of the trade of friendly nations, may be shortly summarized as follows:

1. The appointment of a foreign Financial Adviser to direct the administration and collection of internal revenue.

2. The reform of currency, so as to afford a more stable exchange.

3. The establishment and centralization of mints.

4. The abolition of the present *octroi* and likin charges on goods which have already paid duty at the ports. In return for this, China should be allowed to increase her present tariff. Trade would not be damaged so much by slightly increased taxation, as it is injured and hindered by the delays and uncertainties of the present fiscal system.

5. The re-arrangement of the salt monopoly, and general administrative reform.

6. The establishment and maintenance of a proper military and police, capable of affording that protection to which the foreign merchant is entitled for himself or his goods.

7. The opening up of the country and its resources, by giving greater facilities to native or foreign capital in the development of the minerals of the country, and improvements in the lines of communication, including postal and telegraphic reforms.

8. The right of residence in the interior to be conceded to foreigners.

9. The promotion of all reforms and the introduction of all changes which are likely to promote the cause of civilization and the well-being of the Chinese people.

Such a coalition as that of the four great trading Powers I

have mentioned, could obtain these reforms with advantage to themselves, and benefit to China, and indeed the trading world.

In a very few years, with this assistance loyally rendered, China would have an army capable of protecting herself, as long as she retained the foreign officers. The idea that the Chinese are not good soldiers is a great mistake. I was permitted to inspect most of the armies, and all of the forts and arsenals of China, as will be seen by the detailed accounts in my report, and I am convinced that, properly armed, disciplined, and led, there could be no better material than the Chinese soldier. I leave it to the commercial classes of the United States to say whether it is not worth their while to incur such slight risks for such great profit, and for so good an object.

On sound business lines this policy appeals to the American nation; but, in addition to that, are we going to let this opportunity slip of drawing the two Anglo-Saxon nations together for the cause of civilized progress, and the benefit of the world at large? Great nations have great responsibilities, to which they must be true, and when those responsibilities and self-interest go hand in hand, it would be unwise to miss the opportunity.

Events are moving very rapidly in the Far East. A decision must be arrived at, and action of some sort taken very soon. It is the duty of Great Britain to lead, and I believe that the United States will not refuse to follow, but that both nations will combine to hoist aloft the banner of civilization and industrial progress, for the benefit of their own people, as well as for the benefit of China, and of the world.

CHARLES BERESFORD.

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

BY THE REV. JOHN WATSON, D. D. ("IAN MACLAREN").

It is a historical fact that any crisis in the Church of England affects, not only English history, but also the greater history of the Anglo-Saxon race. The persecution of the Puritan party in the seventeenth century laid the foundation of the American nation; and Puritanism found a home in New England, whence the Puritan spirit has been acting upon the world. Wesley's exile from the English Church created the most aggressive and enthusiastic of Protestant denominations, and has taught new methods of religious work to the Christian Church. The Church of England is again in a ferment, and what may come out of this commotion for Anglo-Saxon Christianity no man can tell. But it may be interesting, especially for American readers, to have a succinct and, so far as may be possible for any writer, an impartial statement of the present religious situation in England.

I.

It is necessary, at the outset, for the reader to remind himself of the unique position which the Church of England holds in English life and society. To her belong the great cathedrals, which are not only monuments of beautiful art, but are also associated with great passages of the past, since within these cathedrals the classic dead of England lie, and great events of English history have taken place. The service of the English Church has also so endeared itself to all Englishmen, whether they be Anglicans or Puritans, that many persons who are not members of the national Church still desire the sanction of her rites at the great moments of life. Dissenters love to be married within her walls; their children are frequently christened by her ministers, and afterwards their own remains are committed to the dust with the

words of her beautiful death office. The public schools of England, where the sons of the middle and upper classes are educated, and from which our legislators and statesmen and writers and lawyers largely come, are under the control of the Anglican Church, so that the lads, at the most impressionable period of life, are brought up in her spirit and are taught her doctrines. The Queen must be, in England, a member of the Anglican Church, just as, in Scotland, she is a member of the Presbyterian Kirk; for this is in accordance with the theory of established churches. The Houses of Parliament are opened with the service of the national Church, and throughout the land all kinds of institutions, from poorhouses to jails, are equipped with Anglican chaplains. At every turn, one comes up against the Church; and, in a thousand subtle ways, the Church has struck her roots through the length and breadth of English life.

One ought also freely to admit, whether he happens to be a member of a liturgical church or not, that no form of divine worship is so perfectly satisfying, in its comprehensiveness and spirituality, in its reverence and beauty, as the offices of the Anglican Church, and especially the services for morning and evening prayer, with the litany. Many dissenters yearly pass over from their own communions to the Church of England, because they are tired of extempore prayer and offended by its want of reverence; and, indeed, it may also be laid down as a principle that, when a person reaches a certain height of culture, he will no longer be content to be at the mercy of, it may be, a partially educated person in the conduct of divine worship, but will insist that culture, in the sense of imagination and delicacy and reverence of thought, should render her highest service in the worship of God. The dissenting communions of England do not contain many representatives of the cultured classes, and, while there may be various reasons for this fact, undoubtedly one is their somewhat rude and miscellaneous forms of worship, compared with the stately order and the grave, sweet melody of the prayer book.

Besides, it is possible that too little weight has been attached to the fact that the Anglican Church, in her very peculiarities, reflects the character of the English mind. While a Scot is logical if he is anything, and is willing to break his neck over a precipice in following the path of straight reason, an Englishman is rather sensible and practical, and considers that extremes may

often be united by a judicious compromise. When a critic points out that the Anglican Church is hopelessly inconsistent in her own formularies—because she has Calvinistic articles and a Catholic prayer book, because her clergyman is sometimes called a minister and sometimes a priest, because the mass is denounced in an article and then is partially sanctioned in her communion office, because the Roman custom of confession was abandoned and then confession in certain circumstances is invited—he seems to have made a strong case against the Church of England. But he has not injured that Church one bit in the mind of an average Englishman. He is aware, if he knows anything about history, that the Church really was a compromise between extreme parties, so that she should be neither Roman nor Puritan, and, whether he knows this or not, he is quite content that she shall represent different views and express the feelings of different schools as the church of the English people.

One influence of the English Church is, however, not wholesome, and is to be deprecated as much by churchmen as by dissenters, and that is a certain ignoble and vulgar social attraction which she possesses for people of the rich, self-made class. So long as a dissenter is poor, or so long as, being rich, he does not desire to enter society, he is content to worship as his fathers did, according to the order of the Congregational or Methodist communion. When he becomes rich, and especially when his family grow ambitious of social favor, he feels uneasy in his dissenting environment, and regards the Church of England with increasing favor. His children have been brought up at public schools or girls' boarding schools, where they have attended the Anglican worship, and they refuse any longer to go with their parents to chapel. They are admitted into the Church of England by confirmation, and, usually, with the zeal of a 'vert (if a person leaves my communion he is, of course, a pervert; if he comes to my communion he is, of course, a convert: in this case we are simply saying a 'vert), they become extremely High Church, and are by no means certain regarding the salvation of their own parents. The parents themselves may remain dissenters to the day of their death, or at last, weary of dissension at home, and possibly touched also with social ambition, they may go with their children to the Church of England. It is no wonder that conscientious dissenters are indignant with this religious snobbery, and that the

spiritual clergy of the Church of England regard with suspicion and disfavor those that have come to their fold not for conscience but for fashion's sake. This unfortunate influence of the Anglican Church is sometimes urged as a reason for disestablishment, but with little insight or grasp of thought, since the Church disestablished would still be as fashionable, and would still be one of the roads into select society for striving and un-spiritual people.

II.

We must now fix in our minds the internal geography, as it were, of the Church of England, which is divided into three provincial parties, each with its own distinct color and history.

There is, first of all, the High Church party, which rests upon a solid historical basis, and represents the views of those who never desired to separate from the Catholic Church, but only were weary of the abuses of the Papacy. This party would have been satisfied, at the time of the Reformation, had moral scandals been removed and the ecclesiastical tyranny of Rome been reduced. High Churchmen have always desired to keep in the line of Catholic tradition, from the days of Cyprian downwards, and have rejoiced in the offices of the Catholic Church, being unwilling to lose one spiritual prayer of the past that has expressed the soul of Christ's Church, or one beautiful ceremony which has represented, as in a picture, the mysteries of Christ's faith. In the troubled days when the questions that are agitating our time were fought out to their bitter end, this party was represented in its saintliness by George Herbert and Bishop Andrewes, and in its public policy by one in whom both its strength and weakness were strangely combined, Archbishop Laud; while, in our century, it has risen into life and strength under the guidance of Newman, Pusey, Keble, Liddon and Gore. This party stands for the Catholic idea of the Church, the principle of authority in religion, the beauty of public worship and the Apostolical succession of the holy ministry.

The second party represents the tendency at the Reformation which was called Calvinistic, and, somewhat later in England, Puritan. Low Churchmen were determined to go to the furthest length in rescuing, as they believed, Christianity from superstition and doctrinal error; they preferred to have presbyters without bishops, believing that bishops meant in the end tyranny and ecclesiastical corruption. They desired the simplest form of wor-

ship, and were especially keen against kneeling at the sacrament, the sign of the cross, turning to the East, the wearing of priestly garments, and every other form of symbolism. Their real and characteristic idea of worship was and is, unto this day, praise sung by all the people, extempore prayer in which the people are not able to join, the preaching of a sermon, and the administration of the two sacraments after the simplest and sometimes baldest form. Low Churchmen accept, of course, the service of the Church of England, but they reject as much as they dare of what is Catholic, and introduce extempore prayer where they can. Low Churchism was represented in the burning period by Bishop Hooper, of Gloucester, who refused to wear the Episcopal garments, and was in the end condemned as a heretic in the reign of Mary, and burned at the stake. It revived in later days, under the spirit of Whitfield and Simeon, and is to-day most accurately represented by the venerable Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool.

While the fire was burning keenly, and Puritans and Anglicans were at one another's throats in former times, the third party could hardly put itself in evidence. Perhaps the Broad Church party can, however, be traced back to Lord Falkland, who gathered around him so thoughtful a circle of friends, and labored so hard to reconcile Puritans and Cavaliers, dying at last on the battlefield with the words "peace, peace," on his lips. Chillingworth, who had been both an Anglican and a Roman, and in the end went deeper than either, and Henry More, the religious philosopher, may be called fathers in this school of thought. No province certainly has reared nobler sons, or afforded richer harvests to religion in our day, since the Broad Church has given us Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Robertson of Brighton and Dean Stanley. The Broad Churchmen occupy a detached position, as regards both Anglicans and Puritans, since they do not hold the high doctrine of the sacraments and of the ministry, while, at the same time, they are in favor of an ornate and reverent service. Everything which is historical and everything which is aesthetic appeals to their culture, but they are at the same time cleansed from a belief in ecclesiastical authority and doctrinal obscurantism. Their cardinal tenets are the Fatherhood of God and the true Humanity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Incarnation as a perpetual force in human life, and the salvation of the race through the spirit of Jesus.

III.

From the revival of the High Church party in the middle of this century, the religious life of the Church of England has steadily deepened, so that, before the eyes of the nation, she has grown less secular and worldly, and has given herself, with singular devotion, to the cause of missions abroad, and to the welfare of the people at home. Her churches have been rebuilt and restored to a former beauty, her services have been lifted from squalor and coldness, and have been inspired both by art and faith. Her clergy have ceased to be fox hunters and diners out, and are now examples of self-denial and heroic sacrifice, many of them devoting all their means to the service of Christ and, for Christ's sake, denying themselves the comfort of family ties. With these beneficent results, others have mingled which the English people have regarded with growing suspicion; such as the claim of the Anglican ministry to be priests after the Roman idea, the elevation of the Lord's Supper into something approaching the Mass in mediæval theology, the reproduction of Roman services that had been abandoned by universal consent at the Reformation, the inculcation of the duty of confession and the creation of monastic orders.

Certain churches have had for years a worship which cannot be distinguished from the Roman rites, and there has been a growing indignation in the popular mind. With so much inflammable material lying loose, it was easy to set a match, and a person of the name of Kensit, an obscure publisher, interrupted the service in a ritualistic church in London, where the people were engaged in the adoration of the cross, by protesting in public against this rite, as a superstition of Rome and an illegality in the Church of England. He was brought before a magistrate and accused of brawling, but was eventually dismissed as not guilty, and he certainly was not punished. His act was the lighted match which caused the explosion, and now the whole country within and without the borders of the Church of England is full of noise and smoke. Sir William Harcourt, the leader of the Liberal party, for reasons which are variously estimated, but which one is bound to believe are entirely honest and conscientious, has put himself forward as the champion of Protestantism; and, both in the House of Commons and outside, he has insisted, with much force and

considerable learning, that the practices of the ritualistic wing of the High Church party are contrary to the law of the Church as laid down by agreement with the State. He has pointed out, with unanswerable arguments, that the Church of England has a covenant with the State, and is not at liberty to break that covenant by introducing new doctrines or forms of worship. This crusade against the ritualists, as they are called, has been much assisted by the speeches of Mr. Samuel Smith, a member of Parliament and a man of well-known piety, who from the purest religious motives has been protesting against the Romanizing of the Church of England. Mr. Kensit and Sir William Harcourt are members of the Anglican Church; Mr. Smith is a member of the Presbyterian Church, and, while in Scotland he would be an Established Churchman, as the Presbyterian Church is there established, he is in England a dissenter. The battle is being fought, therefore, between the High Church and the Low Church within the Church of England, and the Low Churchmen have been reinforced from the outside by a considerable section of Non-Conformists.

IV.

The Non-Conformists are, of course, an important factor in English religious life, and they have not been unaffected by the High Church revival. During the last fifty years their whole idea of Christian worship has steadily heightened; so that a chapel is now frequently called a church, and is built in the Gothic style, in many cases, of architecture. Great attention is given to music and the accessories of worship, and in a few cases forms of prayer are used. One of the greatest of Non-Conformist divines, Dr. Dale, of Birmingham, taught a high idea of the Church and of the sacraments; and generally there has been a reaction from extreme simplicity of worship and individualism in Church polity. Quite lately a certain tendency to rationalism among Non-Conformists has been checked, and there has been an evident return to the verities of the Catholic faith. What is perhaps most significant of all, there has been a keen desire for Church unity, so that now various Non-Conformist denominations are united in a more or less loose federal scheme, called Free Church Councils, where the ministers and laymen of the Baptist, Independent, Methodist, and, in some cases, Presbyterian, communions hold counsel together in

a district, and take common action. It is right, however, to say, and it is also very important, that there is not in any quarter of Non-Conformity the slightest claim to priesthood, or the faintest anxiety to come to terms with Rome; while the nation is haunted by an uneasy feeling that Rome is the real goal of the extreme High Church party. Possibly a majority of Non-Conformists are in favor of disestablishment upon the grounds of religious equality, and also of the supposed social arrogance of the Anglican Church. Many Non-Conformists, however, are Conservatives in politics, and their number has been largely increased by the Home Rule split in the Liberal party; and this section of Non-Conformity is not at all enthusiastic for disestablishment, and is not inclined to meddle with the affairs of the Established Church. The Non-Conformists are, as a body, Evangelical and Protestant, and represent in the fullest manner the tradition and system of Puritanism.

V.

With this situation before us, the question now arises, What will happen? And here all one can do is to point out certain different possibilities. It is not at all unlikely that, after all this agitation and after all the threats of war unto death, the whole conflagration may burn out, as such conflagrations have burned out in the past; and the Church of England may go on her way, with a party at one extreme furiously Protestant, a party at the other almost Roman, and a party in the middle, stronger than both, composed of quiet, reverent, cultured churchmen. It is possible that the Bishops may put their heads together and at the same time may put their feet down, and if they chose to act vigorously, the Bishops could be felt through every corner of the Church. But to the present time they have been very cautious and timid, and their advice, when it has been given to ritualists, has usually been flouted and set at naught. As a class, Bishops are inclined to temporize and to make peace, if it be possible, between all parties, but it is said, with some justice, that their influence of recent years has been against the Low Church and in favor of the High. Very few people expect that the Bishops will do anything worth mentioning, or that they are likely to solve the problem of the situation.

Many are anxious that Parliament should interfere, and should pass some act by which mutinous priests of Romanizing

tendency could be easily removed from their livings, and the Protestantism of the Church of England secured by stringent legislation. Against this effort it may be urged that Parliament, a body composed of men of every creed and of no creed, is a most unsuitable body to discuss theological questions, and many feel that it would be utterly profane that discussions regarding the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ should take place on the floor of the House of Commons. High Churchmen are, of course, aghast at the idea, and consider that Parliament has no right to intrude upon the spiritual province of the Church, while many Non-Conformists agree with High Churchmen so far as this, that for Parliament to regulate the worship and doctrine of Christ's church would be an act of gross Erastianism. There are also some Non-Conformists, but one hopes that they are few, who would object to any Parliamentary reformation of the Church, because they would prefer that the condition of the Church should be allowed to grow worse and worse, in order that disestablishment might become inevitable.

It is open to prophesy that the strain of the present situation may soon become intolerable to the parties within the Church, and that there may be a disruption. As the High Church party has been for some time dominant, winning their cases in the law courts, and carrying everything before them in the Church courts, this could only mean the secession of the Low Church party. Undoubtedly, if a large body of Low Church clergymen seceded because they would not remain in a church which was, as they believed, teaching the worst superstitions of the Roman creed, their departure and their sacrifice would have a great effect upon the nation, and might do more than anything else to advance their views and win their cause. Very few people, however, are able to believe that, in any circumstances, the Low Church would take this heroic step, because, for various reasons, it has become a weakly party, with comparatively few scholars and with practically no leaders, and because, while it has fumed and fretted in the past, as a party, Low Churchmen have ever held fast to the idea of an established church, and have never shown the slightest inclination on any ground to abandon their livings. Many people, on the other hand, find it easy to believe that, if the High Church party were worsted and were denied the privilege of Catholic rites, a large number of its members would make any sacrifice, as the

High Church party have ever put their principles before the Established Church of England, and as no one has ever been able to charge the High Church with the slightest inclination to Erastianism, or to cowardice.

VI.

The solution of the situation which occurs to every mind, as one which is certain to be proposed and which has many arguments in its favor, is the disestablishment of the Church of England. This action would be approved by the secular school of politicians, who regard the Christian Church with suspicion as an enemy of the people; by doctrinaires, political and religious, who insist with somewhat wire-drawn logic that the endowment of any single church is a violation of the principle of religious equality; by the class of Non-Conformists who believe that they are suffering a social wrong by the precedence of the Anglican Church; by the extreme wing of the High Church party, who would be much relieved to see the Church delivered from the royal supremacy and the interference of the State; and by the general body of pronounced Protestants, who feel that they are responsible as citizens for the Established Church and who, in present circumstances, are eager to wash their hands of this responsibility without delay.

On the other hand, disestablishment would be opposed by Conservative politicians, on the general ground of resistance to all change; by that school of religious people who hold that it is the duty of the State to endow the Church, and that a nation which has not established Christianity cannot be called Christian; by the Low Church party, who are unable to imagine the Church unestablished and free; and by the Broad Churchmen, because they believe, with some reason, that no sect is likely to be as tolerant and comprehensive as an established church; and in ordinary circumstances the anti-disestablishment party would be swelled by that large number of persons, of all political and religious creeds, who have no theoretical opinions on Established Churches, but who argue, with some semblance of common sense, that no institution should be punished which has served its end with fidelity, and that the Church of England has never been more efficient than at the present moment. This was the mind of the nation a year ago, and no cause was then so hopeless as disestablishment.

Even allowing full credit to the Protestant agitation, it is very

doubtful whether all her opponents together could disestablish the Church, if her different parties united in her defence. If, however, High Churchmen anxious to be free, and Non-Conformists determined to make them free, and Protestants burning to strike a blow at Rome, should unite their forces, disestablishment would come within the range of practical politics, and would become the election cry of the Liberal party. What was impossible yesterday might then become an accomplished fact, and the long alliance between the English State and the English Church, which has on the whole been a blessing to both, be finally dissolved. Should this come to pass, the dissolution of this union will lie at the door of the extreme High Church party.

VII.

Regarding the result of disestablishment and the history of the Church of England, when she is free and independent, there may be two opinions. It is reasonable to argue that, as soon as the Church is self-governing, the large body of the English laity, who have no sympathy whatever with ritualistic extravagances or clerical pretensions, will avail themselves of the opportunity, and do what neither Parliament nor the Bishops have been able to accomplish. They will then revise the laws of the Church, and pass such regulations that every clergyman will have to abandon Roman practices or leave the Church. This has been the line taken by the Irish laity, and they have secured the Protestant character of the Church of Ireland beyond attack, and are able to deal with mutinous priests in a perfectly satisfactory manner. It is, however, open to argue that the High Church party, being the most determined and vigorous school in the Church of England, will seize the position, dictating any terms they choose to the Low Church party, and legalizing all the practices which at present are in dispute. In this case disestablishment would play into the hands of the Roman party, and be a very doubtful victory for the Protestants. It would then be possible for the Church of England to come to terms with Rome, and some morning the English people would awake to find a Roman priest in every parish church, and the work of the Reformation undone.

So serious and so likely is this prospect, that many shrink from any measure that would set the Church of England free from the control of the nation, and place this enormous corpora-

tion, so rich in possessions and in traditions, at the disposal of Rome; and others, who consider that there is no solution for the situation except disestablishment, are determined that if the Church of England goes out with her present buildings, and with her large endowments, it shall be upon the condition that in no circumstances must they be handed over to the Roman Church.

VIII.

Perhaps, after all, the crisis may be resolved after another fashion, and the Church may be saved by what may be called the middle party. A large number of Englishmen are neither High, Low nor Broad; they do not trouble themselves about questions either of doctrine or ritual; they prefer a sound, sensible, practical sermon to any theological discussion; they like a well conducted musical service; they respect a parson who does his duty by the sick and the mourning and the poor and the children during the week, and, if he chooses to wear vestments on Sunday, they certainly do not think any more of his judgment; but, since it pleases him (and the women) and does them no injury, they offer no opposition. This kind of man does not enter readily into controversy, and refuses to attend party meetings, and it is doubtful whether as yet he has expressed himself upon the present situation. He is beginning, however, to watch events, and to get hold of the issues in question, and as soon as he is convinced that the Church of England is in real danger, and that the danger comes from the foolishness of a few hot headed extremists, he will make his voice heard, and also his power. In no circumstances will this man, the average, intelligent Englishman, return to the Roman Church, or throw away the national and religious freedom which was won by his fathers; nor does he propose to be driven out of the national church, which is his home and his heritage, and to take refuge in a Non-Conformist chapel. The moment that he has any suspicion that the confessional, for instance, is really to be re-established in the Anglican Church, he will bestir himself to some purpose, and will be inclined to make very short work with Anglican confessors. It is this man who creates sound opinion in his Church, and when that opinion is created it will certainly be against the Roman party, and as certainly it will be irresistible. Against the determined convictions of this kind of man and his quiet, resolute action, the ecclesiastical arrogance and hysteri-

cal fervor of the ritualists will be of no avail. One by one, in their parishes, they will be ostracised and condemned, and an atmosphere will be created in which they cannot live; they will either have to return to their senses and the orderly worship of the Anglican Church, or else they will have to go, and enter the church which they regard with so much envy as the undeniable branch of the Catholic Church, but which regards them as weak imitators and willful impostors. The policy of prosecution a ritualist welcomes—it is a cheap martyrdom; the policy of refrigeration he will not be able to endure—he will be frozen out. The salvation of the Anglican Church lies with this middle party, who are stronger than all the Bishops and all the clergy, and who really represent the best mind of the English nation. I can still hear a fine old clergyman of the moderate High Church school saying to me: "I am not a Ritualist, I am not a Low Churchman, neither am I a Broad Churchman; I am a member of the Church of England, and a Prayer-book Christian." This man, clergyman or layman, could never become a Puritan, neither would he ever become a Roman; he will ever walk in the way along which the main current of English life has gone, and he can now render his greatest service to the nation and to the Church, by coming forward in this present crisis and recalling the Church of England to that attitude of religious sanity and cultured moderation which, in days past, have been her distinction and attraction.

JOHN WATSON.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY THE HON. T. B. REED.

EVER since the time when the bewildered successors of Columbus failed to find the transit to the East, by which they meant to pass by the land they had discovered to reach the far countries of the Orient they originally sought, the isthmus which connects the Northern and Southern continents of the Western Hemisphere and separates the Atlantic from the Pacific Ocean has been the subject of the deepest interest, and the scene of a wonderful amount of research, considering the difficulties of topography and climate. At first, all were reluctant to surrender the old idea, which had hardened itself into a tradition, with imaginary maps and charts, that, somewhere in the lagoons and tropical forests, was a passage-way already made by nature, which was only waiting the sails of the bold man who should discover or rediscover the highway of nations through which the commerce of two worlds would enrich and satisfy both.

It was soon found, however, that there was no passage made by nature; and Philip the Second felt assured that the Lord did not intend the connection to be made between the two Oceans. While we have since learned that the intentions of the Deity are not to be lightly assumed, there was certainly in that age a fair chance for argument; for a more closely connected and determined union of hills and peaks can hardly anywhere be found, than in the range which runs from one end to the other of the Isthmus, and its immediate connections. Providence certainly did not intend that any world, any less rich than our own, should undertake the work of lifting great ships across the divide which separates the Oceans.

All the probable passage-ways have been so far examined, that the world has settled down upon the belief that only two routes can

be the scene of the great commerce which is hoped for in the future. One is on the Isthmus of Panama, which is the least in actual distance from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the other takes its course through the Peninsula which connects the Isthmus with the main continent to the north, as it goes widening from Costa Rica to Mexico. One route is 46 miles, and the other between 170 and 180. While there is that great difference in distance to be traversed, the difference in the canals to be excavated is by no means so great. The Panama Canal is all excavation from one end to the other, except 11½ miles of artificial lake, and is 46 miles in length. The Nicaragua route makes use of Lake Nicaragua, an inland sea which was one day connected with the Pacific and was a part of its vast expanse. The landlocked sharks of the lake are living testimonials of the fact. Besides the lake, a long stretch of river can be so utilized that, while the distance on the Nicaragua route is what has been stated, the canal making will be somewhere between 27 and 35 miles, according to the plan which shall finally be adopted. In addition to the canal making, the rivers used will have to be dredged and lowered and some parts of them turned aside. The Lake will also need dredging in various places. No definite plans have yet been decided upon by the last Board which was sent to investigate the problem, though they have indicated, with careful reserve, changes, which are very serious modifications of the work proposed by the Engineer of the Maritime Canal Company, Mr. Menocal. The Report of the Canal Board under charge of General Wm. Ludlow had already criticised that plan, and made many suggestions which caused reflection even in the minds of those who had been earnest partisans.

Perhaps a brief description of the plan of the Maritime Canal Company, and a statement of the points of criticism, would enable us more easily to get a general idea of the state of the enterprise and the conditions of the various plans, so far as they have been indicated.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the main avenue of transportation is Lake Nicaragua, at 110 feet above the level of the sea. Of course, the water line of the Lake varies, nobody knows quite how much, but between limits of 12 or 14 feet between 112 feet and 98 feet. This variation, however, does not cover each year but a number of years, and is the extreme varia-

tion. The level of 110 feet named in the Menocal plan, or 112 in the Ludlow suggestion, must be maintained all the time; for, while the top of the Lake may be lowered from time to time, the bottom cannot be, and the difference between the top and the bottom is where the vessel runs. This level of the Lake, at 110 or 112 feet, is the height to which ships must be lifted to cross the altitude between the two Oceans. To this height the ships must be lifted on both sides by locks, and lowered on both sides by the same means. The 110 feet level exists, naturally, only on the Lake itself when it is high, and in the upper San Juan, its outflow. This would be only 56 miles of the 170, to which should be added a part of the San Juan River on the eastern side. To increase this distance, whatever it might be, so as to make the level extend for more than 140 miles, Mr. Menocal conceived a plan which was singularly bold and attractive. On the Pacific side, he planned to have the first nine miles from the lake end in a basin of five miles and a half in length, and a mile in width, created by a tall dam called the La Flor Dam. This would add 14½ miles to the navigation on the 110 feet level. On the Atlantic side, he proposed a dam at Ochoa on the San Juan sixty-four miles from its source, which is the Lake, which would have extended the navigation on the Lake level sixty-four miles more. The dam was to be, or, rather, would have to be, 110 feet high, to which must be added the depth necessary to reach rock bottom, though Menocal contemplated surface dam. At Ochoa, the route was to branch off into the Valley of the San Francisco, where, by a dam at the end and by embankments on the sides, another basin was to be created, carrying the Lake level seven miles farther. Adding all these extensions to the 56 miles by which you cross the Lake, you will find that, from La Flor Dam to the end of the San Francisco basin, there was to be a stretch of 142 miles on the same level, the level of the Lake, not a natural varying level, but a permanent one to be created. This 142 miles being taken out, there were left 26 or 27 miles of canal to be made. Of the 27 miles, 11½ were to be on the Pacific side and the rest on the side of Greytown. These figures are not exact, but are sufficiently so for our present purpose. On this plan, a ship from the Pacific, at about half a mile from Brito, was to be lifted by one lock 21 or 29 feet, according to the stage of the tide. Going on this new level two miles, the ship would be lifted by two locks which were to adjoin each other

45½ feet by each, and about 90 feet by both, to the Tola basin, to begin its voyage of 142 miles to the Lake, through the Lake and on the San Juan River, down by the Ochoa Dam to and through the San Francisco Basin; then three miles through the Eastern Divide, a rock cutting 140 feet in depth, to the Deseado basin; at the end of which the ship was to be lowered 45 feet by a lock, travel three miles further, and then, being lowered 30 feet, go on another mile, drop 31 feet and then, after 9 miles of canal, reach the Harbor of Greytown, which was to be made available by whatever expenditure might be necessary. It will be seen, even from this inadequate description, that it was not an exaggeration to call this plan both bold and attractive.

It was attractive, because it gave a long reach of 142 miles, and in many ways seemed to lessen the amount of canal making and the amount of dredging in the river San Juan. It was bold, because the dams and retaining embankments were, perhaps, without precedent in magnitude of work and in risk of disaster. The dam at La Flor on the Pacific side and the dam and embankments at Ochoa, together with the embankments of the San Francisco Basin, were well calculated, to use the language of Admiral Walker, "to keep its superintendent awake nights." Especially would this be so on Mr. Menocal's plan, which did not propose to go down to rock formation, but to have "a dam of loose rock," which, Admiral Walker says, "would have to be enormous in size; it would be like moving a hill into the river." Of course, as was afterwards discovered, by going 80 feet below the bottom of the river, a dam could be built 190 feet in full height at a cost as yet unestimated. As for the San Francisco embankment line, General Hains regards it "as the most dangerous matter in connection with the whole project." General Abbott, who, however, represents a rival project, says that "enormous embankments are required in the San Francisco Basins. They are sixty-seven in number and six miles in length, and some of them will rise from 60 to 85 feet above soft mud, which must be excavated to a depth of 30 feet to reach a clay foundation." Prof. Haupt, a member of the Walker Board, the most recent of all, says that there are some eight miles instead of six of artificial work along the entire length of the line of the San Francisco Basin.

The Canal Board, at the head of which was General William Ludlow, expressed grave doubts, similar to those expressed by the

Walker Board, as to the risk and possible trouble that would arise under the Menocal plan.

After the Canal Board, which had neither the time nor the money to make an examination such as was needed, but which certainly brought back most valuable results showing great labor and skill, had made its report, a new board was appointed, consisting of Admiral Walker, General Peter C. Hains and Prof. Lewis M. Haupt.

This board has devoted and is still devoting much time to the investigation of the various engineering phases of the work. While their investigations will in time be more thorough and full than those of their predecessors, they were yet entirely incomplete at the last session of Congress. Hence, at that time, they were not able to give opinions, except with that reserve which men of their eminence would feel necessary with so many matters still undetermined. Perhaps it would not be improper to say, with suitable reservations, that General Hains expressed the general impression of the Board when he said he "would prefer to construct a lock and dam at Machuca Rapids," about twenty miles above Ochoa, "and lock down 25 or 30 feet so as to reduce the height of those," the San Francisco, "embankments." This would reduce the average height of the San Francisco basin embankments about 50 per cent., and of the Ochoa dam about 30 per cent., or "something like that." There is one disadvantage about this plan which General Hains states, which is, that the level at which you leave the San Juan is the level you must maintain across what is called the Eastern Divide, and you must go just so much deeper in your excavation, which would add 25 or 30 feet to the 140 already planned for, making it 165 to 170 feet deep instead of 140. This would be an extra expense, but not at all comparable to risk avoided. The Tola Dam and Basin are also the subjects of destructive criticism on the part of both the later boards. General Hains would do away with both and confine the work to a simple canal which, he thinks, presents no difficulties. Prof. Haupt seems rather to be in favor of lowering the Dam, which would eliminate the Basin.

It should be added that various other routes, after leaving Ochoa, are to be considered in the light of these facts and such further investigations as may be found necessary. It may be that, instead of leaving the San Juan at Ochoa, it could be left at Tam-

bour Grande, 10 or 12 miles lower, thus saving all the San Francisco embankment. One other difficulty has got to be met, and undoubtedly will be, by the investigations of the present Board. The level of Lake Nicaragua must be maintained at 110 or 112 feet, or at some level at all seasons within very narrow limits. That level is the basis of the whole work. Between that level and the bottom of the canal must be space enough for the ship to move at reasonable speed. The lower the top, the lower must be the bottom. If the bottom must be lowered there must be more excavation and more cost. Flood waters must be discharged, evaporation at the rate of 16,000 cubic feet per second in the dry season must be provided for. This is more than the whole discharge of the San Juan. The solution of this problem will help to fix the bottom of the canal, and that will help very materially to fix the price.

The cost of building the canal has been variously estimated. Mr. Menocal made a detailed estimate of $65,000,000. The Canal Board of 1896 thought it would cost $133,000,000, but, in the testimony of the members before the committee of the House, it is evident that they regard $150,000,000 as the really safe limit which the constructor should have in view. The Report of the Canal Board announcing the estimate of $133,000,000 was subjected to some criticism by the Maritime Canal Company, the party then in interest, which was advocating a bill which contained the project of Menocal with a loan from the Government of the United States. How thoroughly that criticism was met can be seen in the testimony before the House committee, where the Canal Board, and especially its chairman, then Colonel and now General Ludlow, showed a complete mastery of the subject, so far as the short time and the small amount of money at their disposal would permit. It is only fair, however, to say that a considerable portion of increased estimate arose from the fact that the Canal Board felt that the exigencies of the case demanded a more commodious canal than the company contemplated.

Congress then placed the matter in the hands of a new Board already mentioned, of which Admiral Walker was the head. This Board has not yet reported, except in the informal way of testimony before the Senate committee. Not having digested the results of their surveys and examinations—indeed, not having made some of them at all—they were naturally reluctant to make state-

ments of cost. So unprepared were they that the statements of the members differed by the large discrepancy of $50,000,000. As Admiral Walker put it: "We have made no figures. It is no use to figure until we have all our *data*." "Speaking as anybody on the street might speak," he puts it at $125,000,000, "and would not be surprised if it came considerably below that." Prof. Haupt thinks the canal could be constructed for $90,000,000, while General Hains, an army engineer, says: "I would not like to make a guess now and guarantee that I would be within 25 or 30 millions," but with that margin "of a possible reduction of $25,000,000 or $30,000,000," he states the maximum sum at $140,000,000. Of course, such estimates are not to be depended upon. When, in fact, you consider that the Suez Canal was estimated at $40,000,000, and constructed but with reduced dimensions of 72 instead of 125-feet bottom width for $110,000,000; that the Manchester Canal, executed, not in the tropics but in England, was estimated at $50,000,000 for all expenses of all kinds, and cost more than $75,000,000, we can be sure that the element of uncertainty as to cost will be quite likely to be great. There is so strong a desire on the part of some of our people to build this canal, that there is much intolerance of obstacles whether they be real or imaginary. Engineers are liable to be influenced unconsciously by this feeling. It was only when they were attacked, that one Board regretted that they had not said 150 millions where they had said 134; members of another Board gave large sums, but added the possibilities of large reductions. The influence of the wishes of ourselves and others never will cease to affect estimates of costs, but it never affects actual expense. While the testimony given by the members of the Walker Board was, in a certain sense, premature, and no one appreciated that more than the members themselves, it was certainly very useful, for it showed that the Canal Board had made the very objections which the maturer subsequent examination sustained. It seems apparent also from the testimony that the new Board have in contemplation the consideration of other routes and devices in various parts of the proposed canal which, together with the determination of the facts connected with the summit level, will give us such a knowledge of the conditions of the project as will enable us to determine the question of building, and that other important question, when, how and by whom it shall be built.

Much has been said about the feasibility of the canal, and it would be well to understand what that terms means. When the canal has been pronounced "feasible," it simply means that with time and money it can be built. Whether it should be built, when and how and by whom, are questions which depend upon other considerations as well as upon cost; though that is an important element. The Clayton Bulwer Treaty, it is claimed, gives to England at least the right to demand the same privileges we have. If so, we cannot use the canal, as suggested by Mr. Hepburn, to subsidise indirectly our merchant marine by giving them lower tolls or making the canal free to them alone. In time of war, a blown up dam or embankment might shut up a war vessel. In time of peace, however, there would be but small chance of damage.

As to the possible tonnage which would pass through, the subject has not been studied by any persons who were at once competent and unprejudiced. The estimates or rather prognostications run from 300,000 tons to 5,300,000 tons, certainly a great discrepancy. It would seem, therefore, that after the question of cost is determined, or perhaps while it is being determined, a commission of competent persons unprejudiced should be invited to study this part of the subject, and we shall be then equipped with the necessary facts to enable us to judge of the commercial success of the undertaking. In this connection we must reckon with the Panama Canal, which seems to be two-thirds excavated, and, taking into account the whole "installation" or plant for want of a better word, to be one-half finished. Vast sums of money have been spent there, and still more wasted or worse. It is estimated that $100,000,000 additional will now push it from ocean to ocean. Whether this is a sound estimate or not we do not know, for, unlike the Nicaragua Route, there have been no other investigations made than those made by the company through its employees. This matter will now be investigated by our people, and we have a right to make all proper inquiries, because by the Treaty of 1846 with Grenada we guaranteed the neutrality of this canal.

The Panama Canal was originally intended to be a sea-level canal running on that one level without locks from Ocean to Ocean. It is not needful for the purposes of this article to relate the history of its failure and of the disgrace and scandal connected

with it. As a sea-level canal it was a failure, and no one now proposes to take up the enterprise in that form. To some, perhaps to many, Americans, it will be a surprise to know that, while the enterprise as a sea-level route has been given up, as a canal it has survived and is now in progress. Whether it will be built or not no one can definitely say, but the experience of mankind is that where so much money has been spent more money has almost always gone, and such works are quite likely to get finished. Were we able to free ourselves from ancient obligations and treaties, and make at Nicaragua such a canal as our people really want, a canal which would be part of us like the Sault St. Marie, other nations would have to finish the Panama. However that may be, it has seemed worth while, to enable us to give due consideration to the whole question, to state what the canal on the Isthmus is to be, if the great enterprise is ever carried out. Perhaps that can be best done by taking a ship over the route, as we have over that in which we have been specially interesting ourselves. We have to build our harbors, one at Brito on the Pacific and the other at Greytown on the Caribbean Sea. The other canal has two harbors made by nature: Panama on the Pacific and Colon on the Atlantic. These harbors are already connected by a railroad built long ago, while on the other route a double track railroad will have to be built at once from the Lake to both oceans before any work can be done. Transportation would otherwise be impossible in those almost uninhabited regions. From the harbor of Panama the ship is to go seven and a half miles on the sea level to Miraflores, where she will be lifted by one lock 23 feet, more or less, depending on the state of the tide, which has a range of 20 feet at this end; then she will go a mile and three-quarters to Pedro Miguel where two locks are to lift the ship 55½ feet to a new level 80 and 90 feet above the sea. The ship then moves one and three-quarter miles to Paradiso, where two locks are to lift her 55 feet more to the highest level, which is about 130 feet above the level of both oceans. Thence, over this high level she proceeds six and a quarter miles to Obispo, where she begins to descend towards the Atlantic. At Obispo three locks lower her 65½ feet, at which point she will reach the artificial lake to be made by damming the Chagres River an artificial lake which covers an area of 21 square miles. Through this lake the ship will journey thirteen miles to Buhio, where two

locks will lower her 65½ feet to the canal, which thereafter will be again at sea-level, and fifteen more miles at the sea-level will bring the ship to Colon and to the Atlantic Ocean. One more detail needs to be mentioned, for we shall want to know how the high level is maintained which constitutes six and a quarter miles of the journey. At Alhajuala, ten miles northeast of Obispo north of the canal line, the upper Chagres is to be dammed and a lake formed which will store 130 millions of cubic yards of water. A canal ten miles long, beginning 190½ feet above the sea, will conduct the water to the high level which begins at Obispo and ends at Miraflores. It will be over a rough country, but is claimed to be "feasible." There are other plans which lower the high level in different degrees, but they cost more money or more time. The level below the one described is, however, the one contemplated by the company at present. That means fewer locks.

In both these great enterprises, time of completion is a most important element; for interest runs all night and, on such vast sums, breeds other vast sums of which people take little heed. But while we lose sight of time it never loses sight of us, especially in the case of an interest account.

Two or three other facts seem necessary to complete what is, of course, only an outline of the situation on which our people are to pass.

The Panama people say they are at work now asking help from no one, employing 3,000 men and able to continue; whether they are or not will be determined, for we have taken steps to find out.

The Grace syndicate, representing many large capitalists, declare that they will in October have the right to build the Nicaragua Canal, and by their counsel, Mr. McClure, who says he is duly authorized, declare they are ready without any government aid to build and complete the project, treating the Government just as it desires to be treated.

If it should be found that two canals are ready to be built by private capital, or even one, the neutrality of one being guaranteed by the United States by the treaty of 1846, and both perhaps by the Clayton Bulwer Treaty, then we shall have to consider what we want further. If we want a canal built by the United States Government under its own control, with power to fix discrimina-

ting rates in favor of its own citizens, with due fortifications for time of war, then we must consider our foreign relations. It seems admitted by the friends of the Nicaragua Canal that these relations do not, as they stand now, admit such action on our part. Hitherto, the treaty in one way has been refused amendment by Great Britain, though thereto often requested. It is also not seriously expected that, even under the present roseate relations, any change of attitude will take place.

Even from the cursory description here given, liable, of course, to contain some inaccuracies, it will be seen that the facts to be gathered to establish the best route demand the expenditure of both time and money, but an expenditure after all not out of proportion to the magnitude of the undertaking. When you add to the picture the tropical growth and the climate, the wonder is that so much has been done. It is, on the other hand, not a wonder that so much remains to be done.

Congress has probably done well in giving ample funds, in the last River and Harbor Bill, for the full examination of both the proposed canals, and if that sum is used wisely by the selection of unprejudiced, sensible sources of information, we shall all be better off. There ought not to be any intolerance in regard to opinions on this great and important enterprise. It is too difficult a problem to be mastered by enthusiasm alone. Sound sense and discretion must also be called into action. The final result no one can doubt. The commerce of the world in due time will eliminate Cape Horn to as complete a degree as it has eliminated the Cape of Good Hope.

The uneasy dream of 400 years will soon be a waking reality, and, across the rock bound ridge which for all these years has defied the ingenuity of man, the great ships will go, freighted with the rich cargoes and the civilization of commerce and peace.

T. B. Reed.

WHAT SPAIN CAN TEACH AMERICA.

BY NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ, FORMERLY MINISTER OF WAR OF SPAIN.

THE great actor, Talma, used to frequent second and third rate theatres, and even amateur theatricals, because they offered the best opportunities for seeing the defects of actors and stage setting. So, likewise, should the colonial powers study the policy of Spain in her colonies, in rare cases to imitate her, but in many to learn wherein her example should be avoided.

The special advantage which modern peoples enjoy consists in the fact that the world is old. If a man needs to acquire the experience of life, nations can and should avail themselves of the experience of other nations, for that is the function of history.

Spain, with more examples before her than the other colonizing nations—for she was herself colonized by divers races—has, in general, exercised little skill in her colonial policy. She learned very little from the foreign colonies that, settling from time to time within her shores, gave to her blood, life and organization—the Phoenician, Carthaginian, Greek, Roman, Gothic, Arab and Moorish colonies. Among the numerous settlers of the Iberian peninsula, there were examples and contrasts of all kinds: Phoenicians, whose commercial instincts led them to establish a hundred factories on her coasts; Carthaginians, also merchants, who carried on wars in order to penetrate into every portion of the peninsula and extend their commerce everywhere; Greeks, who became permanent settlers with their wives and children, whose colonies preserve the artistic stamp of the Hellenic genius even at the present day. The Romans used and abused force to accomplish their conquest, triumphing finally over the Cantabrians and Iberians after a century of resistance; and, although Spain appears to be a Latin nation, and so accounts herself, she does not in reality retain any other legacy from these conquerors than her

language, the foundation of her laws, her military roads and her ruins. Subject to Rome—a condition from which all her misfortunes came to her at that time and since—Spain was the scene of the civil strife between Cæsar and Pompey. For her consolation she produced great Latin poets, like Lucan, Martial and others; learned men, like Columella and Seneca; heroes, like Lucius Balbus; famous emperors, like Trajan, Hadrian, Theodosius.

The invasion of the men of the North in the fifth century was the most peaceful of all. Kelts, Alani, Goths, Visigoths, Vandals and Suevi, though they warred among themselves, did not fight against the country. Taking advantage of Roman decadence to invade the empire, these barbarian hordes caused less devastation in the peninsula than the civilized armies of Rome. Far from imposing their language upon the people, they adopted that of the country; instead of plundering the Iberians, they tilled the fields, established families and founded towns.

Although considered ferocious, these peoples really effected a softening of manners and customs; perhaps too much so, for the invasion of the Mohammedans in the eighth century met but a feeble resistance, characteristic of a weak, effeminate and peaceful race.

In the eighth century began the repeated African and Arab incursions. Even the first one spread victoriously over the whole peninsula, without encountering much resistance from the Spaniards, because the Mohammedans respected the religious beliefs and customs of the conquered people. In this way, they transformed the race, invigorating it with new blood, the result being mixture of races rather than conquest. A handful of rebels, who had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias and Aragon, began to reconquer the territory for Christianity, taking more than seven centuries to regain what had been lost in a few years. When the struggle was over, the blood of the Christians was as much Arabian as that of the Moors. During this long strife, the Spaniards were cured of their ancient effeminacy, and they acquired, by contact with the Arabs, the warlike and chivalrous habits which distinguished the Khalifs and Mohammedan chieftains.

During the Arab period, Cordova was a centre of civilization and culture, where the European Christians learned the Oriental sciences. The Moors set a wholesome example of civilizing toleration; for they everywhere and almost always respected the per-

sons, the beliefs and the practices of the conquered people. The Muzarabes were Christians who lived in Mohammedan cities, just as the Mudejares, later on, were Mohammedans who remained in the cities reconquered by the hosts of Castile or Aragon. The two races intermingled, each assimilating the merits and defects of the other; hence, the Spanish race which conquered the New World was not Latin, but Arab. Nothing could be more improper than to give the name of "Latin America" to the conquests of the Spanish adventurers and soldiers of the sixteenth century.

By the final triumph of the Christians and the expulsion of the Spanish Moors, a new nationality was established. The Spain of the sixteenth century was the most important nation of Europe. The peninsula contained twenty millions of inhabitants, a population which seemed destined to invade the adjoining continent. Africa would have become Spanish in the sixteenth century, if Columbus had not directed the energies of Spain into another channel by his successful voyage. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the peninsula was depopulated and impoverished; whole towns were abandoned by the emigration of their inhabitants to Mexico and Peru.

The change thus produced by America in the destinies of Spain would have been more profitable to humanity, and to Spain herself, if the Spaniards had known how to colonize with justice and wisdom. But the new-comers looked upon the New World only as a field for the acquisition of riches. They did, indeed, people it and Christianize it; but they treated the aborigines in some parts with so much cruelty that they annihilated them, while in others they ruined and degraded them.

Certain Spanish authors have defended their country from the charges brought against it by the historians. They say that the metropolitan government was from the first gentle, paternal and far-sighted; that it established mild laws (those of the West Indies were not so mild as they suppose); that, if it made the Catholic religion compulsory and was guilty of religious intolerance, the reason was that the same conditions prevailed in Spain.

Although wise laws and just decrees were sometimes ordained in Spain, they were of little avail in countries whose viceroys had discretionary power to execute them or not, as they pleased. On the other hand, the accusations that have been brought against the conquerors are as unanswerable as they are sad. They them-

selves and their witnesses confirm the atrocities which are called in question, as may be seen in the narratives and chronicles of the conquest. Even if we reject the testimony of Father Las Casas, whose evident bias in favor of the Indian convicts him of exaggeration, many other witnesses remain whose testimony is absolutely irrefutable. Father Cieza does not state in round numbers how many victims perished, but he gives indirect confirmation, like several other chroniclers, according to whom the extermination of the natives was God's chastisement for their inhuman sacrifices. That is to say, that God punished them for sacrifices which they had ceased to make.

What is certain is that the native races of a great part of the Spanish-American continent continue to exist, while those of the Antilles have disappeared. Shortly after the conquest, it was found necessary to import natives from Florida to San Domingo and Cuba to do the work, because the aborigines of these islands had disappeared. It could not have been a punishment of inhumanity, because the inhabitants of these islands were not cannibals, as has been supposed. In Mexico, however, there had been human sacrifices and even cannibalism. Ferdinand Cortés relates in his letters that his Tlaxcaltecan allies devoured children after roasting them.

The efforts of Cortés and his companions, although excessive in their rigor, were of little avail to force Christianity on the Mexican Indians; a century after the conquest, according to the authentic testimony of the Spanish friars, the natives of Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru continued to worship their old gods, and secretly followed their ancient practices. Their Catholicism was only apparent, a pure formalism, to avoid persecution by the friars and viceroys.

The Castilians were not the only people responsible before humanity and history for the extinction of races in America.

The Portuguese, the French, the English and the Dutch were also guilty. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the distinguished historian, Bancroft, laments the arrival in America of the Europeans, and not that of the Spaniards alone.

The latter, not content with having been sometimes cruel and always harsh toward the indigenous races, disaffected the other European nations by excluding them from all commercial rights in the vast Spanish dominions; even to settle and live in Amer-

ica, a foreigner was obliged to become naturalized. Those who wished to settle had to become Spaniards and Catholics. Such a policy gave rise to an enormous contraband traffic which lasted for two centuries, and to an interminable series of fights with pirates, corsairs, filibusters and natives. The last repeatedly rebelled, and even the American born Spaniards, children of the conquerors and colonists, were from the first violent enemies of Spain, of her monopolies, of her laws. The first Mexican separatist was the son of Ferdinand Cortés.

It is evident that the Americans, the conquerors of to-day, will not fall into the errors of religious intolerance and commercial monopoly, which are unsuitable to these times. Nevertheless, they may make equally grave mistakes by treating the Porto Ricans and the Filipinos in an overbearing or unsympathetic manner. In general, the Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres hold the theory which divides races into superior and inferior, a theory which is as false as it is unjust and dangerous. Even if it had a solid foundation and a scientific demonstration, it would only be humane and wise to elevate those who are not favored by nature or circumstances, instead of abasing and humiliating them. I foresee that the Americans will have difficulties in the Antilles, especially with the negro race, as they already have in the Philippine Islands, because they believe the natives unworthy of freedom. A great people like the Americans, a people who have cultivated federal principles ever since the foundation of their government, are obliged by self-respect to respect all autonomies. A people who have not self-government are not in the plenitude of their dignity and rights. The republicans of North America should treat all the inhabitants of their new possessions in a democratic spirit, and without humiliating and mortifying any by overbearing conduct. Man does not live by bread alone.

From the punishment of the Spaniards, tardy though it was, the Americans may learn whither intolerance and commercial exclusiveness lead. Observe what has happened at Mindanao. That rich and beautiful country, discovered by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, has never been conquered. The sovereignty of Spain has been merely nominal in it. Its inhabitants profess the religion of Mohammed, carried there by the Arabs. On the arrival of the Spaniards, the people of Mindanao perceived

the disadvantage of their isolation, and the great future which the protection of Spain opened to them. They showed a disposition to submit, and asked only for the right to retain their religious beliefs. If that right had been granted, the island would have been a great source of wealth. And what was done? Something truly absurd, senseless, incredible: Spain would not accept the submission of the Mindanao Indians unless they were baptized. They were willing to sacrifice their very independence, but they would not their religious conscience; and, as the friars, the counsellors and even the judges of the governing race, knew no compromise in matters of religion, since the Spaniards wanted no subjects who would not begin by having water poured on their heads, for the sake of a few drops of water we had a war of three centuries with the people of Mindanao Island. Spain had possession of the coasts, but the Indians retained the greater part of their territory, and caused us great losses.

Mindanao now belongs to the United States; it will offer them less resistance than Luzon and the other islands, if the Americans respect the religion and customs of the inhabitants; but, if they try to force Christianity upon them, there is danger of a long and bloody struggle.

By means of tolerance and commerce, the Americans can accomplish in Mindanao in a few months what the Spaniards failed to do in a little more than three centuries.

All the European nations pride themselves upon the record of their ancient heroic deeds; all the peoples of the world have poets who sing of their struggles for freedom and independence; but Mindanao is still waiting for the poet and the historian of its admirable history. The ignorance of its inhabitants, due to the isolation in which they have been compelled to live by the Spaniards, who kept them blockaded, explains but too well their lack of chroniclers and poets. The sons of Mindanao have had more opportunity for sharpening lances than for cutting pens. Araucanian heroism was not sung by the natives of that country, but by Ercilla, a Spanish poet who had fought against them. Among the Spaniards who fought against Mindanao, there may have been fanatics, but there was no Ercilla. It may be that this glory is reserved for the Americans, who will find in Mindanao, not only a very fertile country, but the subject of a poem worthy of Homer. Troy defended herself for ten years, Mindanao for three hundred.

And let it not be said that modern civilization and the practical character of the Anglo-Saxons exclude poetry; let it not be alleged that the Muses have no place in those wild regions; for Art is a force, legends have more influence on the fate of races than history, and history itself is a poem.

May I be pardoned for this short digression and allowed to conclude by declaring that, as a Spaniard, I deplore the reverses of my country; but that I consider them deserved, and that Spain will some day rejoice in them, if the new lords of the Philippine Archipelago will constitute a new factor of universal progress, by establishing true freedom there.

Whether it is made an independent republic, or is incorporated in the United States, the inhabitants of the Philippine Archipelago must at last be allowed to enjoy liberty and the dignity of manhood, which were trampled upon by impure priests and by merchants without a conscience, during the long dominion of Spain.

Let the Americans, then, beware, for the sake of their own dignity and prestige before the world, lest the outcome be merely a change of fanatics in the Philippines and a change of plunderers in the Antilles.

If such was the result of the Spanish rule, let it be proved once more that liberty is the atmosphere of life, that all races have a right to it, that the United States is not a plutocracy, as they say in Europe, but a true democracy, a model Republic and a great nation.

NICOLÁS ESTÉVANEZ.

ENGLAND IN EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

BY COLONEL CHARLES CHAILLÉ LONG, FORMERLY CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE LATE GENERAL GORDON, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE SOUDAN.

THE declaration, cynically termed "Anglo-Egyptian Convention," which was signed by Lord Cromer and Boutros Pacha at Cairo, on January 19, 1899, is the fulfilment of the writer's repeated prediction that a protectorate or annexation was the purpose of the prolonged presence of England in Egypt. If the rôle of Cassandra is neither pleasant nor profitable, there is some compensation in belonging to the few who have not been duped by the solemn promises and repeated declarations of Great Britain, that her occupation was entirely disinterested and for the benefit of Egypt alone. The writer has maintained that the facts were opposed to these assertions, and that the British occupation, which began in 1882, was the culmination of an ambition which dates from the commencement of the present century.

A distinguished writer has said that the rôle of the historian is confined to putting down everything in its place, and that only when this is done may he be permitted to draw his own conclusions, in common with his reader. With this principle in mind, the writer deems it opportune to submit to the readers of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW some notes which will permit them to form an unbiased judgment,

England, it is true, has treated by convention with Egypt, if forcing a manacled hand may be dignified with the name of treaty, but it is not impossible, nay it is quite probable, that England will be forced to submit her action in Egypt and the Soudan to the arbitration of Europe.

Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons in 1883:

"I must remind the House that the onerous duty which we have

undertaken in Egypt is to put down disorder, and thus establish some beginnings of tolerable government. That is a duty we have undertaken, not on our behalf only, but for civilization. We undertook it with the approval of the powers of Europe—the highest and most authentic organ of modern civilization. We must fulfil it as we received it from them. I know the word 'protectorate' is sometimes spoken; perhaps it is not spoken in its technical sense, but it is a dangerous word."

Just here it is appropriate to quote the words of a member of the House of Commons, replying to Mr. Gladstone on the occasion above mentioned. He said:

"You need not pretend to be disinterested. It is all a sham. The first object you had when you went to Egypt was to establish English interests. It was for the gospel of selfishness that you went, it was for the British interests, and, thank God, there are some people who will stand up for British interests."

For the purpose of this article, it might suffice to limit our review to the events of 1882, but the presence of Mr. Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, and the continued reference to his proposition to construct a road from the Cape to Khartoum and to Cairo, induce us to look backward a hundred years, that we may show that Mr. Cecil Rhodes' project was not born yesterday, but dates from the commencement of the century.

On August 1, 1798, Nelson destroyed the French fleet at Aboukir, and to-day there may be found upon the shores of Aboukir uniform buttons bearing the inscription "Army of Egypt," which sufficiently explains the original purpose of that army. The battles of July 25, 1799, which followed, and the victory of Kléber at Heliopolis on March 20, 1800, were a part of this plan. In 1806, Great Britain seized anew the Cape of Good Hope, colonized by the Dutch and by the French Huguenots, with the manifest purpose of joining the two points of Africa, the Cape and Cairo.

In 1807, under pretext of protecting Egypt against a renewed invasion of Bonaparte, Great Britain sent a fleet to Alexandria, which was repulsed by Mehemet Ali.

In 1840, England organized a coalition composed of Russia, Austria and Prussia, which, by the Treaty of London, July 15, 1840, undertook to settle the difficulty between the sublime Porte and the Pacha of Egypt, without the co-operation of France. Beyrout was bombarded by an English fleet for nine days, and reduced to ashes, and the Egyptian troops obliged to evacuate

were replaced by the Turks. In 1859, during the war in which France was engaged for Italian independence, England sent a fleet to Alexandria for the purpose of occupying that city; but the peace of Villa Franca came just in time to prevent the disembarkment of troops destined to form an army of occupation.

In 1869, the missions of Sir Samuel Baker, as Egyptian Governor-General of the Soudan, and, later, of Colonel Gordon in the same capacity, were manifest indications of the policy of England in Egypt, and were intended to open the way to her future occupation of the country.

In 1869 a number of American military men replaced the French mission in Egypt. Great Britain protested, and requested Ismail Khedive to dismiss the American officers; but Ismail hesitated, and, on one plea or another, they were retained, but were finally discharged in 1879 on the plea of economy.

In 1874, General Gordon was sent to Egypt on detached service as Governor-General of the Soudan. Nubar Pacha inspired Gordon's nomination, but the extreme individuality and personal ambitions of the latter, rendered him a difficult instrument to manipulate solely for Government interest.

In 1875, the British Foreign Office, in accord with an English and American journalistic enterprise, sent an expedition to the African lakes, ostensibly in the interest of discovery, but in reality to hoist the British flag in Uganda.

Ismail Khedive forestalled that purpose by appointing, in 1874, an American officer, then in his service, Chief of Staff to Gordon, with instructions to proceed to Uganda in haste, and after executing a treaty with King M'Tesa, occupy the Nile with Egyptian military posts. This mission was promptly accomplished, and when, in April, 1875, the British expedition arrived at the capital of Uganda, bearing both a British and an American flag, it was confronted by the fact of an Egyptian occupation. Gordon's Chief of Staff had arrived nine months before, and, returning to Gondokoro, had taken with him the coveted treaty by which M'Tesa recognized Uganda and the Nile basin as Egyptian territory.

Great Britain neither forgot nor forgave this unexpected check to its ambition, which aimed, even in 1875, to take possession of Uganda and the head-waters of the Nile.

In 1879, General Gordon was recalled from the Soudan by

Lord Cromer, on the plea that his financial administration of the provinces had been disastrous. It is claimed, indeed, that the British Government sent Gordon to the Soudan with a perfect knowledge of his iconoclastic ideas, and with the conviction that his administration would create disorder. However this may be, the revenue of the Soudan had disappeared, and Gordon himself avowed that he had "laid the egg which hatched the Mahdi," referring to his establishment of the monopoly of the ivory trade, a fact which well nigh ruined the Khartoum merchants, with whom the Mahdi was at that time affiliated.

In 1879, the prodigalities of Ismail, inspired by the wily Armenian Minister, Nubar, ended in a financial crisis. To the cries of distress of unpaid civil employees, were added the clamors of an army of 18,000 soldiers, whose arrears, due for thirty months, reduced them to the verge of starvation. Nubar proposed to disband the army without pay, a flagrant injustice, which provoked the revolt of the three colonels, led by Arabi Bey, whose first act was to administer a vigorous cuffing to Nubar and his English colleague. In the interest of European holders of Egyptian bonds, France, Italy, Germany and England demanded the abdication of Ismail, and, on June 20, 1879, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Mohamed Tewfik Pacha.

It is claimed by some that the interests of France were sacrificed to satisfy the bondholders; by others that Great Britain intended thus to punish Ismail for the offense of having executed the treaty whereby Uganda and the Nile basin were annexed to the Khedival domain. Great Britain's hostility to the American officer was made apparent, when subsequently, as military occupant of Egypt, she objected to his appointment as United States Diplomatic Agent to that country, because this officer, in fact, was in favor of the autonomy of Egypt.

The mild Mohamed Tewfik was but little prepared to struggle against the intrigues with which he was beset from the day of his accession to the throne. Informed of the hostile designs nourished by the British Government, in 1881 he addressed a letter of protestation to Lord Granville, who replied as follows:

"The English Government would act against the dearest traditions of its national history if it nourished the desire to diminish the liberty of the Khedive, or to break down the institutions to which she has given birth. It would not be difficult, if that were necessary, to show in referring to recent events that this government should be removed

from suspicions which, as you inform us, exist in Egypt as to its intentions."

Tewfik was reassured by Lord Granville's letter.

Time passed, and the simple military revolt for unpaid stipend grew into a serious insurrection, principally directed against the European and the Christian.

On June 11, 1882, occurred the massacre of Europeans at Alexandria. On July 11 an English fleet bombarded Alexandria. The battle of Tel-el-Kebir followed, and the outcome was the British occupation.

One day in 1882, shortly after the occupation, Tewfik was again admonished, this time that Great Britain had come to stay, notwithstanding the assurances of Lord Granville. The situation, he was told, might be compared to that in which a fireman who had assisted in extinguishing a conflagration, but was pleased with the building he had preserved, concluded not only to remain, but to put out the rightful owner. Tewfik, in great alarm, addressed a communication, dated July 22, 1882, expressing his fears to Lord Seymour, commanding the British fleet at Alexandria. The admiral's reply was as follows:

"I, the Admiral commanding the British fleet, believe it opportune to confirm without delay to your Highness that the Government of Great Britain has no intention to make the conquest of Egypt, nor indeed to make any attack in any way against the religion or the liberties of the Egyptians. The Government has only the unique purpose of protecting your Highness and the people against the rebels."

In 1883, Lord Dufferin was sent to Egypt, and, while there, declared that the zone of English intervention was limited to Wady Halfa. Nevertheless, during the same year a railroad plant was disembarked at Suakim for the avowed purpose of constructing a railway to Berber, a purpose which Osman Digma, the Mahdi's lieutenant, successfully prevented.

General Gordon's return to the Soudan in 1884, notwithstanding the generally accepted judgment on that subject, was in direct opposition to the wishes of Mr. Gladstone, of Sir Evelyn Baring and of Tewfik Pacha, the Khedive. Tewfik protested to the very last moment, and, explaining the religious character of the movement, urged that no Christian or European could control the rebellion, but that his presence would only add fuel to the flames, and he finally predicted that Gordon would never return. There was another potent argument used by the Khedive,

but the writer does not feel at liberty to announce it at present, and that for certain reasons of state.

Mention is made here of Gordon's return to the Soudan, because of the dramatic incidents which followed; but the writer, with an intimate knowledge of the question, is of the opinion that neither Mr. Gladstone nor his Government should be held responsible for Gordon's action, which was inspired by a purely personal ambition. The tardy attempt to rescue Gordon is quite another question, and beyond the scope of these notes.

Dr. Schnitzer, or Emin Bey Hakim, after General Gordon's retirement in 1879 from the Government of the Equatorial Provinces, became the Egyptian Governor-General *ad interim*.

In 1886, Emin Bey Hakim, feeling himself neglected by Egypt, decided to sell the provinces of which he was the guardian, and he therefore made propositions in that sense to Lord Iddesleigh, Secretary of the Britsh Foreign Affairs. Immediately a cry of urgency went up in England for the "succor of Emin." The Foreign Office in the name of Sir Wm. MacKinnon put 30,000 pounds, sterling, in the hands of Stanley, who hastened to Egypt, where 10,000 pounds more were added from the Egyptian Treasury to pay Emin for the sale of Egyptian provinces. The writer denounced the fraud which was being perpetrated in an open letter addressed to the Khedive of Egypt, which said:

"The series of robberies of Egyptian territories accomplished since 1882, Monseigneur, should put us on guard against the acts of this pretended expedition for the succor of Emin, who, after the latest news, is in perfect health and in no danger or want whatsoever. I invite the attention of your Highness to the fact that the Stanley Expedition can have no other object than to take from Egypt the Provinces of the Equator and the Nile Basin, which I have annexed to the Khedival crown. I protest, therefore, in the name of Egypt against this premeditated rape."

In an article on the subject in the *Nouvelle Revue* of Paris, in the number for March 15, 1887, the writer said:

"At the moment when an effort is made to plant for all time the English flag in Uganda on the borders of the Great Lakes, it becomes my duty to speak. The English expedition hides, under the appearance of succor to Emin, a political design conceived a long time ago. It is the first step *en avant* towards the constitution of an immense Anglo-African Empire."

The burlesque rescue expedition left London amid the hurrahs and systematic tears of the public and the Foreign Office, which latter had taken care to furnish its chief with Emin's

letters. It does not appear, however, why Stanley was also carrying with him a proposition from the East African Association, and one also from His Majesty the King of Belgium. The secret of the affair, now *secret de Polichinelle*, is that Emin expected a large sum of money for his proffered provinces from his *soi-disant* rescuer; but he received not a cent, hence the hesitation of Emin. The agent of the British Foreign Office profited by the delay to sow discord among Emin's people, and, when this was accomplished, the latter was obliged to follow his captor to the coast. The object at which Great Britain aimed in sending Stanley to Uganda in 1875 was thus achieved in 1890 by the occupation of Uganda by the British East African Association.

The *Anglo-Congolais* incident followed, which consisted in a convention, executed in London in 1891, by the terms of which, in consideration of a band of territory 25 kilometres in width, situated between the lakes Tanganyika and M'Outa N'Zighe or Albert Nyanza, the British East African Association, or, in other words, the Foreign Office, abandoned to the Congo Free State the left banks of the Lake Albert Nyanza and of the Nile as far as 5 degrees latitude, north. The French Government, by virtue of rights reserved in the charter of the Congo Free State, protested against this cession of territory belonging to the Congo Free State, and the treaty, signed May 12, 1894, by King Leopold and Lord Rosebery, was practically annulled by a convention signed at Paris between France and the Congo Free State, August 14, 1894. Great Britain on the demand of Germany restored the band of territory to the Congo Free State.

The *entente* between the British East African Expedition and the Congo Free State was made manifest by this incident, and it is likewise apparent that the King of Belgium was in accord with Great Britain as to the real purpose of the so-called Emin Relief Expedition.

Great Britain, in the recent affair of the occupation of Fashoda by the Marchand mission, claimed that Fashoda was Egyptian territory, and that France by such occupation violated the existing treaties which had been invoked by France herself and by all preceding Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The argument, in fact, was unanswerable.

The occupation of Fashoda might have been treated by France as a political point, from which she might have, with plausibility,

declared that her occupation meant simply her assumption of former rights, which she had temporarily vacated in 1882 in refusing to join Great Britain in the bombardment of Alexandria—that Fashoda in fact meant the re-establishment of the *status quo ante bellum* of 1882. The occasion was favorable to invoke the arbitration of Europe, declaring that France would maintain her occupation of Fashoda only so long as England maintained possession of Uganda, Zeileh, Kassala and other Egyptian provinces, which had been seized for the sole and separate account of England, and where, in violation of the very treaties invoked against France, England had set up and maintained not an Egyptian but an English administration. The opportunity to administer a severe rebuke to England and punish her with her own weapons was thus lost. The error, on the part of the French Government, was so manifest that it provoked numerous declarations of protestation in the Chamber of Deputies. Great Britain's occupation of Egypt, in fact, has been rendered the more easy by the series of mistakes and lost opportunities which have marked the last twenty years.

The first of these errors was the regrettable differences between the French Diplomatic Agent and the French Controller General of Finances in Egypt, which led to the disavowal of the former by his Government, when, had he been sustained, Arabi's rebellion would have been restrained within its just limits.

Secondly, the dethronement of Ismail Pacha, in 1879, was accomplished on the joint action of England, Germany and France. This act, both impolitic and arbitrary, especially for France, indicated the power and authority of the French holders of Egyptian bonds, who thus, unconsciously perhaps, sacrificed the political and commercial interests of France to the interests of her bondholders.

Thirdly, France should have co-operated with the British in suppressing the military revolt of Arabi Pacha.

Fourthly, she should have sanctioned in 1883 the disembarkment of Admiral Conrad at Port Said. Such disembarkment would have restored the *condominium* and the *status quo ante bellum*.

Fifthly, she should not have refused in 1884 to ratify the convention between M. Waddington and Lord Granville, whereby England was willing to fix the date of her promised evacuation.

Sixthly, she should not have declined in 1887 to accede to a second convention proposed by Sir Drummond Wolff, with a view to the evacuation of Egypt.

This bill of errors is incomplete, but it may be concluded by mentioning a proposal which, had it been accepted, would have indubitably given to France the key to Egypt, and have re-established her prestige and power in that country.

The writer acted as the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the United States Government at Alexandria in 1882, at the request of the citizens of the United States in Cairo and Alexandria, and with the approval of the Government at Washington, whose titular agents abandoned their posts in a moment of danger and fled to Europe. Returning from Egypt in 1883, the writer submitted a note, dated December 11, 1883, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, based upon certain representations made to him by a competent authority, by which he proposed to assume the command (conjointly with King John) of an Abyssinian army of 200,000 Abyssinians, which, from Adowa, he would direct against Gallabat on the Blue Nile and Khartoum, where, after crushing the Mahdi, he would declare King John the Sultan of the Soudan under the protectorate of France. The proposition carried with it no responsibility nor expense; it was an occupation of Abyssinia and the Soudan, to which France was invited by King John. M. Ferry, then Minister, replied that the question of Tonkin had caused him already sufficient trouble, and that he had no desire to add to his sobriquet of *Tonkinois* that of *Abyssinien*.

The writer's note must have been thrown into the waste basket of the ministry. However this may be, a translation appeared in an English journal forty-eight hours thereafter, followed by the significant announcement that an English mission under Admiral Hewett would leave London for Adowa that night, charged with a special mission to King John. It seems that Admiral Hewett at Adowa tried in vain to induce King John to march upon Khartoum. It is possible, too, that the French Consul at Massowah may have been instrumental in explaining to King John the impolicy of such an act, for Admiral Hewett failed to accomplish the object of his mission.

Five years later, toward the end of February, 1889, King John, failing to induce France to accept his overtures, decided to under-

take the conquest of Khartoum alone. He left Gondar with 150,000 warriors. Descending the Bahr-el-Azrak, he arrived at Gallabat on March 9, 1889, where he attacked and defeated the principal army of the Mahdi. Victorious, he was about to resume his march upon Khartoum, when he was killed accidentally by a spent ball. The victorious march was arrested, the chiefs engaged in jealous wrangling as to who should assume the chief command; and, during the disorder which ensued, the Mahdists recovered from their defeat, and, attacking the mutinous camp, drove the Abyssinians back to the Abyssinian frontier.

Had the French Government accepted the writer's proposition five years before, there is scarcely a doubt that the Abyssinian army of 200,000 warriors could have been led victoriously to Khartoum, for with each Abyssinian chief it was proposed to place an experienced European commander. King John, during the year 1884, would have been crowned Sultan of the Soudan (which, by parenthesis, would have fulfilled both an Arab and an Abyssinian tradition). Besides, the return of General Gordon to the Soudan would have been forestalled; and, consequently, the world would not have had to lament the irreparable and useless sacrifice of the hero of Khartoum.

In 1894 the writer again submitted the possibility of taking Khartoum, this time to M. Casimir Périer, Minister for Foreign Affairs, who received him in private audience on January 17, 1894. The minister listened with earnest attention to the proposition, which was to do with King Menelik what M. Ferry had failed to do with King John. M. Casimir Périer objected that both England and Italy had secured a footing on the Abyssinian coast since 1883, and that any expedition from the Red Sea, by way of Obok, might cause complications with Italy.

The writer could not, of course, combat these objections; but, not only to the minister, but also to certain members of the Colonial Group, he insisted that any expedition having the Nile as an objective point, should be sent from Obok, either down the Bahr-el-Azrak or Blue Nile, or from Obok down the Sanbat, the objective point in either case being Khartoum. Such an expedition, needless to say, should be based upon a strong, offensive military force, capable of crushing, if need be, the Mahdists or the British. The writer was asked by a member of the Colonial Group if he would accept the command of a mission having its

point of departure from the Mobangi, and he clearly and explicitly refused; but, on the other hand, he expressed his willingness to accept the command of an expedition having its base on the Red Sea, with Khartoum as an objective point, supported by an Abyssinian army. Judge, then, of the writer's surprise when, several months prior to the recent affair on the Nile, he learned of Captain Marchand's defenseless mission to Fashoda!

Fashoda, it must be assumed, was a mere incident, and not the terminus of this mission; which, if it did not propose to go at once to Khartoum, should have at least crossed the river 100 or more miles south, and occupied the mouth of the Sanbat, where, aside from the defenses of the two rivers, it could secure its communications with Abyssinia. Fashoda, during General Gordon's administration of the Soudan Provinces, marked the southern limit of the Governorat of Khartoum; it was an Egyptian penitentiary, a desolate and unhealthy place of exile to which were relegated those who had incurred the disfavor of the Khedival palace at Cairo.

In conclusion it will prove instructive to quote from an article by the writer, entitled *"Du Cap au Caire,"* which was published in *La Nouvelle Revue,* August 15, 1895:

"Khartoum is the key to the Soudan; for England it is more, it is the door to the African continent, to which she has aspired for a hundred years. Should England seize this last remaining Egyptian province, she establishes effectively her route from the Cape to Cairo, and thus becomes the mistress of Egypt."

It was Mr. Gladstone who reminded us that England interfered in Egyptian affairs "with the approval of the powers of Europe." England cannot escape her responsibility to Europe, which fully understands that Egypt is not the property of any one nation, but the common property of the world, "an international passage way indispensable to the commerce of all nations."

Europe, therefore, is the arbiter of the destinies of Egypt; and it needs no voice of Cassandra to predict that England will not be permitted to consummate her ambition in Egypt, even though that ambition is a century old.

CH. CHAILLÉ LONG.

THE NEW POETRY.

BY W. D. HOWELLS.

ANY inquiry into the facts concerning a phase of literature primarily, if not mainly, interesting to the younger sort of readers must begin with a certain misgiving in the inquirer as to his fitness for making it, if he is himself no longer so very young. Poetry exists so largely in the pleasure it gives, that if one does not find the pleasure in it that one formerly found, one is apt to think it does not exist at all. The sage is often disqualified for instruction upon such a point by the very years which have enriched his knowledge. He is too ready to say, for example, that people do not read poetry nearly so much as in his day, because he does not now read it himself so much; and, of course, he is ready to infer that this is because it is not so well worth reading. It is some such disability in the sage, which, I think, one would do well to keep in mind while listening to his conclusions with the respect due his venerable age.

I.

After all, it is the point of view which governs in matters of this kind. It is always easy to show that what passes for poetry in any given time is not poetry, because it is not of the mood and temperament of the poetry of another given time. Pope was once a great poet, and then he was a very small poet, or none at all; again people are beginning to think there was a good deal of poetry in Pope. It has been so with Byron, even to the same sort of renaissance. Wordsworth began by being no poet at all in both the popular and the critical estimation; then he was one of the greatest poets; now it is doubtful if he was one of the greatest. Longfellow's acceptance was once far more than English-wide; now the sun sets in more than one region on his fame. It must

be owned, even by those who, like me, thought him all but divine, that Tennyson is in a certain eclipse; outside of the Browning Clubs, if there are still Browning Clubs, it will be allowed that Browning is on the wane. Doubtless both these poets are destined to a renaissance, but hardly to a revival of the midday and evening glories that are past for them. One or two fixed stars shine steadfastly in the firmament; but there was a long spell of weather when Milton could hardly be seen even with a glass; and there was more than a century when Shakespeare could be made out only by the curious observer. It would, perhaps, be safe to say that the time will never come again when Shakespeare will be read less than now; but as for Milton, has his renaissance quite lasted to our day? We all know, or we all own, his greatness; but do we read him?

Within the memory of men still young, or at least of women still young, there have been finer gradations of change by which poets, still favorites, have been shifted in their standing, and are topped in the public favor by other poets, cunning to say the last thing that the public thinks it thinks. One need not go nearly so far back as Mr. Swinburne or as William Morris or Dante Rossetti for illustration; one need go back only so far as Mr. Andrew Lang or Mr. Austin Dobson, who were before Mr. Kipling was, or Mr. Watson was. The poetry of Mr. Lang and of Mr. Dobson was concurrent with an emotion which has exhausted itself, from which it sprang, which it prolonged, and of which it remains the charming record; but it is not the poetry first in the mind and heart of 1899, as it was in the mind and heart of 1889.

II.

Then, what is the poetry first in the mind and heart of 1899? I believe I have said what in naming Mr. Kipling, who is at this moment, possibly, the most famous man in the world, and whose work, in some sort of measure, is known almost as widely as his name. All must own this, whatever any may think of his work; and it seems to me that the fact ought to dispose of the doubt whether this is a poetry-reading age. In no other age has the celebrity, the performance of a poet been so far-reaching as those of this young man of thirty-two; and I do not forget Byron in saying this. Of course, the means of universal diffusion are vastly greater than in Byron's time; but the world is also larger.

The fact has not so much to do with the quality of Mr. Kipling's poetry as we might think, and I may safely say this in my sense of its great qualities. It is none the less a prodigious thing to utter one's age, or one's day, as Mr. Kipling has uttered his, to sound the dominant of its scale so that it shall be felt in the nerves vibrating to the limit of our race, which is our world. The prodigy is none the less because this dominant is the note of race-patriotism, which is so much less pleasing to some fine ears than "the still, sad music of humanity." It is a mighty and a lusty note, full of faith and hope; and it is the note which makes Mr. Kipling famous wherever an Anglo-Saxon word is spoken or an Anglo-Saxon shot is fired; it stirs the blood both of Briton and American; and it is not the poet's reproach if they forget the deeper meanings of his song. He says what he came to say; he happened in the time which could hear his voice; he does not so much teach as tell; but no doubt the time will come when the warning in his message will be plain to senses now holden. It may not be plain to our American senses, till we have trampled into the red mire of tropic morasses the faith in men which made us the hope of men; but that is not the blame of a poet who has read us and said us more keenly than any alien before.

It is inevitable that the universal acceptance of Mr. Kipling should ignore the beauty of his work, except such obvious beauty as lives in its potent music and its bold picturesqueness; but the other sort of beauty can safely bide its time; for, though he is so immensely and intensely of our day, he is not for our day alone. He is useful to the present argument as a proof that our day is not so prosaic as it might seem without his overwhelming popularity. But in the same sky with the comet blaze there are lambent planets to which the eye turns from the wonder and the portent, and willingly gives a watch of the night. The wonder and the portent is not less in its kind because of their difference in brightness; and the difference is so great that any sort of parallel would be futile and tiresome.

III.

I shall not, therefore, try to contrast my pleasure in Mr. William Watson's poetry with my pleasure in Mr. Rudyard Kipling's poetry, or in fact do much more than affirm it. But I may say without disadvantage to either that there is in Mr. Watson's verse

nothing of the primal force of Mr. Kipling's, that swing of orient seas, that beat of orient suns. One is English where the other is Imperial; one is contemplative where the other is mystical; one feeds his flocks beside the Thames, the other drives his herds over the Asian plains, where our race began, and arrives from the morning with something of the eldest splendor upon him. It should not be strange, though it is surpassingly interesting, to note how much more immediate the one poet is who is really less modern than the other; for our passions are always of the prime, while our convictions are the slow effect of an educated conscience beginning late in the centuries.

Mr. Watson's work is very charming to me, because I find in it a grace that seems to have come willingly and quietly; a gentle insight; a serene thoughtfulness; most intelligent sympathy with the peculiar things that are the universal; a gracious doubt; a delicate passion; an essential repose. His unwearying and unerring art, the perfect music of his phrase, the exquisite good fortune of his diction are the minor qualities that follow the clear thought and the pure feeling. Here, in this time which some of us have been saying is unpoetical, is a poet who recalls the glory of the golden age when Keats and Shelley, when Coleridge and Wordsworth were reluming the Elizabethan splendors of English rhyme, and lighting the way for Tennyson and Browning. With like magic he has won his way into the hearts that love the great tradition, and his unquestioned welcome by a large average of readers is proof that he has not fallen upon an inhospitable day. It appears that we not only love poetry, but we love poetry that often deals with life through literature, and in its most direct appeals has still something to remind us of books, and, in the new pleasure it imparts, to make us remember old pleasures. Any one looking through the recent volume of Mr. Watson's Collected Poems must be struck with the large number of pieces recording his veneration and affection for the masters who embody the spirit of poetry for him, and whose genius he divines and announces so subtilely. Wordsworth, Shelley, Arnold, Lander, Shelley again, Tennyson, Shakespeare, Keats, Dobson, Byron, Shakespeare again, Aubrey de Vere, Burns, Aldrich: these, in this accidental order are the channels, if not the sources of poetry, to which he recurs, and from which he draws as fresh inspiration as he draws from life. They are, of course, as much a part of life as anything

else in the world; not all the books are found in running brooks, not all the sermons in stones. The poems that deal with these poets are each a characterization full of the surprise and rapture of perfection. When the poet leaves his library he is still in his scholar's gown, and he does not see nature or human nature less truly or clearly because he sees it with the scholar's eye.

Mr. Watson is very English, and when he stretches a hand across the channel or across the ocean it is with a sense of effort, at least in the witness. But he is not chauvinist English, even if he is helplessly English. He has not escaped the white man's burden of patriotism, but his patriotism is not blindly proud, and it is for England's true glory, for the humanity and the mercy which she seems to have forgotten in her fury of imperialism. The sonnets in which he reproaches her for her acquiescence in Turkish cruelties are quite as noble as if they had or could have any effect upon her policy; his patriotism is not the grain of sand between the teeth of alien readers which patriotism is apt to be. Still, patriotism of whatever sort is not a spring of the purest and sweetest poetry; commonly, it is a source thick with ignorance and self-interest, reflecting the most cockahoop conceit; but the worst that can be said of Mr. Watson's patriotism is that it entreats England to remember her old humanity as if it were something English, and not something common to good men of all climes and races.

IV.

If one were to sum up one's sense of Mr. Watson's poetry as a whole, one might speak of it as a delicate and beautiful criticism of life in man and things, of life in books and souls. When one had done this, however, one would not be satisfied, for it would seem to limit the poet on sides where the most elastic praise could not well confine him. In like manner, if one were to say of a somewhat newer English poet that, with whatever foregleams his path was crossed, Mr. F. B. Money-Coutts had not yet found his way quite into the light, that his thinking had not always become thought, that his artistic deed was still often in the artistic will, one would be doing injustice to a measure of performance that gives the hope of much more. He is to be counted with those later English poets who wish their countrymen to think and feel sanely, and he is imbued with the humanity and the spiritu-

ality which, if they mistakenly like to claim themselves English, are not otherwise in error. He adds his voice to those that, in a war-drunken time, are for peace; and throughout his work is the beauty of rightmindedness, which in itself is a sort of genius, and which lends the grace of quite a new attitude, of an impassioned conscience in certain pieces of his dealing with passion.

The same purity is in the poetry of Mr. E. H. Coleridge, which is more purely poetry, and more singly devoted to the things in which the universal masks as the personal. It is interesting and it is charming to find this new Coleridge at his best in the fantastic strain, the playfulness, the intimacy in which the ancestral Coleridge excelled. There are three characterizations, or portraits of young girls, so young as to be not yet young girls, which are as delicately critical as Mr. Watson's studies of poets; and in all Mr. Coleridge's verse there is the better modern spirit, the spirit which is beginning to reflect upon what it has thought, and which upon the whole seems to me the distinguishing spirit of the new English poetry.

I find this so in the poems of Mr. Stephen Phillips, a much more passionate poet than Mr. Watson, or Mr. Money-Coutts, or Mr. Coleridge, but of much the same critical, the same ethical fineness. My words undersay it, of course; I mean something rarer than critical, something better than ethical, and perhaps I had better retreat upon such a word as spiritual. Spiritual in a fine way Mr. Phillips's work is, running into frank realism where a modern theme is dealt with, and keeping a high idealism where the question is of fable, or of faith. His poems of "The Woman with a Dead Soul," and "The Wife" are examples in the one sort, and his "Marpessa" and "Christ in Hades" are instances in the other. In power of picturing to the imagination they are all of like charm, and in them all one feels the glow of the poet's youth. Tennyson at his age had not done better; but the tint, if any, that he has from Tennyson is that of the mature fancy working in such things as "Sea Dreams" and "Tithonus." There are a few more of the beautiful words than one could wish, perhaps (I found myself senilely impatient of them at last), but Mr. Phillips's words are beautiful; they were never so securely elect as Mr. Watson's; but, then, whose words are?

The same spiritualized reality, the same suggestion of the middle-period of Tennyson, are in some things of Mr. John Dav-

idson's, some of his greatest things, though he is greatest of all when he is most himself. "The Ordeal" and "The Coward" are poems that need not be abashed in the presence of the best of the Idyls of the King; they are both indeed poems of surpassing truth and pathos; but the very John Davidson speaks with his own voice to supreme effect in such pieces as "The Hymn of Abdul Hamid," the tremendously veracious "War-Song," "Holiday at Hampton Court," "Waiting," "The Aristocrat," and that eclogue between "The Artist and the Votary." Till now, English speech has uttered no such burning truth about the shame of selfish diplomacy, the inalienable criminality of aggressive war, the horror of prison-waste, the hardy insolence of money-might, the hope of life that dwells among the dead. It is all far more than worth reading; it, perhaps more than any other new poetry, embodies the universal human spirit, the spirit of the vast unfriended, unbounded commonness, before which imperialism shrinks to the measure of parochialism. It would be a wrong that I should deeply regret if I gave an impression of something hortatory, something less than artistic in work so splendid, and I wish to say that this poet is never so much a poet as when he is giving voice to the mute protest in every conscience against the ferocious pretences of our Zeitgeist.

V.

Tennyson is gone, Browning is gone, Rossetti and William Morris are gone; Swinburne is silent; the verse of Mr. Dobson, so airily imaginative, so graciously creative, is not of the immediate charm it once was; and a new kind of English poetry, spiritualized, humanized, has appeared in the books which I have been so ineffectually studying. So far as it is characterized by the past it is characterized by the art of Tennyson, and reasonably so because that is the supreme poetic art. There are also hints of Wordsworth, hints of Keats, hints of Shelley in the new poetry; but no hint of Byron, and what is stranger, none of Browning; perhaps because these were not artistic poets, and the new poetry is as artistic as it is spiritual.

As a condition of English poetry, what has American poetry to show? With us the greatest ones are gone, too. Bryant, Emerson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lowell, Holmes, have passed into a shadow which shall lift more or less hereafter. We have Mr. Stedman and Mr. and Mrs. Stoddard, we have Mr. Aldrich and

Mr. Gilder, we have Mr. Hay and Mr. Harte, we have Mr. and Mrs. Piatt, who all continue our old tradition and are all poets of true quality and of ascertained importance. But they write little, and they are hardly, with all their charm, characteristic of the time. Foremost of our poets who have spoken to and for the day which is not yet yesterday, I should say was James Whitcomb Riley, who has known how to endear himself to a wider range of American humanity than any other American poet. If his popularity were the sole proof of the enduring love of poetry among us it would be no weak proof. It might not imply that poetry generally was so much read as it once was, but it would imply that poetry of exquisite loveliness in whatever guise it wore had come home to the common heart as it had not before. Probably the most widely read American poems in their time were Longfellow's "Hiawatha" and Whittier's "Snow-Bound;" but Mr. Riley's poetry is much more widely read than either. It reaches the lettered as well as the unlettered; it has had the courage of the familiar, the homely, qualities which are the most widely felt, and it is not because it is American (although we like it so), but because it is human that it finds its way over the fruitful levels where men are all equal. I do not prize it less than the new English poetry in form or spirit, for I think Mr. Riley a very great artist, with insight as subtile as the best of the new English poets, and sympathy as generous. The Hoosier parlance which he has subdued to rhyme has not the consecration which time has given the Scottish dialect in Ramsay and Burns, but it says things as tenderly and as intimately, and on the lips of this master it is music. If he is above all others the American poet, his primacy is significant of a more entire liberation to our native genius than we have yet realized; at the least and lowest, here is a poet who could have come in no other time or place than ours; and quite so much could not have been said of any American poet before. One feels this not only in his Hoosier verse, but in his poems in literary English; he is still essentially the poet of our common life; and perhaps hereafter the soul of that life may be divined best, in its sweetness and sincerity and purity, in the verse which is of such friendly familiarity that some may not yet prize it aright.

The American poet who has the closest affinity with the new English poets in their artistry is Mr. Madison Cawein. A more

meridional heat and lustre is in the verse of this young Kentuckian, which at one time seemed rather to lose its meaning in the mere tints and dyes of phrase, but which has since cleared itself and runs with a crystalline limpidity. It is not Keats who is repeated in his poetry, but the "simple, sensuous, passionate" ideal of Keats, as in Keats himself the old Elizabethan and Chaucerian ideal was repeated. Mr. Cawein has not yet found the public to which he is destined, and when it is found it may not be a very large one, but it will be choice, and of a devoted belief in him.

Something like this might be said of Mr. Lloyd Mifflin, a name yet much unknown to that general reader who is so vague and intangible, but who must be invoked before a fit audience can be got together for any poet. In the volume of sonnets, called "At the Gates of Song," this poet makes his appeal to the best in us, with a mastery of his instrument as extraordinary as the sense is high and noble. What strikes one most in this very striking group of poems is the power both pictorial and intellectual which represents a new quality of thinking and feeling, or a new way of rendering the serious and significant aspects of life. If such a book were altogether to fail of recognition it would be the most damaging witness against a time which I think has been unjustly accounted prosaic. But a little more courage to know what is undeniably great, although it is our own, seems to me still desirable in our criticism, and when that comes, Mr. Mifflin's poetry will have its reward.

From all this it is a long way to the far different region where Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Stetson has made a place of her own. Her civic satire is of a form which she has herself invented; it recalls the work of no one else; you can say of it (and I have said this before), that since the Biglow Papers there has been no satire approaching it in the wit flashing from profound conviction; but this comparison suggests a likeness which does not exist; the humor and sarcasm of Mrs. Stetson, indeed, teach by parable, but not through character as the Biglow Papers do. They are distinctly and unmistakably a force, but how widely they are felt, I cannot say. The time has already come when nearly the whole reading and writing population of the North claims to have sprung from the Original Abolitionists, and the Biglow Papers are now of a respectable acceptance which their writer never dreamed of or cared for when he wrote them; but

the time has not yet come when we desire to have the Original Socialists for our ancestors, and I am afraid that the acceptance of Mrs. Stetson's satire is mostly confined to fanatics, philanthropists and other Dangerous Persons. But that need not keep us from owning its brilliancy.

The contribution of Mr. Hamlin Garland to what one might call, without offence, Americanistic poetry, is something too notable to be passed over. The prairies and the woods, the cornfields and the coulés of the Northern West speak in his verse, a little too consciously, perhaps, but always strenuously and with a native charm, in a voice not to be mistaken for any other's. The poems are sometimes wronged by a wilful rudeness of form, but they are not spoiled by it, and there is the hope of yet greater things in them.

I name, rather at random, certain of our poets who seem to me cases in point, and I am not trying to name all who are worthy of mention. But I could not leave out the name of Paul Dunbar, the young negro poet, who has won popularity as well as recognition. It is a proof of the love of poetry in a time and country apparently so prosaic as ours that he has quickly made himself widely known, and has found not only favor but affection. It is not as a phenomenon that he has done this, not merely as the first negro who has been able to deal objectively with negroism; it is as something far more positive, it is as an absolute poet. In the verse that he has written since his earliest volume was published, he has carried his work on rather than up; but if he went no higher than the mark he struck at first he would still have made good his claim to our attention, and would have become inalienably a part of our literary history.

VI.

The group of young Canadian poets whom we have learned to enjoy is as a whole rather more dramatically impressive than any like groups among ourselves. Death has lately hushed the sweetest and clearest voice among them; Archibald Lampman is no more. But his spirit abides and his art remains. The one sought to interpret faultlessly in the other the beauty of the summer which burns amidst the northern snows; and the first thing to be said of all the Canadians is that they are all naturalists. Bryant himself was not more direct and single in his worship of nature

than these young poets who are not otherwise like him. In him was a cold electric flame thrilling from the deeply intellectualized sources of the puritan consciousness; but these young Canadians, who are so like us other Americans, and who have some of them made their home with us, derive æsthetically from the England that was before, and has been since, the time when puritanism fixed a gulf between her and us. They are on all accounts a most interesting group, which I should like to study more closely and fully; but a passing glance divines them in the superficial traits that represent their essential qualities. They are pictorial, rather than dramatic; the characteristic which they have most in common is that love of nature in which each of them appears a sort of solitary. Their delicate art is curiously unsocialized; the pulse of the time which beats so strongly in the new English poetry is scarcely felt in their rapture with their native skies and woods and lakes.

At least this is the impression that their work has left with one who does not pretend to know it exhaustively, but still has greatly enjoyed it. One might easily make too much of it; after all, it is not of vast bulk; and here, toward the end of what I have to say of the new poetry, I am tormented with an unhandsome misgiving that I have been making too much of it on every side. The names of the great poets who are gone recur to me dismayingly, almost accusingly. What are all the new Presences when confronted with such tremendous Absences as Browning and Emerson, Longfellow and Tennyson, Rossetti and Lowell, Arnold and Whittier, Holmes and Morris, and the great companionless vague which was once Walt Whitman? I am almost afraid to make answer; I can only shrinkingly suggest that To-day may soon be brow-beating To-morrow as Yesterday is now brow-beating To-day.

Again I wish that I could know just how a younger man felt concerning the fact, which is rather a question. I am of the past, too, in my small way, and perhaps I am no fit judge of the present. I would gladly yield the judgment seat (which is never so luxuriously upholstered as people think), but before I left it, I might like to say in defence of the new poetry that if it did not come from poets so great as those gone, it came from poets as true. I might hint at the proposition, with which I have sometimes toyed, that the potentiality of the arts was now almost as widely

diffused as the suffrage, and that if their effect was no longer so profound it was farther reaching over the areas reclaimed from the common ignorance. It is possible that in the modern democratization of poetry it is more widely read than ever before, though the great poets, the heroes and princes of song, are not read so much since their apotheosis. Judging from the satisfaction I have known in the poets of my own time, I might think that there never was a time whose poets uttered it so perfectly, so wholly. But what right have I to shake my sere and yellow leaves in doubt of the music which I hear in the air about me now? I do not feel the doubt, and I will not affect it; I wish I could be as sure that I felt the security and did not affect that; but I believe I have been tolerably honest in my praises of the new poetry, and I hope that I have made out not a bad case for it, though I have not assumed to prophesy concerning it. We poor critics can seldom get over our fancy that we decide the fate of poets; sometimes the poets themselves share our delusion; even readers are touched by it. But we really do nothing of the kind. We can say, "Ah, here is something rather nice," or, "*That* won't do," but there is always an appeal to a higher court, and in some very difficult cases the supreme tribunal of time reverses its own decisions.

W. D. Howells.

THE EXISTING CONDITIONS AND NEEDS IN CUBA.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL LEONARD WOOD, MILITARY GOVERNOR OF SANTIAGO DE CUBA.

WHAT is needed in Cuba at present is a firm but liberal and just government of the people, for the people and by the people, under American military supervision, for the time being; this supervision to extend only to such time as the civil government shall have become fully established and running smoothly. What is to be avoided, above all things, is militarism, military pedantry, unelastic methods and any continuance of the old Spanish system of multitudinous office holders, filling unnecessary offices and rendering practically no return for the salaries paid them.

It must also be fully realized by those in charge that the Army of the United States is not in Cuba for the purpose of suppressing civil law and civil rights; but, on the contrary, for the purpose of restoring and establishing civil law; that it stands inactive so long as the civil officers are able to execute the laws, and interferes only when they are unable to do so. In other words, even under the military occupation, the military forces should be made, as much as possible, subordinate to the civil law. Of course, the Military Commander always has the power, if he deems it necessary to employ it, to step in and suspend civil law; but circumstances which would warrant such an action must be of a very grave and serious character. Nothing could be more demoralizing to the people than that they should become possessed of the idea that the civil law is simply a convenience, to be dispensed with at the fancy of the Military Commander. The great problem as to the Cuban people, who have lived so long under conditions in which the military authorities have been at liberty to suspend civil law whenever they thought fit to do so, is to teach them that, in a really stable government, the civil power must be

absolute and supreme, and that the military force acts only in cases of dire necessity, when all other means are unable to deal with the situation. For this reason, in Cuba, it is most desirable to insist that all civil officers in all departments of the government, from the policeman up to the highest official of the law, shall be treated with respect, and every possible dignity and safeguard given to their offices.

A small military force, of perhaps one or two regiments, will be necessary for some little time in the different provinces, simply for their moral effect. There will be occasions in the establishment of the new state of affairs in Cuba, when the presence of a few troops, representing the power of the United States and the power back of the civil government, will be necessary; for there is, and will be for a year or so, a small fraction of the population inclined to brigandage, and impatient of the restraint of their own civil officers. I do not believe that there will ever be an occasion during which they cannot be controlled by the civil officers, but I do believe that the knowledge that behind the Department Commander are a thousand regular troops, ready to assist the civil officers, will prevent many little disorders which otherwise might occur.

The condition of the people in Cuba to-day is one of extreme poverty, and in many provinces great suffering for want of food. The people, contrary to the statements of those who are fond of charging the Cubans with being lazy and unwilling to work, are not only willing but anxious to work. The problem has never been one of finding workers, but of giving work to those who wished it. The present condition of the country is such that there is an enormous amount of work which it is absolutely necessary should be done in the near future, such as the reopening of roads, building of bridges and telegraph lines, rebuilding of little towns and villages that have been destroyed; in short, the restoration of the country, great sections of which have been absolutely destroyed by war. I believe that, throughout Cuba, the policy which has been adopted in Santiago Province of spending the revenues in public improvements and issuing rations only in return for work, will meet with the success which it has met with here. We have been able to open up many of the main roads, put the towns in order, and, in fact, scatter the people over the country in honest labor on public works, in return for which they have received

either a daily wage of seventy-five cents or fifty cents and a ration. In some cases they have received three or four rations per day for ten hours' work, with no money, and by this method many laborers have been able to feed their families. Whenever we have heard of great destitution in any section of the Province, officers have been sent there immediately with money and authority to start needed public works, such as those mentioned above. The result has been that, all through the Province, the people have gradually gone to work in one way or another. Of course, they are desperately poor, yet all my officers and couriers, both American and Cuban, report no starvation, and, generally speaking, a quiet, contented condition of the people.

All the larger towns have become self-sustaining, and many of the little ones, from their own local municipal taxes. Those which are not self-sustaining I have assisted, to a limited extent, from the general revenues of the Province, which are derived at present entirely from the customs receipts.

It has been impossible to follow any hard and fast policy, but we have had to meet the different conditions in different parts of the Province as best we could, giving more here and less there, but giving only just enough to make it possible for the people to re-establish themselves upon the most economical basis. Economy has been insisted on, and it has been impressed upon them that, no matter how limited their income may be, they must try to adapt themselves to it; and that, if it was impossible to have what they considered the necessary number of officials at the old salaries, men must be found who would serve for much smaller salaries, or, if necessary, for none at all. Instead of these economies being in any way narrowing, they have had a very beneficial effect on the people, who are beginning to realize that there is a certain satisfaction and independence to be gained by paying their own way, and I believe that out of it will come permanent good results.

After all, it has been a good deal like housekeeping on a gigantic scale, and, as some of our best and ablest men have sprung from the very poorest families, and their development under conditions of the greatest hardships and adversity has tended to foster the very qualities which have made them successful in after life, so will the desperate struggles which these little municipalities are now having tend to make them all the better in the fu-

ture. They are learning the hard lessons of rigid economy, and the necessity of the closest attention to every little detail. In many of them men are serving in public positions for no salary, giving their whole time to establishing affairs upon a prosperous basis. School teachers are working for less than their former salaries, as indeed are all the officials of the Province, but they are all working cheerfully, and the spirit which is developing among them promises much for the future.

Disorders are few, and travellers passing through the Province find everywhere open-hearted hospitality and cheerful greetings. The disposition of the people is buoyant and cheerful, and it is very improbable that any extensive police force will be needed, even in the wilder portions of the interior, after the people are once more fairly re-established on their plantations.

When it is remembered that this country has been in a condition of more or less continuous warfare for the past four years, and also that the long and serious wars which have recently taken place were of a most brutal and demoralizing character, it is remarkable to see how little brigandage exists and how quickly the people have returned to peaceful occupations. All that is wanted in Cuba to insure good order is an army of workmen. Give them work, free them from militarism, and, with a moderate but efficient police force, good order will prevail. The disorders of to-day are but the disorders of hungry men without food and without money to buy it. They are willing to work, and every dollar of the revenues of Cuba, outside of the limited amount needed to establish the comparatively simple machinery of such civil government as is needed just at present, should be spent in work of a public character, which will tend to open the country once more to commerce and to restore the towns and cities to a normal condition of cleanliness and sanitation.

The people are anxious to learn, and are keenly appreciative of every effort which has been made to re-establish the schools. I do not know that I have ever seen more enthusiastic youngsters than those in the little Cuban schools. Of course, the present methods are primitive and defective, but all this will change with time; and from the old system, where the teacher lived in the schoolhouse, occupying most of the best rooms, we shall soon come to our own system of well ventilated and well lighted school-houses and intelligent and uniformly progressive methods of teaching.

The agitation which recently took place in Santiago was not based, as was currently reported in the United States, on an effort to retain in Santiago all the revenues of the Province; but it was caused by rumors of an effort to abolish what we all hold most dear, that is, the local, municipal and provincial (or State) autonomy. What the Cuban people desire is that each Province should be developed very much upon the lines of our States, and that the relations of the Province to the General Government should be similar to those of the States of the Union to the Federal Government. Under Spanish rule municipal and provincial autonomy was practically destroyed. The result was a centralization in Havana of everything—finances, judiciary, police, education, in short, of every branch of administration. Now, starting entirely under new conditions and under a liberal government, the Cubans are anxious to avoid a repetition of this, and, while desiring to deny nothing to the General or Federal Government which it could reasonably demand, they do absolutely insist, and justly, upon local control of local affairs, and local men in local offices (other than Federal). This, surely, is reasonable and just, and it will meet with the cordial support and approval of all Americans.

The claim that the Cubans are not capable of governing themselves has, thus far, not been substantiated in this Province; for, in re-establishing the civil government, every appointment has been made on the recommendation of the people themselves, who have been given to understand distinctly that all persons recommended by them for office would be appointed, so long as they acted in good faith in making these recommendations, and recommended none but honest, capable men. Up to the present time I have not had to remove a single official recommended by them. This record will certainly compare favorably with that of any people. We have had the authority to remove immediately all untrustworthy or incompetent officials, and there has been no influence to protect such officials from removal. Of course, we cannot expect a people who have never had a hand in governing themselves, to take hold of the situation with the same grasp and clearness which we should expect from a people accustomed for a long time to self-government. There are many little inconsistencies which creep out among them, but they are the inconsistencies of inexperience, not those of viciousness. Some patience and tact, combined with a good deal of firmness, have been neces-

sary, at times, to tide over troublesome periods, but at no time have we had to resort to actual force. This is, perhaps, all the more creditable to the Cubans, when it is remembered that the country has been full of hungry soldiers, with arms in their hands, unpaid for three years, without clothing, practically without food, and, in some cases, incited by lawless leaders to deeds of violence.

It is not intended in this description of affairs to claim that the Cubans are without faults, or without a great many faults; but it is a fact beyond dispute that they have come out of a chaotic condition, following a most disastrous war, have gone through what has practically been a famine, and have maintained throughout a decent respect for life and property, which would have been most creditable to any people under similar conditions. The difficulty ahead of them lies in their own temperament. They have to learn, in civil affairs, to act with deliberation, to control their emotions, and, while many think that they will be unable to do this, I am confident that they will succeed, knowing, as I do, how well they have conducted themselves during this most trying period of reconstruction.

There is another point which cannot be too strongly impressed upon our own people, and that is the absolute necessity of keeping Americans and all others than the inhabitants of the Island of Cuba out of office in Cuba. We want an absolutely open, honest, clean-handed policy in dealing with the people of this Island. The military governors in the different Provinces, assisted by their officers and such civilians as they may have on their immediate staffs, are absolutely all that are required, except possibly one Collector in each Custom-House, so long as we are directly responsible for the revenues. The appointment of Americans to office here, except as above stated, is regarded by the people as a great injustice; and, if we are here to teach them to govern themselves, it would seem that the best way to begin is by letting them try, standing here ourselves simply to supervise, and, if necessary, check, when we see affairs going wrong.

The question of the customs revenues in Cuba is rather a peculiar one. All the Provinces border, both North and South, on the ocean, and, with the exception of Pinar del Rio and Puerto Principe, each furnishes comparatively large revenues. As the condition of the Island is such that general taxation is for the

present impossible, except in some favored districts and in the larger cities, the only source of revenue, in a general way, is the customs. While the revenues pertain, strictly speaking, to the General Government, yet in this Island, for the present at least, they will have to be used in different ways, for the general purposes of supporting the courts, re-establishing the schools, maintaining the rural police, opening up highways and general public improvements of all kinds. In short, they must be expended with broad intelligence, and, if so expended, much may be accomplished with them, both in the way of giving employment to large numbers of men and in the restoration of public works. The condition of the country will rapidly improve, and in a comparatively short time the old systems of general taxation, with modifications, can be gradually put in force. At present it would be almost extorting blood-money to attempt to tax directly the wretchedly poor people in the interior of most of the Provinces.

Another great benefit to the Island will result from the commencement of large enterprises, such as the building of railways and the improvement of harbors on a large scale. At present plans are on foot for the completion of a railroad from Santiago to Havana. Such a work as this will give employment to many thousand people, and will do more to restore prosperity and re-establish the ruined towns than almost anything else. The tastes and wants of the people are simple, and the wonderful productiveness of the soil renders it easy to obtain sufficient food, and, with steady labor, means will be furnished to the small farmers to purchase tools and, perhaps, a mule or a horse, and to establish themselves once more upon a comparatively prosperous basis.

The issue of rations to indigents in the Province of Santiago is practically at an end. Since last October the Province has been practically self-sustaining and has paid for all its own officials, schools, lighthouses, courts, etc., besides doing a great deal in the way of road building and other public works. In addition to all of this the Province has been able to accumulate nearly a quarter of a million of dollars for sanitary work in Santiago and its harbor. I believe that this result can be accomplished in every Province in Cuba, with the possible exception of Pinar del Rio and Puerto Principe, and the surplus revenues from the richer Provinces will be sufficient to pay the expenses of these two poorer ones. I believe that the revenues of Cuba, as existing to-day, will

suffice for the present Cuban situation, even to the furnishing of food to its indigent people, and, if the *personnel* of the civil government is reduced to the lowest point consistent with efficiency, and salaries brought down where they ought to be under the circumstances, the surplus money will be sufficient to pay thousands upon thousands of laborers throughout the Island and to accomplish the necessary public works. I have absolutely no doubt that this is not only possible, but easy to accomplish. I do not believe that any other than a small military force will be necessary in the various Provinces, and this for a comparatively short time only.

Order in the interior of the Provinces should be maintained by the rural mounted police. A force of two hundred and fifty of these men has been found ample in the Province of Santiago de Cuba. Both men and officers have been carefully selected from the best material in the Cuban Army. From the date of their organization up to the present time they have faithfully and efficiently performed their duty and effectually suppressed several small gangs of highwaymen, who were lurking in the rougher and more unsettled parts of the interior. A similar force will certainly be sufficient in other Provinces where the country is, as a rule, much more open and more thickly settled, as well as better developed. The Cubans are perfectly willing to accept the acts of their own civil officers, which, if performed by soldiers of the United States, would give rise to a great deal of bad feeling and friction. It has been the established policy in this Province to avoid using our troops for any kind of general police work, excepting guard duty on some of the large sugar estates.

The courts of the Province, as at present organized, are prompt and efficient in the performance of their duty and are maintained at a cost to the Province of not over fifty per cent. of their cost under the Spanish Administration. The Judges are impressed with the responsibilities of their position and are doing excellent work. Various modifications of the old methods of procedure have been recommended and will undoubtedly meet with the general approval of the bar and the people, and eventually be put in force.

Taking all things into consideration, I believe that the re-establishment of the civil government in Cuba will be easy of accomplishment and that, when re-established, it will render good and efficient service. Of course, there will be many obstacles to

overcome and many grave questions to be considered, which will undoubtedly give rise to very serious discussions and differences. In order that no serious disturbances may arise, I believe it to be very desirable that a complete organization of the civil government should be effected as quickly as possible, and that the readjustment and modifications spoken of above should be accomplished during the military occupation, in order that, when the forces of the United States are withdrawn from the Island, a definite form of government may have been fully determined upon and may be in actual operation.

When I say that the civil government should be established as soon as possible, I do not wish to be understood as recommending its immediate establishment in all its branches, but rather its gradual establishment, commencing at the bottom and ending at the top. We must secure good municipal government, good schools, good courts, with many modifications in the present methods of procedure, especially in criminal cases. We must also establish good sanitary regulations, and be sure that the people appreciate all these things, before we give up the control of affairs and establish all the details of the civil government upon an absolutely independent basis.

LEONARD WOOD.

COURTS MARTIAL IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

BY THE RIGHT HON. SIR FRANCIS H. JEUNE, K. C. B., JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL OF THE BRITISH ARMY, PRESIDENT OF THE PROBATE DIVISION OF THE HIGH COURT, ETC.

Mr. Earl M. Cranston, the author of an article on the "Existing Court Martial System" in the February number of the North American Review, who is evidently well acquainted with the constitution and practice of Courts Martial under the law of the United States, has indicated, in his clear and well reasoned paper, several points on which he believes fundamental reforms to be required. The subject is one of interest at all times, in countries whose citizens place a high value on the rules of justice being applied impartially to all classes, and certainly not the least to the class to which both America and England know themselves to be deeply indebted. Possibly, that interest is at this moment quickened on both sides of the Atlantic by the demonstration afforded by the example of France, how dangerous it is to allow what should be a judicial institution to be influenced by a bias of party, racial, or it may be even patriotic, sentiment. But in America, where it is now certain that in the immediate future the army will form a part of national life of great and growing importance, it is essential that the jurisdiction of Courts Martial should receive the most careful consideration; while in England we are, I hope, always ready to welcome suggestions for the improvement of an institution on the efficiency of which we are conscious much must always depend. Mr. Cranston's article, therefore, demands attention both in his country and in mine.

It is not, I think, unfair to say that Mr. Cranston throughout his paper regards Courts Martial with apprehension, if not with suspicion. He never altogether disassociates himself from his

opening words: "There is an old saying, 'Courts Martial are organized to convict.'" During a period of now nearly seven years I have had, in my official capacity of Judge Advocate General, the duty of reading many, and of hearing of many more, proceedings of Courts Martial, and the conclusion at which, without hesitation, I arrive is that Courts Martial in England are almost invariably conducted not only with substantial justice, but also with respectful adherence to the principles and forms of law. The members of the Courts Martial are educated officers and gentlemen. I should not, therefore, have expected to find, and I certainly never have found, any want of intelligent perception or any presence of prejudice, or of that professional prepossession which Mr. Cranston thinks inevitable. I can make only two criticisms on the action of Courts Martial, as I have observed it. It sometimes happens that a legal principle correctly remembered is carried beyond its proper limitations. The rule, for example, that opinions are not evidence, except in the case of experts, has sometimes been held by Courts Martial to exclude evidence of drunkenness, or even evidence of hand-writing. There is, perhaps, also a tendency to convict a prisoner on scanty evidence, if the offence has become rife. I remember an instance in which, after several cases of stealing from the regimental canteen had occurred, a private was found guilty of stealing tea from the canteen, the only evidence in his case being that he had a bag of tea in his possession. I have no doubt, and, indeed, an explanatory note to that effect was appended to the finding, that the natural and proper desire that an example should be made was allowed to compensate for a deficiency of proof. But I have known a similar tendency, not only at Quarter Sessions, but in a much higher stratum of legal atmosphere. I remember a distinguished Queen's Counsel, in the Court of Chancery, adjuring the tribunal: "In these times, when commercial fraud has become rampant, is the arm of this Court to be shortened because of a mere want of strict proof?"

Mr. Cranston feels a strong objection to the members of a Court Martial being judges both of law and of fact, and he bases on that opinion a recommendation that, whenever possible, a legal member should be added to the tribunal. I confess I do not share this objection, and I altogether deprecate the remedy. The questions that come before Courts Martial very seldom present any such complexity of law and fact as to call for that process of unravel-

ing which, no doubt, in civil cases, often tries the powers even of an experienced judge and a well-instructed jury. But the tribunal of a Court Martial is by no means to be considered as a jury. It consists in every case of officers, all of whom have had a substantial training in the law of Courts Martial, and probably the majority of whom have had that best teaching of law, the teaching of having witnessed, and even taken part in, previous cases. A man who has served on several Courts Martial, acting under the sense of responsibility which every member of a Court Martial must feel, is by no means ill qualified to deal with any legal or semi-legal question that is likely to arise. To my mind, it is infinitely important to increase this experience, and to quicken this sense of responsibility ; and for that reason it is that I should be sorry to see a professional lawyer added to the tribunal. It would be inevitable that the officers would leave the law, and perhaps also the facts, practically to him, trusting to his superior training in law, and thus the value of the tribunal would be incalculably impaired.

Mr. Cranston has very properly pointed out that the presence of a Judge Advocate, to some extent, meets his objection of the want of legal training in the military members of the Court ; but he adds that there is a risk of the Judge Advocate's ceasing to be sufficiently impartial if he also acts as prosecutor. In this last opinion I certainly concur, and I venture to hope that those responsible for the law of American Courts Martial will not hesitate to profit by our experience, because with us there is a Prosecutor, generally the Adjutant of the regiment, independent of the Judge Advocate. The Judge Advocate acts very much as the Attorney-General acts in peerage cases in the House of Lords. He states his view of legal points, and if necessary he sums up the case, pointing out the issues and the evidence relating to them, but he leaves it to the tribunal to decide. I do not think that either the Attorney-General in such cases, or the Judge Advocate at Courts Martial, is under any temptation, or, in fact, ever indicates any wish, to strain the law or the facts in favor of either side. He treats himself as being there to see justice done; a finding of "guilty" carries with it no triumph, and a finding of "not guilty" no disappointment, unless either be clearly the failure of a misguided or uninformed tribunal.

It would, however, be a great mistake to suppose that in this country, and I should venture to hope in America also, an officer

called upon to sit in judgment on a fellow soldier, brings to his task complete ignorance of the guiding principles of law and procedure. In the British Army a by no means contemptible knowledge of military law is required of every officer, and certainly a British officer has no excuse for ignorance, because the opportunity of acquiring knowledge is afforded to him by simple and easy means. The official publication known as the "Manual of Military Law" is a work on which great care has been expended by very competent writers, with the result that all that is essential to be known on the subject is embodied in a singularly concise and intelligent form. The field, indeed, which it is necessary to cover in such a text book is not small, because, besides embodying the law of evidence, a knowledge of which is indispensable to any one called on to administer judicial functions, and the special regulations contained in the Army, Reserve Force and Militia Acts, with the Queen's Regulations and the Rules of Procedure, which are applicable to Courts Martial, it has been found necessary to summarize the whole law of crime, as there is no offence known to the law which it may not be the duty of a Court Martial to try. Accordingly, chapters on these subjects have been compiled by such well-qualified authors as Lord Thring, Sir Henry Jenkyns and Sir Courtenay Ilbert; and I will only say of their work that there is no lawyer who might not read it with satisfaction and advantage. I do not know whether a similar treatise has yet been published in the United States under official authority. If not, I venture to think that that is an omission which should be, and certainly can be, speedily remedied. America has been the home of great text writers, and I have no doubt that the torch of their ability and industry has been handed on to successors not less capable than they of producing models of systematic and well-reasoned exposition.

The confidence which I place in the substantial justice of Courts Martial leads me to deprecate the transfer from that tribunal to the civil courts of the country, of many of the offences of the soldier against the ordinary law. The rule laid down in this country requires that the more serious offences against the law should always, if committed in the United Kingdom, and whenever practicable, if committed elsewhere in the Queen's Dominions, be tried by a civil court; and the tendency undoubtedly is to send offenders to the civil courts, unless there be some strong military reason for not doing so. It is so important that it should not,

for a moment, be supposed that a soldier enjoys any *privilegium* in regard to offences against the law, or is subjected to any severer system of judication than that to which any other citizen is subject, that perhaps it is well to leave the soldier in most cases to be dealt with by the ordinary law, if he be charged with offences not partaking of a military character. But, if arraigned before a Court Martial, he is tried by a tribunal well acquainted with his habits and disposition, not probably over lenient, though able to understand his defence and appreciate his excuses, and above all well qualified to determine the weight of the necessary sentence. This, and the experience to be gained by officers in sitting on Courts Martial, are advantages not to be disregarded whenever the question has to be considered of the tribunal before which a soldier ought to be tried. I can only say that I should have no fear of Courts Martial displaying all the firmness, intelligence and impartiality necessary for the investigation of serious crimes. There comes to my recollection a case of a very sad murder of a comrade by a British soldier, forming part of the Army of Occupation in Egypt. He was tried by a Court Martial, the trial giving rise to serious questions both of motive and sanity; and he could not have received trial before a fairer or more competent authority.

If I read Mr. Cranston's article aright, there is no function in the American system of Courts Martial corresponding to that which, in the British Army, I have the honor at the present moment to exercise as Judge Advocate General. Like many other things in this country, this office is a survival which fulfills a most useful purpose, though its original object has disappeared. It was designed as a safeguard against absolutism of the Crown over a standing army, and was intended to prevent a system of military law being enforced at the expense of the law of the land. It has survived to constitute a useful and practical protection of the British soldier against errors into which the comparative inexperience of the members of Courts Martial may possibly lead them. It is an established part of the military law of Great Britain that the proceedings of every Court Martial should be recorded in writing, and brought under the review of the Judge Advocate General or his deputies. About six thousand Court Martial proceedings are thus annually reviewed, and every doubtful case comes under the consideration of the Judge Advocate General personally, who has the assistance of two deputies, one of legal and one of military

experience. I hope and believe that few, if any, errors in law or procedure escape notice ; and thus this department, if efficiently conducted, supplies a safeguard, fulfilling some of the more important objects to which the aspirations after a Court of Criminal Appeal have been so long and so vainly directed. It is by an accident that the office of Judge Advocate General has come to be filled by a member of the judicial body. It was till recently always held by a member of the House of Commons, entering and leaving office with the ministry of the day, and it was said that the name of the office was singularly inappropriate, as it was filled by a person who was not a judge, an advocate or a general. When difficulty arose in 1892 in filling the office in Mr. Gladstone's ministry, Mr. Gladstone did me the honor to ask me to accept the office, as it had been previously held for a short time by a predecessor of mine in the Probate Division of the High Court, the late Sir Robert Phillimore. Since then I have formed the humblest, but the only immutable, element in the ministries of Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rosebery and Lord Salisbury. I do not know for how long or how short a time it may be that the office of Judge Advocate General is to be filled by an official who at least fulfills one-third of the appellation; but so long as it is held by a judge, it will, of course, be administered in a judicial temper and according to judicial principles, with, it is to be hoped, the result that the execution of the law and nothing but the law may be relied on. And that result will not be unsatisfactory if it can be felt with confidence by every British soldier, down to the humblest, that, if he has the misfortune to be tried, his trial will be conducted with as strict an observance of the law as if he pleaded at Bar before the Chief Justice of England and two of his brethren.

A long established custom has given a still further security in the case of all general Courts Martial, that is those which deal with the more serious offences, and are empowered to inflict the more severe sentences. It is the duty of the Judge Advocate General to present the proceedings of all such Courts Martial to the Sovereign in person, either at an audience or in writing, and to advise the Crown whether the sentence should be carried out. This is a safeguard which is far more than nominal. In ordinary cases it probably happens that the attention which has been previously given to the case renders needless any special explanation or remark. But in any proceeding which for any reason is out of the

common, it constitutes a valuable as well as an unique protection, that the experience of the Sovereign, which is in nothing more remarkable than in matters connected with the army, should be brought to bear upon any new departure, or any question of doubt; and I should suppose that any Judge Advocate General must feel his own judgment strengthened, as well as his responsibility quickened, by the personal attention invariably bestowed by the Sovereign upon every important decision.

F. H. JEUNE.

THE CURSE IN EDUCATION.

BY REBECCA HARDING DAVIS.

OCCASIONALLY, would it not be a wise thing for a growing nation, like a growing boy, to look to its health: to test the rules by which it lives, and find out whether they are making it sturdy, or sickly and anæmic? Just now, when we propose to take millions of half-savage aliens under our roof-tree, is it not a fit time to examine the maxims which govern the household, and which we must soon thrust upon them?

The most urgent of these rules—the one in which the American puts absolute faith—is, "Educate; send every boy and girl to school."

It never occurs to the American that there can be a mistake or room for hesitancy there. He may have his doubts as to the efficacy of religion. Indeed, the recognition of a God can hardly now be said to be one of the rules by which this household of the United States is governed. Your average busy citizen may grant that there is Some One, somewhere in the spheres, possessing an uncertain, vague power. He will even go so far as to send his wife and daughters to church, to keep on terms with Him. But he protests against any definite acknowledgment of Him by the body politic; he does not see—as his grandfather saw—God behind the changes of the weather or the doings of nations; he would resent the idea that He was likely to meddle in the serious businesses of the world, such as the Stock Exchange, caucuses or peace commissions.

He may never put it into words, but his belief is that the great American nation is now quite too strong to need any fathering by an invisible power. As his trust in God has lessened, his faith in man has increased. Educate a man, he says, teach him mathematics, chemistry, or what not, and he can take care of

himself in the universe. It is this unspoken creed that has made the schoolhouse a fetish in the United States. Whether it stands in a village in New England, or in a Florida swamp or in an Indian reservation, we all believe that a life-giving ichor goes out of it which will conquer not only ignorance, but poverty and crime.

This idea came naturally enough to Uncle Sam, when he found his gates besieged by hordes of ignorant Irish, Germans, Russians, Huns and Italians, and within his gates other hordes of ignorant negroes and Indians. Their ignorance seemed to him the deadly disease which would destroy the nation. Cure that, by a certain amount of book learning, and the American would be the typical intelligent and moral citizen—a model for the world.

Hence the public school.

Has the public school done its work ? Has education been always an unmixed blessing to America and Americans ?

This question cannot be answered so easily and positively as loyal sons of the Republic may suppose.

Two or three facts which come up in my memory seem to me to have a bearing on it.

First: On the table before me lies the annual report for 1898 of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. Here is one item: Ninety-one convicts who were in the prison last year had served one or more terms in it before. Of these hardened offenders, only nine were unable to read and write. Of eight, no record had been kept; but, as the majority of them were forgers and counterfeiters, they evidently had received some mental training. The remaining seventy-four were all educated, having attended school for from two to nine years.

Another fact: Three years after the opening of free schools in London, a marked increase was noticed in the number of juvenile offenders in the city prisons and reformatories. There was, too, a change in the kind of crimes committed by them. The number of boys and young men convicted of forgery, grand larceny and intricate swindling schemes, was more than doubled, while the number of sneak thieves, drunkards and pickpockets was lessened by one-half. As years passed, the proportion of educated criminals largely increased.

"Are we to understand, then," demanded a zealous humani-

tarian in Parliament, "that our graded schools are breeding-houses of crime?"

But this was too pessimistic a view. Education did not breed crime in the pupils; education only gave crime tools to use. The three R's never begot a desire in the mind of a boy to work harm to his fellows; but, finding the desire there already, they taught him to forge a note instead of picking a pocket. Without education, he tramped barefoot in the mire of the broad road that leads downward; with it, he drove in a chariot, but on the self same road and to the same dark end.

Again: About fifteen years ago, I was in a lonely corner of Louisiana—a district of pale green prairies sloping down to the gulf, dotted with the half-cultivated farms of the French Acadians. These they had been since they left Acadie years before. An isolated, separate clan, they had retained the character, the handicrafts and the bits of homely, useful knowledge which they brought with them, and also the same utter ignorance of the outer world. Very few of them could read or write. The men tilled the fields on the shores of the black bayoux which crept lazily through banks of purple and yellow *fleurs-de-lis*, and the women in their cabins wove the soft, gay cotton stuffs in which they all were clad. They had no railways, no school-houses, no bosses with schemes for making big fortunes, no politics and no newspapers. For years, there had not been a case from among them in the parish court of theft or adultery or murder. They worked enough to keep them from want; they went to mass in the morning, and to a dance at night. They were faithful husbands, loyal friends, tender mothers; a single-minded, honest, merry folk. What more would you have?

When I went away from this Attakapas country, and looked back at the great, dull green plain rolling down to the sea, with its pleasant farms and snug little homesteads gay with flowers, soft floating gray mists now and then clouding the sunshine, it seemed the very land of peace. Surely its name should be Arcadia, not Acadie.

A year later, I heard a philanthropic Northern lecturer descant on the ignorance of this people, and beg for aid to "send the schoolmaster among them, to open the way for railways, business and civilization."

Would not any intelligent American question seriously

whether these people would be elevated or lowered in the actual scale of being by these things ?

Take another community—one in a remote corner of New England. Fifty years ago, X—— was a live, prosperous village. The heads of the families were whalers—captains, mates and crews. They could read and write, they were keen-witted, quick-eyed, red-blooded men, who gathered on their long voyages precisely the kind of knowledge which they needed for their calling, and brought home, too, histories and news of far-off countries beyond the seas. Sometimes, indeed, they took their women folk with them on their voyages, and thus, continually, windows were opened through which glimpses of the great outside world came into the lonely hamlet. The life in it was full of hard work, but not without its fun; it was active, healthy and human.

But the whaling industry is dead in X—— now, and so are the old seamen who followed it. The generations that succeeded them have not found any industry to take its place. The swamps remain undrained, the fields untilled, the fish disport themselves by millions in the bay undisturbed. The old people in the village keep themselves and their children alive by renting their houses to summer boarders. But the children have but one ambition—to be educated; their feeble energy finds its only outlet in an academy and college course. Nothing could be more laudable, according to ordinary public opinion. Visitors look with awe at the three huge school houses and the free library, which tower over the village houses, until they discover that there is not a cobbler nor a tailor nor a druggist nor a skilled mechanic in the village. Then they begin to wonder whether book learning is the only wholesome and needful thing in the life of a community.

The young girls of X—— go through "the course," nibbling at a dozen sciences, and philosophies and two or three languages, long enough to learn the flavor of each, but not long enough to find any actual food for their brains; not long enough even to teach them the first lesson of education—how little they know. They find no place as teachers, for New England is filled with women competent to teach, standing in rows waiting for a vacancy. These X—— "young ladies"—for they are careful to give themselves that degree—settle down at home. They will not cook nor wash, as their mothers do; they are no longer of

the class of tradespeople; they are unfitted to marry the honest laborers on the farms; they mope and look at the world in false lights through their tears, and join the great army of half-starved, hysteric, morbid women in New England—the most useless figures, perhaps, in the world's swarming myriads.

The majority of the young men return and wait in vain for work in which their book learning will prove effective. They have no capital to go into business; the professions are enormously overcrowded; they look down with contempt on the trades or any manual labor, in which was their chance for useful, earnest lives. One or two men of unusual power have gone to the West and succeeded, the others in the end, driven by dire need, usually take up some occupation which gives them food. They have just enough education to make them loathe and despise the work on which they must depend for their livelihood.

A still more tragic instance is the negro, who, as soon as he was freed, was taken out of the cabin of the slave field-hand, not to be taught to read his Bible, and earn his bread as a skilled mechanic, but to study the higher mathematics and Plato, French and German, medicine and law; and then, with contempt and insult, was denied the chance to use his knowledge.

What, then, is wrong? Too much education?

No! No sane man can doubt that to educate a human being, so as to develop his individual capacity and to fit him for his especial place in life, is the best thing we can do for him. It is a gift to him from his fellow men, second only to that of life. But it must be given with wisdom and discrimination.

Now what wisdom, what discrimination, do we show when we educate our boys and girls? When we set out flowers in a garden, we give to each the position and the food and the water suited to its peculiar needs. The research of many generations has made us wise in the queer idiosyncrasies of lilies and roses and tulips, and taught us how to bring out the full strength of every root or graft. But we cultivate human souls *en masse.*

Into that aforesaid school house, of which we boast with such fervor, are going to-day countless legions of little Pats and Jans and Sambos—boys with a myriad differing capacities, tendencies and destinies. And each is crammed with the same dose of unassimilated facts—the alphabets of a dozen sciences, which he never learns to put together into an intelligible word. Noth-

ing more cruel and ridiculous was ever done in the world. It is the old story of the boys of Dotheboys Hall, who were ranged into a row while Mrs. Squeers ladled into each gaping mouth the same dose of treacle and sulphur.

One of the foremost teachers in the country, the head of a great preparatory school, once said to me: "True education is to find the quality and bent of each pupil's mind, and give it only such food as will develop them." I glanced at the pile of textbooks—huge accumulations of bare questions and answers—lying on his desk. "What can I do?" he said, with a despairing shrug. "My boys must 'pass' in all of these books to enter college, and in college the aim still is to 'pass,' not to grow."

Of course, we all know the secret reason which prompts this American system of education. Every child must be prepared for any possible position. The boy who will end his days behind the counter of a village store, and who has no ambition nor qualification to do other work, must have his smattering of Greek and philosophy, because he may some day be Senator or President. The girl from X——, who would be fitted for a full, happy life by a course in dressmaking or cookery and arithmetic, studies trigonometry and art. May she not, some day, be the first lady of the land? Dull, good young women by the tens of thousands, meant by nature to brood over homes and to mother children, and to teach them truth and honor and the love of God, grapple with the Semitic tongues or biology, with the hope that they will be club women or scholars, and train their sons for college.

It is, as we all know, the Chance for every man that constitutes the true greatness of America. But it is this Chance also which is at the bottom of our discontent, of our vulgar pretension, of our intolerable rudeness, and of the false values which we are apt to place upon the things of life. Perhaps the falsest value is that which we set on mere book learning. Without religion, it only qualifies the thief to be more expert in his thieving. If it is not assimilated into a man's life, and made a part of his every-day work, it becomes a deadly alien weight on both.

When will Americans see that there is no blessing like the education which we can use; but that the education which we cannot use is a curse?

REBECCA HARDING DAVIS.

WORK OF THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

BY A CANADIAN LIBERAL.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the labors of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission have been fruitless. While a final result of negotiations has not been reached, and upon one point disagreement has resulted, there is still good prospect of an ultimate settlement that will be satisfactory to moderate and reasonable men of both countries. The Commission was called upon to deal with a wide range of subjects, many of them of prime importance. These subjects were, the question of Trade Relations between Canada and the United States, Pelagic Sealing, the Alaskan Boundary, Reciprocal Mining Rights, the Alien Labor Law, the Southern and Eastern Boundary, the Northeastern Fisheries, the Inland Fisheries, the Bonding Privilege, Rights of Transit, the Transmission of Prisoners, the Construction of War Vessels upon the Lakes; and other questions of difference between the two countries. Public impatience is manifested, especially in Canada, because the solution of all these questions has not been reached. The truth probably is that tentative agreements have been arrived at upon all of them, with the exception of the Trade question and the Northeastern Fishery question; these provisional agreements being dependent for final adoption upon the settlement of the entire range of questions referred to the Commission.

The work of the Commission is of an importance that can scarcely be over-rated, not only with reference to the character of the questions themselves, but also with reference to the higher and more important question of future relations between the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon family.

It is a fact, perhaps not hitherto understood in the United States, that the Canadian tariff regulations, as relating to the

United States, are much more liberal than the tariff regulations of the United States as relating to Canada. The total imports of Canada from the United States, for the year 1898, amounted to $86,587,000, of which amount $78,263,000 was entered for consumption; while the exports of Canada to the United States during the same year, the produce of Canada, and not including the mythical estimate of $4,300,000 for short returns, was $35,460,000, a sum corresponding very closely with the American Statistics of importations from Canada for 1898. Of the total imports from the United States for consumption, $37,674,000 were dutiable, while the free imports for consumption were $40,589,000. The rate of duty on total imports from the United States was 12.05 per cent. The rate of duty on dutiable imports was 25.4. The United States' duty on total imports for the same year was 24.78, and upon dutiable imports 49.20.

Of the total import of free goods into Canada, 72½ per cent. came from the United States, 17.7 per cent. from Great Britain, and 9.8 per cent. from all other countries. Of Canada's total imports for consumption, 66 per cent. were from the United States and but 28.11 of Canada's exports went to the United States. In the year there was a balance of trade against Canada and in favor of the United States of over forty million dollars, while the United States gave to Canada, in return for a free list of over $40,000,000 of American goods, a free list of but $14,000,000, consisting chiefly of saw logs, pulp wood, gold-bearing quartz, settlers' effects, and goods exported and then returned.

Of farm products, the United States took from Canada in 1898, $5,326,000, while Canada exported to other countries, chiefly to Great Britain, $77,516,000; so that the United States took from Canada but 6½ per cent. of her total export of farm products in that year. While the United States bought of Canada but 5,326,000 dollars' worth of farm products, Canada bought from the United States during the same year $15,000,000 worth, including raw cotton and tobacco leaf; and in the following articles Canada, in her purchases from the United States, exceeded her exports to that country, namely: horses, butter, eggs, lard, hides, bacon, hams, salted pork, beef in barrels, Indian corn, wheat flour, Indian meal, oatmeal, hay, seeds, fruits, and berries.

Canada imported from the United States in 1898 $35,000,000 worth of domestic manufactures, or $6,000,000 more than the

amount of manufactures imported from Great Britain. Of the import of manufactures from the United States, probably $20,000,000 was consumed by the agricultural population of the country, which was prevented, by the nearly prohibitory tariff of the United States, from selling to that country more than $5,326,000 worth of farm products in return.

As relates to the operation of differential duties in favor of Great Britain, for the year 1898, which amounted to 12½ per cent., the percentage of increase of British imports for consumption from 1897 to 1898 was 10.15 per cent., while the increase of imports for consumption from the United States during the same period was 35.68 per cent. Again, while the average rate of duties upon English goods entered for consumption under the preferential rate was 29.60 per cent., the average rate of duties upon American goods entered for consumption was 25.40 per cent.

The imports into Canada from all countries for 1898 amounted to $23.75 *per capita*, while the imports into Canada from the United States amounted to $14.25 *per capita*. In the face of this exhibit, the repressive influence of the American tariff upon foreign trade is evinced by the fact that the total importations of the United States for 1898 amounted to $7.83 *per capita*, while the importations of the United States from Canada amounted to less than 70 cents *per capita*.

The total exports of the United States for 1898 to South America, Mexico, Central America and the West Indies, with an aggregate population of over 54,000,000, amounted to $86,786,000, while the total exports of the United States to Canada, with a population of 5,500,000, amounted to $86,537,000, for the same year.

These facts are strikingly illustrative of the repressive tariff policy of the United States, and point to the propriety, on the part of Canada, of asking for trade concessions and more favorable trade relations from the United States.

All of the Canadian members of the Commission are recognized as entertaining friendly feelings towards the United States, and a sincere desire to promote more intimate trade and business relations between the two countries. These gentlemen, beyond question, approached the discussion of the trade relations between the two countries with a sincere desire to promote more friendly relations, and to secure the concessions which in their belief Canada

was fairly entitled to, as an equivalent for the results of her policy towards the United States. It is reasonably certain that the advances in the direction intimated were not met, on the part of the American Commissioners, with that degree of alacrity and willingness to concede reasonable requests that might have been hoped for. This was due, probably, to the preponderance of public sentiment in the United States against such concessions, and to a feeling in the United States Senate, hostile to the ratification of broad concessions in the realm of trade relations.

The Canadian Commissioners were, of course, anxious to secure the removal of duties upon several classes of farm products for which the Canadian farmer might find a remunerative market in the United States; and the fact that the vast mineral region of British Columbia will speedily furnish an extensive market for American farm products, and that the Canadian farmer, being the consumer of vast quantities of American manufactures, is entitled in return to sell, in the American markets of the East, a fair proportion of the products of his own labors, would naturally be strongly urged. But it is reasonably certain that applications for concessions in this line did not meet with a flattering degree of success, and that the American Commissioners absolutely refused to open the markets of the United States to the competition of Canadian farmers, except, possibly, in a few comparatively unimportant products.

The dependence of the Canadian farmer upon the American market has, of late years, very greatly diminished. Last year the total exports of Canada to Great Britain were $104,787,000, while the total imports from that country were $32,827,000, leaving a balance of trade in favor of Canada of $71,960,000. Of the $77,516,000 worth of farm products which Canada exported to countries other than the United States, England probably received over 95 per cent., and by means of cold storage and improved methods of production and transportation of cheese, butter, bacon, hams, vegetables, poultry, fruits, eggs, and other products, the Canadian farmer begins to feel a sense of independence of American markets. Indeed, it may be seriously questioned whether the denial to him, on the part of the United States, of free access to that market, is not a policy likely to react upon the commercial interest of the United States itself.

With the clouded prospect of securing concessions on the agri-

cultural list, it is fair to presume that the Canadian Commissioners pressed with vigor for the removal of restrictions in other directions, and especially in the matter of duties upon fish and upon lumber. The importation of lumber from Canada to the United States is trivial in amount, compared with the production of lumber in that country. Since 1890, the export of lumber from Canada to the United States has averaged only about one and one-half per cent. of the total volume of lumber produced in the last named country. This makes it clearly evident that the removal of the lumber duties would produce but a slight effect upon lumber prices in the United States, and that the most serious consequence would be the loss of revenue upon Canadian lumber importations. It is more than probable that a proper presentation of the facts bearing upon this case would conclusively prove to the American Commissioners, that free lumber might be granted without serious consequences to the lumber interests of the United States. This, however, would be but one step in the direction of securing for Canada this concession, and the more serious obstacle to overcome would be the prejudices of those interested in the production of lumber in some twenty-five of the American States, represented by fifty votes in the United States Senate, where it requires but thirty-one votes to defeat a treaty.

There was at no time, probably, sufficient reason for believing that Canada's desire for free fish would be gratified; and yet a settlement of the vexed Northeast Fishery question, by the free admission of Canadian fish into American markets, and the total sweeping away of all Canadian restrictions imposed by virtue of the Convention of 1818, would have been the most desirable adjustment of a long standing difficulty.

It is pretty certain that the free importation of fresh fish from the Maritime Provinces is already largely secured by clandestine arrangements, fresh fish being transferred from Canadian vessels at sea to fishing vessels from the United States, which go out with scanty provisions and speedily return with phenomenal catches.

With the Fishery and the Trade questions definitely settled, the relations between the two countries should immediately assume a more friendly form, as the main causes of friction and bad feeling would be removed. These two questions, it is safe to guess, will be settled. The prediction is hazarded that the next meeting of the Commission will result in the framing of a treaty,

which in many respects will be satisfactory to the people of Canada, and which in all respects will be infinitely preferable to a continuance of the present condition of affairs.

The disagreement upon the Alaskan Boundary question appears to be of a character to do no discredit to the British members of the Commission. The possession by the United States of a narrow strip of coast, from latitude 56 Northward, between the Canadian Northwest possessions and the Pacific, is, of course, a subject of deep regret and no little annoyance to the Canadian people, whose vast tracts of auriferous territory, in the Yukon District, is a Hinterland shut out from access to the sea by this intervening strip of coast, ten leagues in width. The delimitation of this boundary was, from the nature of the case, a difficult one. The coast line has deep indentations, such as Lynn Canal, sixty miles in length. From the head of this canal, access is had to the upper waters of the Yukon and to the Klondike, and other mineral regions. The Canadian Commissioners contended that, as the canal was less than six miles wide at its mouth, it was territorial waters, and not a part of the high sea, that the coast line should cross at its mouth, and the boundary line be ten leagues from the mouth of the bay or canal. The American contention was that the coast line followed this indentation, and that the boundary line should be at the crest of the mountain, or ten leagues from the waters of the bay or canal. An arrangement is understood to have been agreed upon, by which Canada was to be granted one port at the head of this canal, with access from that port to the interior, the United States government reserving sovereignty; but this was protested against by the citizens of Tacoma, Seattle, and other American towns upon the Pacific coast, and the arrangement was consequently withdrawn. No course then remained but to submit the question to Arbitration, and the American Commissioners are said to have proposed that the Board of Arbitration should consist of three eminent jurists from each country. The Canadians objected that this would not secure finality, and that it was necessary to have an umpire chosen from a neutral State. The Americans, it is said, were willing to select an umpire from one of the Spanish-American States. The Canadian Commissioners objected, because these States were practically under American protectorate, by virtue of the Monroe Doctrine. The Americans were unwilling to accept an umpire from

Europe, and so no course was left to the Commissioners but to refer the case to their respective governments.

The Canadian members of the Commission have been subjected to severe and unreasonable criticism in Canada, because the negotiations, extending over a period of six months, have not resulted in a treaty. The manufacturing interests of Canada are evidently very nervous, lest concessions shall be made admitting free of duty lines of manufactured goods from the United States in which they will be unable to compete with American rivals.

It must be admitted, and it is admitted with regret, that a state of public sentiment exists in Canada towards the United States, which is not in sympathy with the friendly and generous impulses of the British people towards their American cousins, or of American people towards the inhabitants of Great Britain. In parts of Canada, chiefly in commercial centers, and especially in Toronto, a spirit of jingoism exists, which has developed into a mild form of political insanity. It is by no means an uncommon thing to hear gentlemen of position, in business and political circles, express not only gratification that the Commission has adjourned without a treaty being made, but also an ardent hope that it will never meet again. The fact that the American tariff regulations are the reverse of liberal towards Canada, and that the trade between the two countries is specially advantageous to the United States, may be and probably is largely the cause of this state of feeling, but the condition of affairs is, nevertheless, in the highest degree regrettable and unjustifiable. As a practical outcome of the prevalence of this sentiment, the British Columbia Legislature has recently debarred American miners from the right to engage in placer mining, in that province, although the matter of reciprocal mining rights is under the consideration of the Commission, and a piece of legislation has gone upon the Statute Book of the Province of Ontario (61 Vic., chap. 9), which will ever remain a blot upon its legislative history, and is the most unjustifiable legislative enactment probably, that has been placed upon the Statute Book of any American State, Saxon or Spanish, in the last generation. This is a law, passed in the session of 1897, which practically confiscates the property of a number of American lumbermen, having timber holdings in Ontario, to the extent of some three million acres. These lumbermen, having exhausted the available supply of pine in the State of Michigan,

and having on their hands idle mills and salt blocks, made investments in timber lands on the north shore of Lake Huron for the purpose of transporting in rafts logs cut upon these lands to their Michigan mills. These investments were made upon the invitation of the Ontario Government, which controls and owns the public lands and Crown timber limits. The prices paid for these timber properties, sold at auction by the Government, or purchased from parties who had previously obtained them from the Government, were very large, ranging from two to three times as much per thousand feet, board measure, or per square mile in area, as timber properties sold for in other portions of the Province. These Americans were permitted to proceed without interruption with their business of exporting logs for a period of years.

When the Dingley Bill was under consideration in 1897, it was probably suspected that, in the event of lumber being made dutiable again, the Canadian Government would impose an export duty upon the exportation of logs. This suspicion was evidently well founded. American investments in timber lands had been made in good faith, for the purpose of exporting logs, and had been made at a time when no export duty or other restriction was in force. It was evidently thought proper by the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives, and the Finance Committee of the Senate, to protect the interests of these American lumbermen, by guarding against the imposition of an export duty; and a proviso was inserted in the Dingley Bill which enacted that, if any foreign country imposed an export duty upon saw logs designed for export to the United States, the amount of such export duty should be automatically added to the import duty upon lumber sent from such country to the United States. This provision created great indignation in Canada, and as the imposition of an export duty was rendered practically impossible by the penal consequences provided against it, resort was had to the expedient of securing from the Ontario Government a Statute which required the manufacture in Canada of all logs cut from Government limits, or, in effect, which prohibited the export of logs. This provision, if it had been made a condition of sale, would have been within the right of the Government, though beyond doubt an unwise one; but the application of this provision, in the case of purchases already made for the express purpose of securing logs for export, was a breach of faith. The reason assigned for mak-

ing the provision was, that the conditions under which licenses were issued permitted the Government to make regulations for the management of timber lands. This reserved power applied simply to regulations for fire protection, the reservation of the smaller sizes of timber, to ground rent, and to Crown Dues. This law has been retained in spite of protest, and has no doubt proved a serious obstacle in the way of the Canadian Commissioners, when seeking for a reduction or the removal of the lumber duties. The full effect of the law falls upon a class of men who are strongly in favor of securing either a reduction or a total abolition of the lumber duty, and it serves well the purpose of that great mass of American lumbermen who desire to exclude Canadian lumber from the American market.

It is a striking proof of the forbearance of the American Treasury Department that no notice has yet been taken of this law. With a logical interpretation of the proper mode of applying the provision of the Dingley Bill against export duty, unquestionably this flank movement for securing the same purpose, in the most drastic and high handed manner, would be considered as, *pro tanto,* an export duty, calling under the automatic provisions of the export duty proviso for an order from the Treasury Department, either prohibiting the importation of lumber from Canada, or increasing the duty upon lumber to the maximum rate of export duty which the Canadian Government may impose at pleasure by order in Council, this maximum rate being $3 per thousand feet, board measure.

The effect of this Ontario law has already been mischievous, it may be presumed, through its adverse influence upon negotiations, by the creation of a spirit of indignation on the part of the American Commissioners as relates to the law itself. It has, beyond question, shaken confidence in Canadian honor and good faith among American investors, and has led to the withholding of millions of capital designed for investment in Canada. American capitalists naturally feel that American investors in three million acres of pine land, whose investments were sought for, the purpose of whose investment was well known, whose intentions when making the investments were permitted to be carried out for years, and who were then abruptly confronted by an Act of practical confiscation, were made the victims of bad faith and were robbed by legislation of duly acquired property rights. The

natural inquiry on the part of the capitalists is, What security are we to suppose that we shall possess, if we make investments in Canadian enterprises, while some crazy freak of lunatic legislation may at any time paralyze them by regulations and restrictions relating to the management of the properties we thus acquire?

The selfishness and greed that demand resort to export duties and prohibition of export may soon work great mischief, unless effectually checked. The Ontario Export Embargo Law is likely to be imitated in other Provinces by laws of a similar character, applicable not only to saw logs and round timber, but to pulp wood and other forest products. A demand for an export duty upon nickel ore has been sedulously agitated by a clique of speculators who, acting upon the belief that Canada alone can supply nickel ore, think it possible to secure a monopoly of refining nickel. A demand for an export duty upon lead ores in the interest of local smelters is made, and the apparent tendency of the aggressive jingo spirit in Canada at this juncture is to have export embargo and export duties extended over a wide range of natural products, forest and mineral, as rapidly as possible.

Canada has many of the peculiarities of a spoiled child, and ventures upon many manifestations of these peculiarities, that would not be attempted but for trust in the protection of the Motherland. Many of its public men, and possibly a majority of its people, seem to lack all sense of proper proportion, when considering the adjustment of international conditions. The impossibility of the successful coercion of 75,000,000 people by 5,000,000 people is not understood. Foolish dreams of bringing the United States to terms by withholding saw logs, nickel, and other natural products, are indulged in. Our vagaries and our senseless impudence are a source of annoyance to English statesmen, who look at times with ill concealed disgust upon our actions.

Progress, however, is being made. Intelligence and moderation of view are characteristic of a fair proportion of the population. Periodical crazes will subside in due time, and if the United States were to adopt towards us a trade policy fairly responsive in liberality to our own general tariff policy towards them, an influence would be brought into action for promoting better understanding and more widely extended friendship, which would be more effective than all other influences combined.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY G. MARCONI.

THE subject of wireless telegraphy has apparently caused some little interest among my friends and among the inhabitants generally of the vast continent of America; and it is with no small amount of pleasure that I comply with the request to write a few words relative to the experiments and installations which have been carried out under my supervision. I shall endeavor, in as brief space as possible, to place a few facts before my readers to enable them to grasp the means by which these experiments have been brought to such a practical and successful issue.

My first experiments were conducted in 1895, on my father's estate in Bologna, in Italy, and I was much surprised at the facility with which I found it possible to transmit messages without a wire for many miles. On coming to England on private business in 1896, I was advised by my friends and relations to give a demonstration of the capabilities of my invention to the British authorities, who gave me facilities to test the system; and we were soon doing nine miles across the Bristol Channel.

But, perhaps, at this point, it will not be out of place to give a brief description of the apparatus, avoiding technicalities as much as possible.

We will first take the transmitting or sending apparatus.

I used an ordinary 10-inch induction-coil, somewhat similar to the familiar shocking coil, but on a much larger scale. Connected to the terminals of the secondary winding, are two small spheres, about one or two centimeters apart. Between these spheres the spark passes and sets up the oscillations necessary for

the transmission of signals. When long distances are to be bridged, a vertical insulated conductor, suspended by means of a mast, is attached to one sphere, and the other sphere is connected with the earth. If an ordinary telegraphic key connecting a battery with the coil be pressed, the current from the battery is allowed to actuate the induction coil which charges the vertical conductor, and discharges across the gap separating the two spheres. This discharge is an oscillating one, and the insulated conductor becomes a powerful radiator of electric waves. It will be easy to see how, by pressing the key for long or short intervals, it is possible to emit a long or short succession of waves, which, when they influence the receiver, reproduce on it a long or short effect according to their duration, in this way reproducing Morse signals.

The principal point in my receiver is the sensitive tube or radio-conductor, or, as it is generally termed, the coherer. It consists of a small glass tube, about four centimeters in length, into which two silver plugs are tightly fitted. A small gap separates them, and in this gap a mixture of nickel and silver filings is placed. Under ordinary conditions, the resistance of this gap is too high to allow of any current passing from the local cell or battery; but, under the influence of electric waves, these filings instantly cohere, and the tube becomes a comparatively good conductor. Connected to this tube is a cell and a relay. By the cohesion of the filings, the current from the cell is allowed to pass through the tube and actuate the relay. When once this is achieved, it becomes a very simple matter to make a bell ring, or work an ordinary Morse inkwriter.

But one peculiarity with this cohesion of the filings, under the influence of an electric wave, is their power of remaining cohered unless tapped or shaken up. I have overcome this difficulty by using an automatic tapper or discoherer, which is somewhat similar to an electric bell tapper *minus* the bell. This is so adjusted as to tap the tube and shake the filings up, thus decohering them and bringing them to their normal condition, when they are again in a state to receive another impulse. This is worked by the relay and another local battery.

It will now be easy to follow the various actions which take place. The oscillations set up by the transmitter at the distant station act on the vertical conductor or resonator which is con-

nected to the sensitive tube at the receiving station, cohere the filings in the tube, and allow the local cell to actuate the relay. The relay, in its turn, causes the larger battery to pass a current through the tapper or interrupter, and also through the electro magnets of the recording instrument. The practical result is that the receiver is actuated for a time equal to that during which the key is pressed at the transmitting station.

With apparatus as thus explained, and with the addition of a few important details which for brevity I shall not describe, I have made most of my experiments and worked numerous important installations.

After the experiments across the Bristol Channel, I gave some important demonstrations to the Italian naval authorities at Spezia. With the transmitter on shore and the receiver on board an Italian warship, a distance of twelve miles was bridged. A series of trials were also carried out with other ships, and between ship and ship, and the Italian Navy was not slow in permanently adopting my system.

On Salisbury Plain, I introduced kites as a means of raising and suspending the vertical conductor to a considerable altitude. In these experiments I attained my greatest distances—between Salisbury and Bath, a distance of thirty-four miles.

Immediately after this, I set up two experimental stations, one at Alum Bay, in the Isle of Wight, and the other at Bournemouth, the distance between them being fourteen miles, in order to test the practicability of the system under all conditions of weather, and also to afford an opportunity of proving that "Wireless Telegraphy" was not a myth but a working reality.

It has, apparently, been thought that the weather, or varying conditions of atmospheric electricity, may interfere with or stop the signals transmitted by this system; but experience of over fourteen months of continual every-day work has brought me to the conclusion that there is no weather which can stop or seriously interfere with the working of such an installation.

We have given demonstrations to several eminent scientists who came down, often when we did not expect them, but on no occasion have they found any difficulty in the work of transmitting and receiving messages between the two stations. Among others who inspected these stations, was Lord Kelvin; and he was kind enough to express himself as being highly pleased with what

he saw. He sent several telegrams to his friends and insisted on paying one shilling royalty on each message, wishing in this way to show his appreciation of what was done, and to illustrate its fitness at that time for commercial purposes.

In July of last year, we gave an interesting demonstration at Kingstown Regatta, in reporting from a tug the results and incidents of the several yacht races. The relative positions of the various yachts were thus wirelessly signalled, while the races were in progress, sometimes over a distance of ten miles, and published long before the yachts had returned to harbor. On one of these excursions we had the company of several stock brokers and business men of Dublin, who transacted business on the receipt of the daily Stock Exchange quotations sent off from our shore station, much to the amusement of all on board.

After finishing at Kingstown, I had the honor of being asked to install wireless telegraphic communication between the royal yacht, "Osborne" and Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight, in order that Her Majesty might communicate with H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, who at the time was suffering from a fractured knee. Although quite hidden from one another by intervening hills and trees, constant and uninterrupted communication was maintained. These obstructions would have rendered direct signalling between the two positions impossible by means of any flag, semaphore or heliograph system.

In December of last year, it was thought desirable to demonstrate that the system was quite practical, and available for enabling telegraphic communication to be established between lightships and the shore. This is a matter of great importance. By the kind permission of the officials of Trinity House, we connected the East Goodwin Lightship—the outermost lightship guarding the dangerous Goodwin Sands—with the South Foreland light house, twelve miles apart. The apparatus was taken on board in an open boat and rigged up in one afternoon.

The installation started working from the very first without the slightest difficulty, and it has continued to work admirably through all the storms which during this year have been so severe. By its means two vessels have already received quick and valuable assistance. Both ran on the sands in a fog. The lightship noted their signals of distress, telegraphed for assistance, indicating the exact spot where it was required, and tugs and life-

boats were soon rendering every aid. Various members of the crew have learned how to send and receive signals, and in fact run the station. Previous to our visit to the ship it is highly probable they had scarcely heard of wireless telegraphy, and were certainly unacquainted with even the rudiments of electricity. Their knowledge is very valuable when the assistant, who is a poor sailor, is unable to attend to the work himself.

The latest installation that I have fitted up is across the English Channel, between the South Foreland lighthouse and Boulogne, a distance of about thirty miles. This has worked with great success from the start, and at the present moment a message is being received respecting a vessel which has run on shore close to Wimereux. The French authorities are most enthusiastic over the results.

All the above experiments have been made with what we term the vertical wire system; but I think it would be desirable, before closing this summary of events, to bring before my readers some observations on the use of parabolic reflectors, as a means of controlling the propagation and intensifying the effects of the waves. As in ordinary optics, so also in the optics of electro-magnetic oscillations, it is possible to reflect the waves radiated from the oscillator in one definite direction only. The advantages obtainable by their use are obvious. With the vertical wire system, the waves have been allowed to radiate in all directions and would affect all suitable receivers within a certain radius, although it is possible by means of syntonising arrangements to prevent this to a certain extent.

By means of reflectors it is possible to project the waves in one almost parallel beam, which will not affect any receiver placed out of its line of propagation. This would enable several forts or islands to communicate with each other without any fear of the enemy's tapping or interfering with signals; for if the forts are situated on small heights, the beam of rays would pass above the position which might be held by an enemy.

The possibilities and importance of the uses to which these reflected radiations can be adapted are enormous. More especially will this system be applicable to enable ships to be warned by lighthouses, lightships or other vessels, not only of their proximity to danger, but also of the direction from which the warning comes.

G. MARCONI.

SCIENTIFIC HISTORY AND FUTURE USES OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY J. A. FLEMING, M. A., D. SC., F. R. S., PROFESSOR OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING IN UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

PUBLIC attention, on both sides of the Atlantic, has recently been strongly directed to the possibilities of telegraphy through space, by the remarkable experiments of Signor G. Marconi. Taking advantage of well known scientific principles, together with very important and novel additions of his own, this ingenious inventor has startled the world by flinging telegraphic messages across thirty miles of sea, wrapt, it may be, in fog, or swept by storm, and recording, in the well known Morse telegraphic alphabet of dot and dash, the communications thus conveyed without continuous connecting wires or cables of any kind. Every thoughtful person desires to gain some glimpse of the means by which this feat has been performed, and some little guidance in prognosticating the future of the new telegraphy.

It is very seldom that a new scientific departure is rightly apprehended at first, in regard either to its uses or its methods.

Imagination is often carried captive by a novel process, and a speedy revolution of old methods is anticipated; or, on the other hand, it is decried as containing nothing new, and the inventor is set down as a mere user of other people's ideas. An inventor, be it remarked in passing, is not necessarily a person who does anything new. He is often one chiefly gifted with that poetic insight which enables him to carry out to their true logical issue familiar facts, or he casts a sudden flood of light on well known processes by some simple adaptation of known means.

In the present instance, this wonderful conveyance of intelligence through space by electrical means, between places not con-

nected by the ordinary telegraphic wires, is the crowning achievement in a long series of scientific labors, the product of many minds and the outcome and reward of profound research.

Thoroughly to grasp the details and meaning of the whole process requires a scientific training and much acquaintance with physical research. It is, however, quite possible to convey a fairly correct notion of the nature of the operations involved to an ordinary reader who has patience to follow the argument.

Modern scientific research has conducted us to a position from which we see that the phenomena of the physical universe indicate three fundamental sources of all observed events, which form the underlying basis of the physical actions concerning which our senses inform us.

These great actualities are, respectively, matter, energy and ether. It is perfectly impossible to give any independent definitions of these things which shall be satisfactory to the metaphysician. Collectively speaking, the material objects we can handle and see, are, from the modern standpoint, the vehicles of energy in various forms; and every chemical or physical change we notice or can produce, is an exhibition of the changes in something called energy, associated with that which we call matter. A discussion of how far matter is entitled to a separate recognition, apart from energy, would be foreign to our present purpose, and would in any case plunge us into the seething caldron of metaphysical discussion. The chief fact of importance here necessary to note is, that the research of the present century has shown that large quantities of energy can be conveyed through space, or associated with that which we call a perfect vacuum. Hence has grown up the notion that space may not really be empty, but may have everywhere in it something which, like tangible matter, can be the vehicle of energy, though not possessing those qualities of ponderability, or power to affect directly our sense of touch, which characterizes that which we generally call material substance. This space-filling, non-material vehicle of energy is called the ether; and it is one of the most suggestive of modern physical conceptions, that the atoms which build up ordinary matter may even be only ether—in certain states of localized strain or motion. Leaving, however, the confines of speculation, we may say that the tendency of present day physical theory is to find, as our ultimate elements of analysis, in

dissecting the phenomena of the external world, three things, viz.: energy, ether and matter; all by us unalterable in total amount, but all susceptible of certain transformation, and each, by its interactions with the others, contributing to the processes which are the immediate precursors of our sense perceptions. The deeper we penetrate into the facts of Nature, the more we see that the only things we have a right to call real things lie far beneath the immediate objects of cognition.

Hence, research has wended its way by slow steps to that position from which we are able to recognize the validity of the assumption of a space-occupying ether, which now fills such an important position in existing physical hypotheses. Moreover, it has advanced from a position in which it was a mere vague speculation, called in, as it were, to cover up the difficulties involved in analyzing physical processes, to a position in which many converging lines of argument demand its postulation as a basis for the adequate explanation of effects.

The most philosophical minds have, however, always felt that, if the facts in more than one branch of physics separately taken seemed to necessitate the assumption of an ether, then it would be necessary to make the fundamental assumptions wide enough to make one ether sufficient for the explanation of all effects. Modern science has, therefore, banished all notions of manifold imponderable fluids; but, on the other hand, has deepened and strengthened the foundations on which has been built the hypothesis of one single sufficient ether. Now, this physical hypothesis grew up originally out of a study of optical phenomena; but the consideration of electrical and magnetic effects little by little forced physicists to the conclusion that luminous and electro-magnetic effects must be due to the same fundamental causes, and must therefore depend on the same ether.

When Prof. James Clerk Maxwell died at Cambridge, in November, 1879, he left as his most splendid intellectual legacy to the world his remarkable Electro-magnetic Theory of Light. At the beginning of the century, the original mind of Thomas Young, Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Royal Institution, had laid a firm grasp upon this scientific hypothesis of an all pervading medium or ether, as an assumption which was necessitated by a critical study of optical facts. That conjecture was, by no means, a novel one. The notion of imponderable fluids or

ethers had been a familiar one to natural philosophers, long before the researches of Young supplied fresh arguments for entertaining it as especially applicable in the case of optical effects. While we are probably indebted to Huyghens for first raising the conception of a luminous ether out of the dust of mere speculation to the level of a serious scientific hypothesis, it was by the researches of Young and his brilliant successors, among whom we may chiefly mention Fresnel, that it was placed upon the level of a theory to be tested and tried by the comparison of careful observations with mathematical deductions from the theory. The known fact that a ray of light takes time to travel from one place to another, and that this velocity, of about a thousand million feet a second, is everywhere and always the same, can only be explained in one of two ways. Either light must be a substance, emitted by luminous agents, which moves bodily from one place to another, or else it must be an action, transmitted from place to place through a medium. The crucial test which enabled a critical decision to be made between these two assumptions, was supplied by a principle first made known by Young. Without entering into highly technical details, suffice it to say that, under proper conditions, two rays of light, falling together on the same spot, may actually produce darkness instead of enhanced luminosity. In other words, light added to light may result in an absence of light. We are not able to conceive of any manner in which identical substances could thus annihilate each other, but we are abundantly familiar with cases in which one motion can destroy an equal and opposite motion, or a pressure or force annul an equal and opposite pressure or force.

Moreover, all subsequent investigation has shown that, along the path followed by a ray of light, there is some kind of periodical change or action constantly repeated, and also simultaneously occurring at certain regular intervals. In the early and middle parts of this century, experimentalists and mathematicians built up a body of irrefutable proof that the agent we call light must consist, in some kind, of very rapid and repeated change taking place in a universe-filling medium. For instance, along the path of a ray of light which produces a sensation of red when it falls upon our eyes, the same kind of changes or actions are being repeated at any one point about 400 billion times a second, and the same actions are being simultaneously performed at

places about one forty-thousandth of an inch apart. The former number is called the *frequency* of the light, and the latter its *wave-length*. The process of handing on from point to point this particular kind of action or motion is called a wave-motion, and the speed with which it is propagated is called the wave velocity. It is impossible to do more here than merely enunciate the fact, that no optical effects, however complicated, have yet been found which cannot be deduced as consequences of the assumption of the existence of a space-occupying medium, capable of having produced in it a wave-motion, but subject to affection by the presence of material substances. It is difficult at first for the non-scientific mind to grasp the idea that space, as we call it, may thus be full of an ever moving, but non-tangible, material, and that, in truth, no such thing as a true vacuum, or space absolutely void of everything, does or perhaps can exist.

Another line of argument leading to the same conclusion is found as follows: One of the great intellectual triumphs of the nineteenth century has been the elaboration and proof that, in association with mere material substances, we have something else called energy, which we can neither create nor destroy, but which presents itself under many forms. Energy, like matter, is subject to a law of conservation; that is to say, we are unable, by our unaided human powers, to alter the total amount of it. Energy, however, must be thought of as an entity or measurable article, which can exist in many diverse types, and which can be transformed from one type to another. A swiftly moving train or cannon ball, for instance, is an exhibition of energy in association with matter, but this particular form of energy can only be obtained by the transformation of some other kind of energy; in the one case, by putting out of existence the energy associated with a given weight of coal in air, and, in the other, with a given mass of gunpowder. We have no experience of Energy separated from Matter of some kind, and we do not know whether they can so exist. Without entering into discussions beyond the region of physical science, it may be sufficient for our purpose to state that, in modern Chemistry and Physics, Matter is regarded as the vehicle of Energy. Hence, if we find Energy passing through space, or associated with that which we are in the habit of calling empty space, we can only conceive of it as so doing if there is something there to carry or convey it. In order that a wave-mo-

tion or impulse may be communicated through a material medium, it must possess elasticity and inertia. In virtue of the first, it resists some kind of deformation, and, in consequence of the latter property, its parts tend to continue moving when once in motion. We see this in the case of water. The water surface resists being heaped up or made unlevel, and it persists in motion when once moved. Hence, it can have waves produced on it, varying from ripples to billows in wave-length. In the same way the air resists compression and expansion, and it also possesses inertia. Accordingly, it can have a pulsatory or wave-motion produced on it, and this constitutes sound, when it affects our organs of hearing. The known fact that wave-motion can exist in the ether led philosophers, therefore, to conclude that ether possessed properties analogous to elasticity and density. But no one had been able to show, by direct experiment, that ether had those qualities, because it only affects, indirectly, one organ of sense, the eye, and that only by reason of the existence of waves in it of a certain wave-length.

Clerk Maxwell, however, was led by profound reasoning to the conclusions, that the qualities of the ether which correspond to that which we call the elastic pliability of matter, and its density or massiveness, are in reality the electric and magnetic qualities of space, in virtue of which it permits an electric displacement to be made through it, and also what is called a magnetic flux. Faraday had shown that the process commonly called charging a conductor with electricity, was in reality only the effect of producing in the surrounding insulator an electric strain or polarization, subsequently called an electric displacement. This displacement is produced by an agency called electric force; and, when the force is removed, the displacement disappears. The quality of the space, whether filled with matter or ether, which permits the electric displacements to take place under the action of the electric force, is called its electric pliability.

In the same manner, Maxwell identified the other well-known property of space, in virtue of which magnetic force can create in it a state called magnetic flux, as the analogue of the density or inertia of matter. This quality is called the magnetic permeability. Building upwards from well known facts, Maxwell showed that, since space filled only with ether has these two qualities of electric pliability and magnetic permeability, it

should be possible to produce as free ether waves by means of electric force, and that these electric waves would be propagated with the velocity of light.

This magnificent theory remained, however, unverified, experimentally, until 1887, when Heinrich Hertz gave to the world the results of his splendid researches on the production of electric waves. Hertz showed that, if two conductors were charged, respectively, with positive and negative electricity, and then allowed to discharge each other with the production of a small electric spark between them, this action produced, under proper conditions, an electric wave which was propagated out into space. Just as a stone dropped into water makes a splash when it enters the surface, and generates a series of expanding ripples, so the electric spark, under certain conditions, makes what is virtually a splash in the ether, and sends out a series of ether waves. A spark of this kind is called an oscillatory spark. In order to detect these waves, Hertz invented a receiver or detector, consisting of a nearly closed loop of wire, the ends being furnished with metal balls almost touching one another. When held in a proper position, the passage of an electric wave through this Hertz detector creates a minute spark between the balls. Aided by this apparatus, Hertz showed that these electric waves possessed all the properties of light, although unable to affect the eye. They moved with the same speed and could be reflected, and refracted, like rays of visible light. Lodge, Fitzgerald, Trouton, Sarasin, de la Reve, Bose and many other physicists extended these results, and proved an absolute identity in nature between the rays of light by which we see and these invisible Hertz waves.

Subsequently to Hertz's lamented early death, others have invented and improved the means of detecting Hertz waves. Of notable importance was the observation of Professor Calzecchi Onesti, of Fermo, in 1885, and Professor E. Brauly, of Paris, in 1891, that a mass of metallic filings or powdered metal is a nonconductor of the electric current in its ordinary state, but may become converted into a conductor when an electric wave falls upon it. This device, modified and improved, now forms the sensitive organ or artificial eye for seeing and detecting these Hertz waves. It is usually called a coherer.

Starting from these known facts, Marconi began, a few years ago, to elaborate the details of his system of wireless telegraphy,

and to make additions by which delicate, uncertain and difficult laboratory experiments were converted into practical processes, possessed of all the qualities of certainty and precision which are the essential conditions for industrial use. The most important addition which he made to knowledge, was the discovery that the coherer becomes vastly more sensitive to the presence of ether waves, if it has attached to its ends two long wires; or, better still, if it is inserted in between a long vertical wire and the earth. Marconi's present arrangements, therefore, for wireless telegraphy are as follows:—At each of the two stations between which communication is to be made, a long rod or wire is set up. This wire is, generally, a stranded copper cable, well insulated, and is attached either to a flagstaff or the mast of a ship, or hung from a chimney, tower or cliff. The height of this wire is determined by the distance to be worked over. At present, Marconi finds that a rod twenty feet high enables him to signal one mile, one forty feet high four miles, one eighty feet high sixteen miles, and so forth. He is, however, continually making improvements, which have for their object the reduction of the necessary height of rod. At each station, there is also established the receiving and transmitting apparatus. The latter consists of an induction coil, technically termed a ten-inch spark coil, and it is provided with two spark balls. The coil is worked by a battery of dry cells; and, when in action, it creates an electric discharge between the two spark balls in the form of a bright electric spark. These spark balls are placed half an inch apart. In the circuit of the battery is placed a contact key, by pressing which the operator can set the coil in action and make electric sparks, or rather series of sparks, of long or short duration.

The operation of transmitting ether waves is then as follows:—The long vertical wire is connected to one terminal or spark ball of the coil, and the other spark ball is connected by a wire with the earth. On pressing the key, a torrent of sharp, crackling sparks passes between the balls, and in the long vertical wire electrical oscillations are set up which result in a series of electric waves being sent out into space. The duration of this wave production can be determined by making long or short contacts with the key. We must, therefore, think of this long wire as a kind of organ pipe, which emits ethereal music, and sends out an ether wave train of long or short duration, just as a fog horn

sends out sound waves, when sound signals are made at sea. The receiving instrument consists of a very sensitive coherer. In a small glass tube are fixed two silver wires which nearly touch, and the interspace is occupied with a minute quantity of finely powdered nickel and silver. Marconi has introduced numerous improvements into the manufacture of this appliance, and each of his coherers is tested most carefully, prior to use at signalling stations. The sensitive tube is joined in series with a battery and a telegraphic relay, this last being an apparatus for setting in action an ordinary telegraphic Morse printing instrument by means of an exceedingly feeble electric current. When it is desired to receive signals, the sensitive tube has one end connected to the long vertical wire and the other to the earth. The waves sent out from the distant station then fall upon the vertical receiving wire, run down it and affect the coherer, causing it to become a conductor for the moment, and so permits a feeble current to pass through it, which, through the action of the relay, is made to print a signal upon a strip of paper. This signal is either a dot or a dash, according to the period during which ether waves are falling upon the wire. After each signal, the coherer is brought back to its original condition by a tap administered automatically by a little hammer. Thus pressures, long or short, upon the key of the induction coil at the distant place, cause marks, long or short, to be made upon a paper strip at the receiving instrument, and these are interpreted into intelligible signals in accordance with the recognized Morse code.

Such, then, in outline, is the system which Marconi has developed for utilizing ether waves for telegraphic purposes. It remains to indicate briefly its limitations and possible uses.

Marconi's experiments at the South Foreland Lighthouse, where a flagstaff 150 feet high was erected, in correspondence with a similar one in France—a vertical insulated wire being also run up the mast of the East Goodwin Lightship, with which communications are held—are being conducted in a little room not ten feet square, which is part of the dynamo and engine house of the Lighthouse. On a small deal kitchen table stands the apparatus for transmitting and receiving, the value of which, excluding the flagstaff, would easily be covered by five hundred dollars. Here, all day, for the past few weeks, experiments have been conducted without the smallest hitch or failure.

At the rate of fifteen or eighteen words a minute, messages are flashed backwards and forwards between the operators, sitting on either side of the Channel. Neither fog, rain, mist nor driving storm interrupts the communication. Marconi says that the signals are even better and sharper during rain. Not only is there communication with France, but even more important with the Goodwin Lightship. The operator on board the ship can call up and ring an electric bell at South Foreland by simply touching his key. The Lighthouse is in telephonic communication with the Ramsgate Lifeboat House. An attendant now sleeps by the instrument at South Foreland. If the East Goodwin Lightship, twelve miles off, notices signals of distress from any ship caught in the destroying grip of those terrible sands, one touch on the key suffices to call up the attendant at South Foreland, and a short message notifies the whereabouts of the wreck. The South Foreland telegraphist then telephones down to Ramsgate and dispatches the Life Boat on its rescuing errand. Quite lately the Trinity House Brethren have made a most careful inspection of the system, and were very favorably impressed with its simplicity and certainty. It can only be a matter of time before every lightship and lighthouse will be kept in touch with the coast.

It has been contended that this method of telegraphy has no utility, because each receiver can be disturbed by vagrant ether waves made in the neighborhood. This objection, however, has very little force. Ordinary telegraphic communication with wires could also be upset if mischievous persons cut wires or sent private electric currents into them. Public opinion and a few simple legislative enactments will, however, be sufficient to meet this supposed difficulty.

The creation of a complete independence for each station, and the localization of the wave or determination of its field of action, have not yet been entirely achieved. Where two transmitting stations are at very different distances, it is always possible to differentiate their actions by the use of two receiving rods of different heights at the receiving station. Thus, if at South Foreland two rods were set up, one 150 feet high and one 70 feet high, each with its receiving instrument, the attendant at South Foreland could distinguish signals from France twenty-eight miles away or the Goodwins twelve miles away, as follows: If both receivers acted, then he would know the signals were

coming from the Goodwins, and he would switch off the longer rod and cut France out of circuit. If only the receiver of the longer rod acted he would then know the signals were coming from France. Signor Marconi has made some progress in utilizing reflectors for limiting the direction of the wave, but there is still a great field open for invention.

Lastly, one or two words must be said as to the immediate future of the invention. There is no question that for communication between ships at sea, between lightships and lighthouses and the shore, and between ships and coast guard stations there is a wide field of utility open to it at once. It will economically replace short submarine cables in a few instances, or perhaps be supplementary to them in case of breakdown. It will enable communication to be cheaply established to islands and places where the traffic is not great enough to carry the expense of a submarine cable, and it will, without doubt, be adopted in some form in naval and military operations. It will never replace entirely telegraphy with wires, because the use of the continuous wire secures a privacy not otherwise to be obtained. From one point of view, the difference between wireless telegraphy and telegraphy with wires is the same as the difference between a post card, or open letter, and a sealed one. The continuous wire is like the envelope of the letter. It prevents the diffusion of the information beyond certain limits. The future, however, will slowly unroll the scope and limitations of this new telegraphy. Its practical uses are indubitable, but it has a wider interest from a scientific standpoint, in that it opens up a vista of fascinating speculation as to the possible revelations in store for us concerning the powers and potencies of this mysterious ether.

Archæologists speak to us of a stone age, a bronze age and an iron age in the history of the world; but the Twentieth Century will surely claim the title to be called the Ether Age, as "knowledge grows from more to more" concerning the nature of this universal, hidden and yet most subtle, medium, in which ripples are the revealing rays of light, and billows are the ether waves we are learning to employ.

J. A. Fleming.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW is the oldest magazine in the New World. It has been published continuously for eighty-four years, and, if it be regarded in connection with the *Monthly Anthology* of which it is the lineal successor, its career may be said to be almost coincident with the present century.

The *Monthly Anthology* was begun in 1803 by Mr. Phineas Adams, but it soon passed into the control of the Rev. William Emerson, the father of Ralph Waldo Emerson. With the aid of a few friends, including John Quincy Adams, George Ticknor and William Tudor, Mr. Emerson founded the Anthology Club, which assumed the responsiblity for the new monthly—a form of publication which was then a novelty in the United States. The rule of the club was that every member should write for the magazine, and each and all had the privilege of helping to pay its expenses out of his own pocket. This privilege eventually became too irksome, however, and the magazine was discontinued after a number of years. Short as was the career of the *Anthology*, it had been long enough, nevertheless, to create a demand for literature and for literary opportunity such as it had supplied, and a new periodical was soon projected which was intended to take its place and to occupy even a broader field in American letters. This was THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the first number of which was published by William Tudor on the 1st of May, 1815.

Modest as was its origin, the REVIEW was destined to a career of unexcelled influence and fame. It was to derive unique distinction not only from the illustrious writers who were to contribute to it, but from men of national and international renown who were editorially to direct its course. Among its editors have been a United States Secretary of State, two Ministers to Great Britain and Spain, respectively, Ministers to Russia, China, Brazil and the Netherlands, two United States Senators and two Presidents of Harvard College. The roll of its contributors, likewise, as the last edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* intimates, "numbers almost every American writer of note," together with some of the greatest workers in the most important fields of modern thought and activity.

Under Mr. Tudor and his immediate successors, Willard Phillips, E. T. Channing and Richard H. Dana, the elder (1815-1820), the REVIEW offered to American readers a more critical treatment of literature than had ever before been attempted on this side of the Atlantic, and the distinctive interests of the country at large were constantly uplifted and kept in view. These earliest years were signalized by the publication in September, 1817, of William Cullen Bryant's most famous poem, "Thanatopsis." The contributors during this period were the first to give our literature a native handling, while yet the tone of culture was distinctly English and European.

It was not, however, until Edward Everett (1820-1823) assumed the editorship of the REVIEW that it became, what since then it has continued to be almost without interruption, the recognized channel for the most comprehensive discussions of important public questions. In Mr. Everett's hands it took on a national character, and, inspired by high,

broad and scholarly purposes, challenged comparison with the best and most dignified publications of its class in the world.

Under the editorial management of Jared Sparks and Alexander T. Everett (1824-1836), the REVIEW lost none of the distinction which had been won for it by the genius of Edward Everett and his collaborators. It was regarded both in America and Europe as an authority and in some sense a dictator, being the acknowledged literary influence in the United States. It was marked, especially under the *régime* of A. T. Everett, by exceptional vigor and versatility. Every number contained contributions which no scholar or student of public affairs could afford to overlook. There was no great subject at home or abroad that was not discussed in the pages of the REVIEW by the master minds of America.

During the period covered by the editorships of Dr. John G. Palfrey, Professor Francis Bowen and Dr. A. P. Peabody (1836-1861), the general policy of the REVIEW underwent a slight modification—more systematic attention being paid to subjects of a literary and historical character than to the burning questions which arose out of the stirring events and sectional controversies of the time. In consequence, the REVIEW attained to a higher eminence in pure literature than it had reached at any previous period.

When James Russell Lowell (1862-1872) and Charles Eliot Norton (1862-1868) undertook, conjointly, the editorial direction of the REVIEW, it was with the purpose of making it the strongest and most vital force not only in American literature, but also, once more, in politics and general affairs. In their successful execution of this design, they called to their aid representative men from every part of the country. The subjects were taken, as far as practicable, out of the active life and movement of the day, and THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of that time is a distinct reflection of the contemporary interests of the period. The editors themselves were voluminous contributors to it. During the ten years of his connection with the REVIEW, Mr. Lowell made it the chief medium through which his prose writings were communicated to the world; while Mr. Norton wrote upon a wide variety of subjects with his characteristic thoroughness and mastery. After the retirement of Prof. Norton. Prof. Gurney (1868-1872) became Mr. Lowell's associate, and they, with their successors, Mr. Henry Adams and Mr. (now Senator) Henry Cabot Lodge (1873-1876), conducted the REVIEW with undiminished success on the general lines which have been described.

The purchase of the REVIEW by Mr. Allen Thorndike Rice (1877) inaugurated a new era in the history of the periodical and a significant widening of its policy and scope. Up to that time its contributors had been, from the beginning, with very few exceptions, native American writers. It had fulfilled the promise and profession of the title which its founders had chosen for it by reviewing the great subjects in which its readers were interested from the point of view occupied by North American scholars and statesmen. Mr. Rice found a new meaning in the title of the publication. He conceived the idea of taking the most important subjects which concerned or interested North American readers, and reviewing them in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW from the point of view of the most thorough and comprehensive knowledge, wherever that might be found. Accordingly, he sought his contributors

from every part of the world, as the exigencies of the passing months and years demanded.

The great triumphs achieved by Mr. Rice and his successors in carrying out this bold and original policy are too numerous to be recounted. But their character may be illustrated by referring to a few signal instances:—the memorable religious controversy, in which Cardinal Manning, Mr. Gladstone and Col. Ingersoll participated; the great intellectual duel between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Blaine, then United States Secretary of State, on Free Trade and Protection; the notable article in reply to the Duke of Argyll, written by Mr. Gladstone while he was Prime Minister of England, on his proposed Irish Policy—the only occasion, it is believed, on which a British Prime Minister has contributed to a magazine; the discussion on the Powers of the Speaker, in which the views of Mr. Reed and Mr. Carlisle were supplemented by those of the presiding officers in a number of legislative bodies of Europe; the debate on the possible dangers of distributing electricity through cities for lighting and other purposes, in which Mr. Edison, Mr. Westinghouse and Lord Kelvin took part; the controversy between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Balfour on Home Rule, etc., etc.

In short, following the policy initiated by Mr. Rice, the REVIEW, under the successive directions of General Lloyd Bryce and Mr. David A. Munro, has enjoyed the co-operation of the most distinguished and the most widely recognized of the world's authorities, on all subjects which the vicissitudes of the times have made it necessary to elucidate for the benefit of the North American public.

The Editors of the North American Review have been:

William Tudor.....1815-1817	A. P. Peabody.....1853-1861
Willard Phillips.....1818	James R. Lowell.....1862-1872
E. T. Channing.....1818-1819	Chas. Eliot Norton.....1864-1868
Richard H. Dana.....1819-1820	Professor Gurney.....1868-1872
Edward Everett.....1820-1823	Henry Adams.....1873-1876
Jared Sparks.....1824-1830	H. Cabot Lodge.....1873-1876
A. H. Everett.....1830-1836	Allen Thorndike Rice....1877-1889
John G. Palfrey.....1836-1843	Lloyd Bryce.....1889-1896
Francis Bowen.....1843-1853	David A. Munro.....1896-1899

Among the contributors have been:

William Cullen Bryant,	Charles Sumner,
George Ticknor,	Edwin P. Whipple,
Daniel Webster,	Dr. Asa Gray,
John Adams,	John Lothrop Motley,
Caleb Cushing,	Francis Wayland,
George Bancroft,	George Ticknor Curtis,
Richard H. Dana,	James Russell Lowell,
Edward Everett,	Charles Eliot Norton,
Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw,	Oliver Wendell Holmes,
Judge Joseph Story,	James Parton,
A. H. Everett,	John Fiske,
William H. Prescott,	Simon Newcomb,
H. W. Longfellow,	George William Curtis,
Dr. S. G. Howe,	W. D. Howells,
Ralph Waldo Emerson,	Walt. Whitman,

Charles Francis Adams, Jr.,
Bayard Taylor,
W. E. H. Lecky,
Francis Parkman,
Wendell Phillips,
Richard Grant White,
Max Muller,
John Bright,
Richard Wagner,
Anthony Trollope,
Frederic Harrison,
James Anthony Froude,
Ferdinand de Lesseps,
Henry James, Jr.,
Cardinal Manning,
George Augustus Sala,
Charles Stewart Parnell,
David Dudley Field,
Carl Schurz,
Henry George,
Robert G. Ingersoll,
W. H. Mallock,
F. M. Crawford,
Henry Ward Beecher,
"Ouida,"
Emilio Castelar,
The Marquis of Lorne,
Sir John A. McDonald,
Jefferson Davis,
William H. Seward,
Henri Rochefort,
Charles Bradlaugh,
Chief Justice Chase,
Henry Irving,
Max O'Rell,
J. G. Whittier,
Sir Walter Besant,
Andrew Lang,
John Burroughs,
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Lord Kelvin,
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The Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour,
The Rt. Hon. John Morley,
Sir Charles Dilke,
The Rt. Hon. Jos. Chamberlain,
Lord Playfair,
Theodore Roosevelt,
A. C. Swinburne,
Comte de Paris,
H. A. Taine,
Baron de Hirsch,
Horace Porter,
Sir Edwin Arnold,
Lady Jeune,
Jules Claretie,
Henry Labouchere,
Lord Curzon,
Sir John Lubbock,
Clement Scott,
George W. Cable,
Sarah Grand,
M. G. Mulhall,
Mark Twain,
Lord Charles Beresford,
Sir John E. Gorst,
Archbishop Ireland,
Lord Russell of Killowen,
Lady Henry Somerset,
I. Zangwill,
Edmund Gosse,
Mrs. Lynn Linton,
Max Nordau,
Hon. T. C. Platt,
Chas. D. Warner,
Moses Coit Tyler,
Georges Clemenceau,
John Hayes Hammond,
C. Lombroso,
Sir William Howard Russell,
Lord Dufferin,
John E. Redmond,
Thomas A. Edison,
Ernest Renan,
James G. Blaine,
James A. Garfield.

John McCullough, Helena Modjeska, Joseph Jefferson, Laurence Barrett, Christine Nilsson, Boucicault, Clara Morris, Richard Mansfield, Mary Anderson, Beerbohm Tree.

Generals Grant, Sheridan, Sherman, Rosecrans, Beauregard, Fry, J. E. Johnson, Pope, Wolseley, Sickles.

Cardinals Gibbons and Satolli, Archbishop Keane, Bishops Potter, Doane, Coxe, Coleman, Macquaid, Huntington, Dr. Parkhurst, Dr. McGlynn, Dr. Briggs, Dr. Robert Collyer, etc.

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CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE TREASURY.

BY LYMAN J. GAGE, SECRETARY OF THE U. S. TREASURY.

WAR, whether for the right or for the wrong, is always to be deplored. The loss of life, the economic waste occasioned by the transfer of thousands of active workers from the fields of production to those of devastation, the restriction of domestic industrial development, the derangement and perils of ocean-borne commerce and a thousand other unnamed evils cry out loudly for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. And yet few wars have been fought that have not contributed their share of good to mankind. There is usually some great cause involved, and whoever is victor wins a principle for the future guidance of a people. Only a generation ago, we found it necessary to make a tremendous sacrifice of this kind. Thousands of brave men gave their lives; millions of property were laid waste or expended for the establishment of a great principle.

Our recent conflict with Spain has a deeper meaning than may be generally apprehended. We were easily victorious on land and on sea, and by the achievements of a short campaign demonstrated to all the world the fact that this Republic, but little over a century old, must henceforth, if it had not been before, be regarded as a power of the first magnitude. The demonstration of this fact was a gain beyond our purpose. It had been intended

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only to remove a serious menace to our tranquillity by putting an end to a near-by disturbing conflict. The hopelessness of Spain's effort to subdue her refractory colonies was evident. The determination of her rebellious subjects to continue their equally hopeless struggle was also apparent. To end such strife was the thing desired and attained. But aside from the prestige won and purpose fulfilled, something else was gained, though not so evident. It is represented by the subtle influences which have been engendered in the minds of the people. There has been awakened a keener interest in the problems of free government. These problems are not essentially different from those which confront other nations. They, as well as we, must conduct themselves as becomes members of the family of nations. Upon them, as upon us, rests the obligation to maintain domestic peace and order. Upon them, as upon us, falls the burden of taxation to provide revenues with which to carry on the many affairs of government. In short, all forms of government which exist to-day among civilized peoples are maintained for practically the same objects—only different methods for securing these objects are employed. In most other countries, the individual shares in the responsibilities of government not at all, or only to a limited degree. It is our boast that with us every individual is a citizen, not a subject, and that every citizen, being a part himself of the government of the Republic, has the attributes of sovereignty.

If it be true that every citizen is a sovereign, it must be taken to be so largely in a Pickwickian sense, for one person counts for little among seventy-five millions of people. It is when all these sovereign citizens, or the greater part of them, think with a single thought and are moved by the same aspirations, that the majesty of the Republic is revealed. Its mass, as represented by the united ambitions of its units, cannot fail to demonstrate the fact that here is an organization of gigantic strength—such strength as, turned to good, may work wonders for civilization, but, given over to vicious and evil tendencies, may likely invite such havoc as the world has never seen. Its capacity for good or evil is unlimited, and there must be great care taken that this Samson among the nations of the earth be not blind, lest he pull down the temple of State upon himself. Then, whatever happens to increase the intelligent interest of our people in the affairs of government, whatever occurs to arouse the public mind to a con-

sciousness of the responsibility of participation in government, must be counted as of great good.

Not the least of the gains, therefore, which may be said to have come to us from the war with Spain, has been the quickening which its events gave to the public conscience. It is true, to a large extent, that this newly-aroused interest was devoted to things which come under the jurisdiction of the War and Navy Departments. The victories of Manila and Santiago revived patriotism, and the movements of fleets and armies were watched with keen appreciation. Every act, whether by Congress or by the President, that went to reinforce and support the national fame and honor, was approved. Where there was confusion and delay there was criticism. There has been much of fault-finding. Where the liberties and privileges of the citizen are as free as with us, there always will be. It is to be invited, too, not only that defects in our plans and practice may be pointed out and remedied, but because it is an evidence of genuine interest in public affairs. On the other hand, whatever there has been of praise has been nobly earned and generously accorded.

Deep as has been the interest taken in the military and naval operations of the Government, the affairs of the Treasury have by no means been neglected in the public mind. Interest in the Government's finances furnished one of the gratifying features of the war, and the position, prospects and problems of the Treasury are to-day the subject of a keener comprehension as the result of this awakened public sentiment. A continuance of this greater concern in these problems will bring better understanding, with the result that, supported by an intelligent public opinion, we may avoid the dangers which have in former years been a menace to national credit and the prosperity of our country.

The importance of a well-filled Treasury as an element in war, needs scarcely any demonstration. It is the *sine qua non*, especially of modern warfare. Perhaps the Treasury's claim to distinction in this regard has never been better put than in the language of the War Minister of Louis XI. of France, who, in response to a question of that monarch, declared that to prosecute a war successfully, "three things are necessary—money, more money, always money." The first of these three things, the Treasury of the United States had in comparative abundance at the breaking out of hostilities with Spain; that is, it had, April

21, 1898, no less a sum, available cash on hand, than 220 millions of dollars; and for the second and third things, "more money" and "always money," it had the resources and revenue-producing capacity of the richest nation in the world.

Not the least of things which contributed to a strong Treasury situation at this critical period of war was the fact that, of the available cash balance above mentioned, more than 80 per cent., or $180,000,000, was in gold. This margin of $80,000,000, above the traditional $100,000,000 required to be maintained for the redemption of United States notes, gave assurance of the Government's ability to preserve the national credit until Congress could, by the necessary legislation, provide for replenishing the reserves as rapidly as they were exhausted by the expenditures of the war.

With the closing month of 1897, the country congratulated itself upon the fact that receipts exceeded expenditures,—the first monthly surplus under the Dingley tariff. Again there was a surplus in February, 1898, notwithstanding the shock to the business of the country from the appalling loss which the nation suffered through the destruction of the "Maine" and its crew in Havana, on February 15th. It seemed certain that, at last, recovery had come from the abnormally heavy importations of the previous spring in anticipation of higher tariff rates, and it was confidently believed by those most familiar with the subject that the national Treasury was about to participate in the general improvement which the country was enjoying. The full tide of business was bringing in its train better conditions for the Treasury, and we looked forward hopefully to the time when every month's statement would show an excess of receipts over expenditures. The Treasury being thus strongly fortified with ample funds for immediate use, and the revenues showing marked improvement, the war came upon us with scarcely a fear. There was a little momentary unrest, but nothing suggestive of a panic, in the great money centers of the country. Throughout the land there was an abiding faith that the integrity of our financial institutions would be preserved. It was generally recognized that the administration in power would maintain inviolate the credit of the United States.

The disposition of Congress to do with expedition all things required was an important factor in establishing general confi-

dence. Before war had been declared, and while there was yet hope that it might be averted, Congress, at the suggestion of the Executive, promptly, and without debate, appropriated $50,000,000 for the national defense. Before two months of strife had passed, ample provision had been made for raising war revenues by a measure which, in many respects, was an example of scientific financiering. It authorized the Secretary to borrow, upon the credit of the United States, $400,000,000, for which bonds were to be issued, and for the purpose of equipping the Treasury with an instrument which might be relied upon for immediate uses, it authorized him to issue loan certificates to the amount of $100,000,000. At the same time, recognizing the true principle of public financiering, it levied additional taxes with which to pay the increased indebtedness thus incurred. The temper of the people under these fortunate conditions was admirably illustrated by the success which attended the floating of the war loan of $200,000,000. When the books of the loan were opened to receive subscriptions, there was a rush which continued during the month in which they were received. The total of fourteen hundred million dollars subscribed is a monument to the confidence the people had in the financial strength of the Government. This exhibition of resources must have been scarcely less disheartening to our impoverished antagonist than was the destruction of her fleets. The success of the national loan thus became a factor—not quite so thrilling, perhaps, as the victories won by the army and the navy, but hardly less potent—in bringing the war to a speedy termination.

When hostilities ceased, the Treasury occupied a stronger position than at the beginning of war; when peace was formally declared, April 11, 1899, almost a year after the declaration of war, its strength in available cash and gold had grown materially. While it held, April 21, 1898, $220,000,000 in cash, it held April 11, 1899, $282,000,000. From the one date to the other the net gold increased from $180,000,000 to $245,000,000. In the meantime there had been expended on account of the war over $240,000,000; so that the proceeds of the war loan have been entirely disbursed and $40,000,000 of the revenues besides. So much for the year of war, during which, fortunately, the condition of the Treasury has not been a disturbing element to the business of the country.

What of its prospects? Reasonably, these cannot be foretold for any long period of time. At the beginning of the last session of Congress, when the Secretary of the Treasury made his annual report on the state of the finances, he estimated that the end of the fiscal year, June 30, 1899, would find the Treasury with a deficit of $112,000,000. During the year the receipts have been augmented to the extent of $11,800,000 on account of the Central Pacific settlement. On the other hand, disbursements of extraordinary character have taken place which were not considered in the estimates submitted to Congress, namely, the Philippine payment of $20,000,000 to Spain and $3,000,000 to the Cuban army. It will be proper, therefore, to take no account of either of these items. Putting them aside, it seems certain, with only so short a time remaining until the fiscal year is ended, that the estimated deficit of $112,000,000 above set forth will not be exceeded. Should we escape the occurrence of unforeseen events, that estimate may prove to be too high by a million or so of dollars. The accuracy of this estimate is not fortuitous. It is indicative of the close attention which the Treasury Department is able to devote to the finances, and is in strong contrast to the extravagant predictions made in Congress near the close of the last session. It will be recalled that much trepidation resulted then from the practically official announcement of an expected deficit of $159,000,000, and this sum was added to by others. At the time when the deficit was estimated for the year to end June 30, 1899, the Secretary of the Treasury submitted an estimate covering the fiscal year to end June 30, 1900, amounting to $30,000,000 for that year. It seems certain now, barring always, of course, the happening of unlooked-for events, that the deficiency for the next fiscal year will not exceed the estimate. In fact, under the influence of revenues slightly more favorable than those expected, there is a probability that the estimated $30,000,000 deficit may be too high, and it is within the possibilities that there may be no deficit at all. In the light of this showing, there will be no further issue of bonds, and, judging from present conditions and the fair outlook, there will not even be a resort to the loan certificates authorized to be issued by the war revenue act. If occasion should demand, and none is anticipated, the Secretary of the Treasury would doubtless exercise the authority referred to.

But other occasions, too recent and too trying to be easily forgotten, have shown that these fortunate conditions in and out of the Treasury cannot always be assured to us. Under the system which now obtains, a close intimacy has been evolved between Government finances and general business affairs.

In Great Britain, France, and Germany, the connection between commercial activities and the national budget is slight. Here, every man carrying the responsibilities of large enterprises, whether in commerce or industry, has been taught by sad experience that his best estimates as to future conditions may be at any time nullified by perturbations in the Treasury, caused either by falling revenue, extraordinary expenditures, or currency movements which threaten the "gold reserve." He is thus exposed to double risks. He is always sailing his imperilled craft between the Scylla of commercial hazard and the Charybdis of national finances. Looked at in a large way, the perils and losses arising from the latter exceed those occasioned by the former, although not so readily recognized and traced. Thus it frequently happens that doubts assail and threatened disaster undermines the whole industrial and commercial fabric. The experience of the past is replete with unhappy evidences of this truth. The effect on the Treasury and the business of the country of the Venezuelan boundary controversy, to be referred to later, furnishes a striking example. The possibility of war with a great world Power subjected the Treasury's gold to attack, and put all trade and industry at a stand-still. This is an extreme case, perhaps, and yet only two years before, from causes far less potent, the Treasury tottered on the verge of ruin and the country faced appalling disaster. Above, brief mention has been made of the remarkable success attending our last issue of bonds—those of the war loan of 1898—when the Government opened its books to subscriptions for two hundred millions of dollars, and, being actually at war, received offers from the people aggregating the enormous sum of fourteen hundred millions. Only so late as January, 1894, when we were at peace with all nations, and there was no prospect, near or remote, of war, the Government of the United States went begging almost in vain for financial assistance. During and following the panic of 1893, grave doubts as to our financial integrity had arisen. Apprehension existed, both in this country and abroad, as to our ability to continue, under the exist-

ing currency system, the redemption of Government notes in gold, and there was a not unreasonable fear that the time had arrived when we could no longer maintain the parity between that metal and silver. Withdrawals of gold from the Treasury during the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1893, aggregated $108,000,000. Throughout the following year the Treasury stock of gold continued to be depleted mainly by the presentation of notes for redemption. By January 31, 1894, the gold reserve had fallen to $65,650,000, and the available cash in the Treasury to only $84,082,000.

The situation was desperate. A constantly decreasing supply of gold foreboded descent to a silver basis. In this extremity, the Government asked the people to subscribe for its bonds. Indeed few there were who felt called upon to face what seemed certain loss by subscribing to the loan of fifty millions, the first of the series under the administration of President Cleveland utilized to support and maintain the national credit. The loan was to close February 1, 1894. As that day approached, it seemed almost inevitable that the effort would be a failure. My predecessor, in an official report, said: "At one time pending the call it was feared that the effort would fail. However, owing to extraordinary exertions made during the last two or three days preceding the time when the bids were to be opened, subscriptions for the whole amount were secured." The extraordinary exertions referred to deserve to be chronicled among the patriotic deeds which enrich this country's history. The bonds had been offered to the public at an upset figure of 117.223, at which price they were equivalent to a three per cent. bond at par. How little acceptable they were to the public is shown by the fact that, except for the action of the patriotic banks of New York, the people took of them only $9,295,300. When it became known in New York that the loan was likely to fail, Mr. John A. Stewart, President of the United States Trust Company, went around among the bankers of that city and aroused them to a sense of the country's peril. As an actual witness of those events, I bear testimony to the fact that there was a strong disinclination to subscribe, owing to the grave uncertainties of the times. In the end, Mr. Stewart secured pledges from as many persons as were needed to take the entire issue at the Government's price. In this manner, $40,704,700 of the $50,000,000 offered were taken by the

banks of New York, the other $9,295,300 going to those who had subscribed at slightly higher rates. Such was the perilous position of the National Treasury only five years ago, and thus was the country saved from the wide-spread ruin imminent.

The close relationship existing between our Government finances and commercial and industrial conditions suggests the inquiry as to what the Treasury Department really is. In a recent work ex-President Harrison says:

> "Out of the devices adopted to meet the great expenditure for the suppression of the Rebellion in 1861, it has come to pass that the Government furnishes, either directly or through the national banks, all of the money used by the people. The Treasury Department is now a great bank, and no longer a mere public collecting and disbursing agency. It prints paper money, pays it out for public uses, receives it in payment of customs duties and internal taxes, and pays it out again for salaries, supplies and public works. It is also required to redeem the greenbacks and Treasury notes—to give coin in exchange for them if demanded."

To call the Treasury Department a great bank, however, is to use a misnomer. A bank receives deposits of money subject to the drafts of its dealers. It buys and sells exchange; that is to say, it makes payment for property and products at one point against an order for its reimbursement at some distant point, either foreign or domestic. The bank extends its credit to the use of the producer, the manufacturer and the merchant. It thus serves as a vital agent in modern industry. Through its operation the use of money and capital is economized, and by its aid the work of the world is made more effective. The offices and function thus briefly set forth, constitute the principal features characteristic of a bank, and yet the Government exercises not one of them. It is true that in the evolutionary movement which has resulted in the modern machinery of business, such as the express company, the telegraph and the bank, the latter came, in the fullness of time, to exercise a function not named in the summary above made. That function was to issue in small denominations suitable for the needs of the bank's dealers, the bank's own notes or promises to pay. These notes were in essence a check or draft issued by the bank itself, payable to the bearer on demand. It is this function which has been practically monopolized by the Government, and from which, by repressive taxation, the bank has been substantially inhibited.

It is important to keep these facts and these distinctions in mind. They have directly to do with the subject we are considering. While it would now appear that, in issuing its notes and in paying them out for public uses (Government expenses), redeeming them again in coin on presentation, or receiving them in payment for moneys due to itself, the Treasury is doing in some particulars what a "great bank" would or might do, looked at more closely, however, it will be easily seen that even here the points of contrast are more marked than are the points of resemblance.

When the bank issues its note, it is against the delivery to it of some form of value which will remain in the bank's control while the note is outstanding, and which can be made effective for the note's redemption. When the Government issues its note, it is in payment for goods or services already received and consumed. These goods and services, having been consumed in the public service, do not and cannot remain as an existing value available for the redemption of the issued note. The bank loans its notes for the accommodation of, or to meet the needs of, the business public. The Government issues its notes to pay its bills without regard to the needs of the business public. With an increase in bank issues the bank increases *pari passu* its resources. Its power to redeem its obligations remains, therefore, relatively the same. With an increased issue of Government notes, if issued in conformity with the principle underlying those now outstanding, no addition whatever is made to the Treasury's resources. With every increased issue, therefore, its power to redeem becomes relatively less. There is a resemblance between the bank note and the Government note—both are promises to pay, both are used as agents of exchange between the buyer and the seller, and here the resemblance ends. But there is another and distinct quality imparted by law to the Government note. It is a legal tender for all private debts. Being a legal tender, its relation to the business community becomes of the most intimate kind and of the very highest importance. As efficient as gold in the money reserves and in payment of debt, it must be maintained as good as gold, through prompt redemption in gold, by its issuer, or the whole credit structure, public and private, will fall into chaos.

With confidence undoubted in the purpose and power of the Government to maintain such redemption under any and all conditions and circumstances, the great interlacing system of credit

operates in the field of industry and commerce with a sense of security. Disturb the confidence in any manner, raise doubt either as to the purpose or power of the Government in the direction in question, and the whole credit structure is shaken to the center. We have illustrations of this truth, not far removed as to time. Their record can be found in the financial history of 1893 and between the months of July and November, 1896. Another can be brought forward—more likely to be repeated in essential form and substance than are the other two. I refer to the effect of President Cleveland's Venezuelan message of December 17, 1895. The business interests of the country had for some months previous thereto given evidences of a partial recovery from the debilitating effects of the panic of 1893. Capital was again seeking investment. Industry was reviving. Labor was coming into larger and more remunerative employment. The message referred to brought the country face to face with the possibilities of a great war. A war, either great or small, was a responsibility that the national Treasury was not then at all prepared to meet. The gold in the Treasury was twenty-five millions below the one hundred millions which was supposed to stand as a reserve for the outstanding legal-tender notes. The total available cash in the Treasury, including the gold reserve, was only one hundred and seventy-five millions, and seventy-two millions of this consisted of the government's own notes; while it had outstanding liabilities payable on demand of more than four hundred millions.

There has never been any doubt since the close of the civil war as to the ability of the nation to raise all needful revenue, either for conditions of peace or war. The power to obtain revenue is the basis of national credit, for it is from revenue alone that interest and principal can finally be paid. The money of the world is open to the credit of the United States of America, and justly so, since, even if our present interest-bearing debt were a thousand millions greater than now, the increased interest charge could be met at a cost of less than forty cents *per capita* per annum. The debt of the United States, June 30, 1880, less cash in the Treasury, was $1,922,517,364. On June 30, 1890, it had been reduced to $891,960,104. To use the language of the Census report, this represented "a decrease of $1,030,557,260, or more than $100,000,000 per annum, a reduction of debt through voluntary taxation unprecedented in the history of the world."

Nevertheless, the gravity of the political situation in 1895, brought on a recurrence of the evils produced by the reaction of 1893. Why was this so? It was so because of the weak condition of the public Treasury in relation to its demand liabilities. A fear was felt, genuine and wide-spread, that if war came, specie payment would be suspended at the Treasury. Now a suspension of gold payments by the Treasury is a much more important matter and of deeper general concern than a suspension of such payments by the banks. In the first place, with a large volume of legal-tender notes outstanding, a suspension of payment by the government involves, as a consequence, a suspension of coin payment by the banks. Compelled by law to receive government notes in payment of debts due them, they are compelled in turn to force a similar payment upon their creditors. What is true of the banks is equally true of all members of the community in their relations one to another as debtor and creditor. Thus the suspension of coin payment becomes general, gold commands a premium, being qualified not only to pay debts but also to command goods, upon better terms as to price, in the world's market, than are the defaulted notes of the government or the banks.

Again, there is no power anywhere lodged that can compel the Government to resume payments once suspended. There is not even the penalty of interest to induce efforts to resume. Its action is likely to be more largely influenced by political than economic considerations.

In the absence of legal-tender paper money, a suspension of specie payments by the banks does not carry with it these serious consequences. Such a suspension cannot take place and long endure, unless sanctioned by law. Over the bank is the authority of the law, and its processes can be invoked by any dissatisfied creditor to compel payment in lawful money. Nor does such a suspension, if general, seriously hurt the credit of the bank. In fact, under the admirable system which is maintained by our neighbor on the north, the notes of a Canadian failed bank are worth more than those of a solvent one. When a Canadian bank fails, its notes go to a premium because from the date of failure they begin to draw interest, while their final redemption is adequately secured. Specie payments were suspended for a period in 1857 in the United States, but the banks continued to do business as usual, bank notes being the medium of receipts by the banks

and of payments from the banks. During this period of suspension, however, gold never reached any appreciable premium. Whenever it was needed for special purposes, or whenever it was demanded by an irreconcilable creditor, it was forthcoming. In support of this general proposition, the conduct of the Bank of France through the German war of 1870-71 can be cited with even greater effect. That bank is the largest note-issuing bank in the world. It was obliged to suspend payment in specie, yet its general credit was not seriously affected. Gold commanded a premium of not more than 2½ per cent. With the close of the war it promptly resumed payments in specie, having faithfully served commercial interests in the interim, besides advancing to the Government the enormous sum of two hundred and eighty millions. Well might Thiers, the first President of the new Republic, say: "The bank saved us because it was not a bank of State." When we recall that during our struggle of '61 to '65, our Government notes fell to the value of forty cents measured in gold, the contrast raises doubt as to our financial wisdom.

Space forbids a more extended presentation of the subject. The position of the Treasury is at present fairly good; the prospects for the immediate future are free from any features of special alarm; its problems remain to be solved. The chief problem is this, How to disassociate the natural function of the Treasury, which, simply stated, is the collection of the public revenue and the payment of public expenditure, from the unnatural features of note issues, gold redemptions, and the maintenance of a parity between two large volumes of metallic money, possessed of a commercial disparity equal to the difference between one-half and one. The duties involved in the present system the Treasury is poorly organized to perform. The effort to perform them will always be expensive and full of dangers to interests both public and private. A wider knowledge of the truth must be had before the problem can be wisely solved. Solved it ultimately must be, and when this occurs the Treasury may return to a position approximating what President Harrison described as an ideal one when he said: "It would be an ideal condition of things if the Treasury Department received each morning just the sum of money it had to pay out that day—no surplus money out of use in its vaults, no deficit to be met by loans."

LYMAN J. GAGE.

ISRAEL AMONG THE NATIONS.

BY MAX NORDAU.

I.

If the eyes be not purposely closed to facts, it cannot be denied that, at the close of the nineteenth century, there is in every land of the civilized world a "problem of the Jew." It is a question which presents itself in various phases. Its best known and most brutal form is Anti-Semitism. It is an easy matter —and a proper one —to say that this statement is "the disgrace of our times." Such has the noble Emperor Frederick III. called it. But the philosopher cannot rest content with this. He seeks to trace the psychological roots of Anti-Semitism.

The enemies of the Jew have one statement in instant readiness: "The Jews are hated because of their evil qualities." But this statement will not bear criticism. It voices a certain *naïve* self-deception, among those who hate instinctively at first, and then seek for plausible and rational grounds upon which to justify the sentiment to their own conscience.

The effort to find apparently reasonable grounds for antecedent emotions, whose real origin remains obscured to consciousness, is a very common psychological phenomenon. Folklore knows this, and illustrates it by the proverb: "If a dog's to be drowned, he is called mad." The Jews are not hated, because they have evil qualities: evil qualities are sought for in them, because they are hated. Statistics, handled, not by Jews, but by their opponents, demonstrate facts in all countries that favor the Jew, even in countries where the Jew is under the greatest legal restraints, and where he could plead mitigating circumstances, if he developed the vices of the Helot and the Pariah. Criminality is less among them everywhere than it is among their compatriots of other races;

and it would be reduced almost to the vanishing point if it were possible to exclude professional misdemeanor, such as fraudulent bankruptcy and deception, in which they are concerned—since they are predominantly tradesmen—to a larger extent than their percentage to the population would indicate, but to a less extent than their percentage to the trading classes. The worst and most despicable crimes, murder, manslaughter, violation of the sexual code, robbery and burglary are scarcely ever committed by Jews. They have a smaller death rate, a larger number of marriages and a smaller number of divorces than the average. They have a larger representation in High Schools and Normal Schools, where their entrance to such institutions is not restricted (in Russia and Roumania it is restricted, as is known), than corresponds to their relative numerical proportion in a nation, or even in a metropolis. Where is the justification of belief in the existence of evil qualities in a group of inhabitants, who obey more strictly the laws of the state, of hygiene, of morals, and who show a more pronounced desire for higher culture, than the average of the people among whom that group has been formed? Or do "evil qualities" refer to the love of ostentation, with which the wealthy Jew is frequently upbraided? Let it be assumed—though I do not admit—that the Jewish *parvenu* is more importunate and offensive than those of other races; that would be an indication of a lack of culture, of good taste and discretion, such as might possibly justify rejection by an exclusive club, but could never justify the deprivation of essential human and civic rights, vituperation and cruel persecution.

An argument frequently used by the opponents of the Jew is, that Anti-Semitism is as old as the Jewish nation; that, therefore, the Jews themselves must be responsible for a feeling which they have aroused at all times and in all lands. It is, indeed, true that hatred of the Jew has been his constant and tragic companion during the entire continuance of the Diaspora. But the fact proves nothing against the Jew, since every people, in every epoch, has produced a different reason, or rather pretext, for its Anti-Semitism. The old Roman accused the Jews of worshipping an idol with the head of an ass; they were said to be anarchists, enemies of the state and of the race. The Syrians and Hellenists hated them, because they would not worship the gods of Olympus; possibly also because, in the Alexandrian period, they spoke Greek

with dialectic deviations, unmusical and annoying to the Grecian ear. In early mediaeval times, Jews were despised as murderers of God, upon whom rested a hereditary curse. Later, they were persecuted as infidels, as obdurate enemies of the Christian faith; as poisoners of wells. It was said that they butchered Christian infants, to use their blood for ritualistic purposes; that they stole the Host, and pierced the consecrated water with knives to torture it. Not only their religion, but their race was objectionable. A disgusting physical propensity (*foetor Judaicus*) was ascribed to them. To-day they are accused of being usurers, of plundering the people, of feeding on the fat of the land as parasites, of betraying the nations that give them hospitality.

Since the accusations against the Jews differ so materially, they cannot be ascribed to definite evil qualities. Pretexts change, but the hatred remains. Strange, that every charge made against the Jew is also laid against other minorities, when hated and persecuted by majorities. Slaughter of children for purposes of ritual was an accusation brought by the Romans against the early Christians, and by the Chinese of to-day against missionaries and Europeans in general. All arguments used against the Jew by Anti-Semitism are to be heard from the lips of Russians and Frenchmen in reference to German laborers living in those countries, and even from those of certain "City" people in reference to the "foreign clerk." In this we find the clew that leads us to the truth of the matter.

It is one of the original characteristics of man, that he senses as inimical all that differs from him in essence and in habits. It is enough that some one differs from us; we will then find him disagreeable to us, for he disturbs our organized habits and compels us to new efforts of adaptation, which are always burdensome and trying. If those who differ from us are a disappearing minority, we feel under no compulsion to suppress our antipathy, or even to screen it; and absence of restraint favors development. This is the generically human foundation of all enmity of the majority against a minority living in its midst, particularly if there be an element of tradition and other distinguishing traits about the minority. In the case of the Jews, there is added to this a survival of old religious hatred, and of the influence of the superstitious fables of the Middle Ages, in reference to the abuse of the Host and the murder of children for ritualistic purposes.

Antipathy toward a differentiated minority brings it about that the majority always selects this minority as a scapegoat for all its own faults and mishaps. For it is another psychological law, that children, savages and those in civilized life who are devoid of judgment, hold as responsible for their sufferings, such creatures and objects as have aroused a sense of resentment in them. For this reason, the Jews were accused of poisoning wells during the prevalence of the Black Death; to-day agrarians maintain that the Jews force down the prices of grain; the laboring classes complain that the Jews destroy the opportunities of individual labor; the reactionists in European monarchies insist that the Jews are preparing for a revolution, and that they are organizing opposition to the government. Where there are no Jews, such social phenomena as cause suffering to one or more classes of people are arttributed to other groups which are hated; mostly to foreign, though occasionally to native, minorities, either sects or societies: as in France to Protestants and Free Masons, elsewhere to Jesuits, and so on. It is simply the anthropomorphism of displeasure. It proves nothing against the accused. It proves merely that their accusers hated them when suffering began, and that they were seeking for a scapegoat.

Anti-Semitism is not the whole problem of the Jew. It is only one part of it. The other part is the conception which the Jews themselves entertain in regard to their position among the nations, and to the future of Judaism.

It is natural that all Jews suffering under Anti-Semitism should desire to avoid it. The small number of wealthy Jews, who come into no personal contact with the sentiment—for, in point of fact, Anti-Semitism comes to a halt before the palace of the Jewish millionaire, even in Russia, Roumania and Galicia—represent a smiling optimism. This class of Jews are frequently heard to say: "Anti-Semitism is an unpleasant fad and will pass away rapidly, as do all fads." The mass of Jews, however, feel that this is false. Doubtless the mass have not yet recognized the matter clearly, along the line of the present explanation. But it has an instinctive and infallible premonition, that the root of Anti-Semitism is the natural antipathy of all men—even of all animals—against everything that differs from them; and that, consequently, Anti-Semitism will not cease, so long as the Jew is a readily recognizable minority among all nations.

In order to suffer hatred and persecution no longer, in order to attain to normal conditions of life, the Jews must either cease being a minority, or they must cease being distinguishable. This alternative includes the two solutions of Judaism, for which the Jews themselves are striving.

On the one hand, there are those who desire to have the Jews constitute the popular majority in some one place. For historic and religious reasons they wish to make Palestine, the land of their fathers, that place. These are the Zionists. If Palestine were again peopled by Jews; if they could hold that land practically by and for themselves (and the present census of Palestine enumerates 600,000 inhabitants, this number including only 60,000 Jews, while there are more than 6,000,000 Jews in the world, who would instantly return to Palestine if that were made possible); then would they suffer no more from Anti-Semitism, they could develop there and enjoy life, as do other nations. And the Jews who do not return to Palestine would have to blame themselves, if they felt the sting of Anti-Semitism in the land of their sojourning; for they would have chosen their lot voluntarily, and could avoid painful situations by joining the great majority of their own race.

Other Jews prefer the second solution. They have no desire to become a distinctive nation on their own soil. They prefer to remain a small minority among their countrymen, but an indistinguishable minority. They are the Assimilationists, who consider the salvation of the Jew coincident with his disappearance among the nations. But few of these realize their position thoroughly, nor have they the moral courage to follow the thought to its logical conclusion. He who wishes to be thoroughly assimilated cannot stop half-way. He must suppress all differences that hold between himself and the popular majority. First and chief among these is religion. He must be baptized, and join one of the Christian denominations. He must purposely surrender the thought of racial inter-marriage, and mingle his blood with that of the people by marriage outside of tribal affinity. Then he can, indeed, cherish the hope that, after three or four generations, his Jewish origin will have been forgotten, and that his descendants will no longer suffer persecution at the hands of Anti-Semitism. If he does less, it will not suffice. It is impossible to remain a Jew and be spared the sense of the "Differentiated Minority."

Nothing is gained by half-way concessions; by celebrating the Sabbath on the Christian Sunday; by excluding the Hebrew language from the Synagogue. By this means an imperfect minority is attained, which fails to make the Jew indistinguishable, but succeeds in making him grotesque. Incomplete assimilation does not change the psychological origin of Anti-Semitism, the antipathy of every majority toward any minority, dwelling in its midst, differentiated and readily recognizable.

II.

The contributions of the Jew to science and art have been repeatedly enumerated, most recently by M. Leroy-Beaulieu (*"Israel parmi les Nations"*. His contributions to the political life of civilized nations have scarcely been recognized. Here and there, possibly, reference is made to him in this connection, but it is always tinged by hatred of the Jew. The German Anti-Semitist, Paul Delagarde (*"Deutsche Schriften"*) detected in the franchise of the Jewish voter, even, a dread danger to the organic evolution of German politics. Eduard von Hartmann, author of the *"Philosophie des Unbewussten,"* a work whose brilliant rhetoric secured for it an undeserved renown, maintained (*"Des Judenthum in Gegenwart und Zukunft"*) that all Jews, without exception, belong to the Liberal party, and he concluded from this, that Jews take part in politics, not in the interest of their native land, but exclusively in the interest of their race, which could, of course, look for more powerful support to irreligious and non-historic Liberalism, than to Christian, patriotic Conversatism, rooted in the past history of the nation.

I will not stop to consider the absurdity of the objection, that all Jews are Liberal. It would be equivalent to the reproach, "All Jews strive to secure school-education," or "All Jews avoid drunkenness." But the statement of Eduard von Hartmann is actually false. It is a matter of regret that the Jews do not deserve his reproach, which would in reality be the greatest compliment that could be paid them. The majority of wealthy Jews are not Liberal, but Conservative, and partly even reactionary; and Eduard von Hartmann knows full well that the two baptized Jews, Leo and Stahl, furnished the ultra-Conservative feudal party of Prussia all the historical, philosophical and political thoughts and arguments upon which that party has lived for the

past half century, and upon which it lives to-day. In the same way, it was the baptized Jew, Disraeli, who renewed the programme of the Tories in England, and secured for that Conservative party a new lease of life.

The truth is, that the Jews—with a single exception, which I will presently consider—are nowhere active in Jewish politics. In no country where the Jews enjoy political rights, is there a Jewish vote, in the sense in which the United States has a German or an Irish vote. The Jews who exercise their voting privileges belong entirely to the second category, of which I have spoken above, that is, to those who do not wish to be recognized as a distinctive group of the population. They therefore avoid anxiously everything that might call attention to their Judaism. They do not organize; they create no Jewish election committees; they seek to gain no control in campaigns. More than that. Whenever an election is actually in their own hands, they prefer to nominate a Christian, and only occasionally do they seek, in a shame-faced way, to obtain the concession from the party for which they vote, that a Jewish candidate be nominated in a non-Jewish precinct. The East End of London is the only example of which I know, where a Jewish majority has the courage to send a Jew to the House of Commons in a systematic fashion. It frequently happens, on the Continent, that Jews vote openly for pronounced Anti-Semitists.

By this cowardice they propose to show, how completely they have laid aside Judaism, and how fundamentally non-Jewish they feel. For, beyond the point of Anti-Semitism, a Jew cannot well carry his effort for assimilation with anti-Jewish people. During the general elections in France in 1898, many Jews voted for the most desperate Nationalists and Anti-Semitists, and the Jew, Klotz, permitted himself to be elected a delegate on a platform which contained the express provision, that a revision of the Dreyfus case should be opposed. In Berlin the Jews could carry several voting precincts, if they would organize; but they have never even presented a Jewish candidate. The Socialists, who are as yet no Anti-Semitists, did indeed elect the Jew Singer, but among those who voted for him, scarcely one-tenth were Jews; and he was nominated, not as a Jew by Jews, but as a Socialist, despite his Judaism, by Christian Socialists. In Galicia, the Jews constitute one-ninth of the

inhabitants, or, more exactly, twelve per cent. But their share in the representation of the country is 2.8 per cent., less than one-quarter the percentage due them. In Algiers alone there is something resembling a Jewish vote, but it has proven a misfortune residing there. The "*Décret Crémieux*" in 1870 granted the Algerian Jew the rights of a French citizen, including the civic franchise. But these Jews had not as yet come into full contact with European culture, and were quite unprepared for the exercise of political rights. Thy followed their communal directors (*Gemeinde Vorsteher*) blindly, and these handled their ignorant co-religionists as voting-cattle, driving cynical bargains with them openly. They auctioned off their dependents to the highest bidder among the candidates, and the Jews voted to a man for their purchaser, to whom they had been sold at five and ten francs a head. The parties that were beaten by the Jewish votes became blood-thirsty Anti-Semitists, and brought about the present unpleasant conditions, which will presumably result in the repeal of the "*Décret Crémieux.*" In this solitary instance the Jews made use of a suddenly acquired, unaccustomed political right in dense ignorance, and according to the vile *dicta* of a few leaders, who abused their blind faith and made despicable returns for it. The few leaders reaped the profit; the Jews were seriously injured.

Whenever, therefore, the Jews have possessed political rights, they have never, as voters, placed those rights at the disposal of specific Jewish interests, but rather have they frequently served the interests of open enemies of the Jews, thinking that such lack of manhood, such cowardice, would furnish overwhelming evidence of a non-partisan sentiment.

Even less than Jewish voters, have Jewish electors ever furthered specifically Jewish politics. The only exception is that furnished by a group of members of the English Parliament, which forms the nucleus of the Anglo-Jewish Association. For years, these men have used their privileged position in the first Parliament of the world, and their personal influence with the government of their country, to interest their Christian compatriots in the sufferings of Jews in foreign lands, and in appealing to the British Lion for the protection of their persecuted brethren. These English representatives of the Jewish race have grown manly, frank and magnanimous, evidently by reason of their Anglo-Saxon training and the example of their Christian

environment, and can be held up as an example for imitation to the Continental cowards, who grow pale at the thought that their Judaism might be noticed. Of course, the good results which could be obtained by the Anglo-Jewish Association for the persecuted Jews have been limited. They could aid their co-religionists by means of the influence of the British government in the smallest and weakest countries only, and they avoided, with laudable discretion, any solicitation for the aid of English diplomacy in cases where an intervention on the part of England would bring that country into conflict with a powerful opponent. For the Jews of Russia, Roumania, Galicia and Algiers, this sentiment of solidarity on the part of the brave Anglo-Jewish members of Parliament could do nothing; and even for those in Persia and Morocco it could do little. But the cultural merit of their efforts, though practically without result, is in no wise diminished.

In Continental parliaments, during the past twenty years, one has never—I say, never—seen Jewish delegates or senators labor for the Jews of their own country, much less for those of foreign countries. And yet, there have nowhere been lacking excited debates on Jewish matters, in which Jewish parliamentarians could have rightly and properly spoken a word for their race. In the German Reichstag and in the Prussian Landtag, the Christians Rickert, Haehnel, Traeger, Barth, occasionally also Richter and Pachnicke, and even Dr. Lieber, have opposed the Anti-Semitists; but the lips of the Jews and of the baptized Jews have been sealed. In the debates of the French Chamber on the Dreyfus affair, the names of the Jews, Raynal, Naquet, Klotz and Crémieux, are not in evidence. There is no lack of Jews in the Hungarian Parliament. They were silent when the Chamber of Deputies in Pesth re-echoed with monstrous charges connected with an alleged ritualistic murder in Tisza-Eszlar. The same phenomenon recurs in Vienna, where never a word is heard from the Jewish deputies, when Jews in Galicia and Bohemia are robbed, wounded and murdered, and when their colleagues Lueger, Schneider, Gregorig and others utter such statements as these: "Jews are not human beings, they are cattle," "Government should pay a premium for every Jew shot," "Jews are beyond the pale of law, humanity and honor."

But the Jewish politician is invisible and unheard in connection with Jewish questions only. In all other matters he seeks

to play the first violin, and frequently with success. Such a thing as an utterly obscure parliamentarian does not exist, possibly because considerable genius is requisite on their part to obtain a seat in Parliament despite their Judaism. At any rate, it is a fact that, whenever their scientific assimilatory cowardice does not impair their powers, Jews develop no inconsiderable skill. They are skillful and powerful orators in countries like Germany, where oratory is not a munificently scattered talent. They have a sense of duty and a gift of exactness. They are hard workers, even in a human environment wherein, as among certain Latin races, superficiality displaces thoroughness. They are dexterous lobbyists, and usually of a conciliatory, well-meaning nature, ready to serve as intermediators, where interests clash. They always attract attention; quite frequently they are recognized authorities; in some cases they occupy influential positions as leaders.

Let me call attention briefly to the career of a few well-known Jewish politicians. If I cite no American illustrations, it is because they are more familiar to my readers than they are to me. Yet I may be permitted to mention Mr. Straus, who occupies a prominent position among American diplomats, and whom the confidence of the President and Senate of the United States has entrusted with one of the most difficult diplomatic offices in the world, that of minister (and possibly, at an early date, of ambassador) to Constantinople, where he has already achieved several brilliant successes for his country.

Of Disraeli everything has been said that can be said. I wish merely to add that the lustre of his name is constantly growing. The voices which have stigmatized him as adventurer and charlatan have been silenced. Sober criticism recognizes that what has been called his "Oriental imagination" was actually an almost prophetic depth of penetration, and that he foresaw the development of the colonial policy of all the Powers twenty years in advance of his most sharp-sighted contemporaries. Baron Henry Worms received his peerage for services rendered his party and his country. Lord Herschell will be immortalized in the history of the Liberal party of England. Sir Drummond Wolff has the preference of election when England is called upon to solve some peculiarly difficult diplomatic problem. Sir Julian Vogel, late ex-Premier of New Zealand, brought a deteriorated, impoverished colony from the verge of bankruptcy to cultural and

financial prosperity. With a boldness that made men hold their breath, in spite of enmity and calumny, he floated heavy loans, and the result justified his anticipations. He handled millions almost without control, and died a poor man. *"Altesse, saluez!"* Don Ruy Gomez cried in Victor Hugo's "Hernani" after the description of a similar character.

In Germany, Jews have played an astonishingly prominent part in political life, in spite of particularly unfavorable conditions, in the midst of a chronic, sometimes latent, but frequently brutally open, Anti-Semitism. Johann Jacobi in his pamphlet *"Vier Fragen eines Ost-Preussen"* (1840), gave the first impulse to a movement, which in eight years culminated in the first constitution of Prussia. The first German Parliament, in the Church of St. Paul in Frankfurt, which consisted of such men as Uhland, Arndt, Jahn, of the greatest poets, students, and statesmen of the German people, knew of none more worthy of its presidency than the baptized Jew, Eduard Simson. The same assembly, the most brilliant, and spiritually the most prominent, Germany has ever witnessed, elected the Jew Gabriel Riesser, Vice-President; Simon as a member of the Committee of Thirty, etc. The same Eduard Simson, whom Bismarck called "a president by birth," was the leader of the deputation which the North-German Reichstag in 1871 sent to King Wilhelm to Versailles to extend to him its congratulations on the establishment of the new German Empire. Eduard Lasker played the most important part in the framing of the Constitution for the German Empire. Bismarck, to whom he had rendered valuable parliamentary services, rewarded him with black ingratitude; but Congress at Washington recognized his merits in a memorable message to the German people. Ludwig Bamberger created a gold standard for Germany, and was for twenty years considered the best speaker of the Reichstag.

In France (1848) the Jew, Goudchaux, held the portfolio of finance, when the four per cent. *rentes* stood at 34 and the three per cents at 33.75, and thus saved the country from impending bankruptcy. Fould secured happy financial conditions for Napoleon III. under unfavorable circumstances. Jules Simon, son of a Jew of Lorraine, Simon Susse, and a mother from Bretagne, was one of the five heroic defenders of liberty during the Second Empire, and a successful President of the Ministry, until discharged by McMahon, after the celebrated "16th of May" (1877), with the

informality of a gross barbarian. M. Raynal, as minister, framed the treaties with the great Railway Association, which were, indeed, sharply criticised by some, but were praised by others as the salvation of French finances. M. Naquet gave to France its divorce laws, and was the leading thinker of Boulangism. He may be reproached with his participation in this despicable movement; he played the most prominent part in it, nevertheless.

I have no desire to be prolix in enumeration. I set aside men of second rank and of mere local celebrity, such as Signor Luzzatti, the successful negotiator of the Franco-Italian commercial treaty, or Dr. Adolph Fishof, the Austrian Minister of the Revolution in 1848, who discovered the only saving formula for a Federal Constitution for Austria. Let it serve as a reminder, merely, that the Jews, Marx and Lasalle, stood sponsors to one of the most important political movements of the day, Socialism; that one of the three leaders of German Social Democracy is the Jew, Singer; that the Jews, Dr. Adler and Dr. Ellenbogen, organized the Socialist party in Austria, and that Russian Nihilism numbers among its leaders, apostles, heroes and martyrs, a large contingent of Jews.

Though the course followed by one or the other of these Jews may meet with disfavor or with contempt, on the part of some, it must be admitted, nevertheless, that they had the strength and the resolution to co-operate in the shaping of the political destiny of their fatherland.

Whenever Jews have secured their political rights, they have rapidly advanced to the front rank of parliamentarians, party leaders, and ministers. Where they are deprived of these rights, they serve as a leaven that arouses clogged masses into liberal, and sometimes into revolutionary, ferment. Political life in any land gains an active and useful element, when Jews are permitted to participate. The Jewish race derives no advantages from Jewish politicians, for these early degenerate into partial or complete renegades, but their native land acquires in them its most faithful and earnest servants.

The more external characteristics which qualify Jews for a political career, their gift of oratory, their endurance, their quick perceptions and diplomatic shrewdness, I have already mentioned. But there are more deeply rooted, nobler qualifications, of a spiritual and moral order, which explain and justify their success

in politics. Their psychologic organization shows a happy mingling of realism and idealism, not frequently found in other races. They possess an acute sense of realization, which guides them to swift orientation in a problem, and suggests a ready solution. But, at the same time, they are gifted with an ancient heritage of idealism, an instinctive longing for higher possibilities of life, for progress, for moral advancement, an unconquerable preference for active participation in the eternal evolvement of Humanity, that makes it impossible for them to sink away utterly into political ambition, election intrigues, clamor for office or demagogic deception of the people. Even the most thoroughly assimilated Jew, who has broken away from all the traditions of his race, and who shares an absolute disgust of all things Jewish, unconsciously cherishes a sacred remnant of the enthusiasm of his ancestors for justice and brotherhood; of their admiration for all labor that savors of mentality; of their hatred of self-seeking and violence.

To one sentiment must I here give voice, which will appear as a paradox to many, because it departs from traditional conception. But it is an opinion based upon unprejudiced investigation of facts, both past and present. The Jew is commonly credited with an unusual faculty for trade. I think this is a total misconception. His natural talents tend to politics. Whenever he is free to act in public affairs, he readily advances to the front rank of parliamentarians, statesmen and diplomats; and the community derives its largest advantages from such fruitful use of his native gifts. Trade to him is merely a "*pis aller.*" True, most Jews today still carry on trade, and in some countries commerce is almost entirely in Jewish hands. But it is known that the Jews turned to this vocation, in the first place, not from inclination, but from bitter necessity, simply because it was the only one left open to them by their cruel oppressors in the Middle Ages, and in some great countries it is the only one left open to them to this day.

So long as they lived as an independent people in their own land, they were farmers, shepherds, warriors and priests. The example of their nearest neighbors, the Phœnicians, exerted not the slightest influence upon them. They despised commerce and envied not their sea-faring neighbors the riches they thereby acquired. No act of Jesus Christ is more thoroughly Jewish than the wrath with which he drives the merchants from the Temple. After their dispersion, the Jews were compelled to deny all their

original instincts and adopt a nature foreign to them. They were told to "barter or starve," and of course they preferred trade to starvation. Their faculty of adaptation stood them in good stead in this, and assured them success in a vocation unwillingly assumed. But they are not heart and soul immersed in trade. Two facts demonstrate this. First: The sons of Jewish merchants, who have grown wealthy, have but one ambition, to forsake the vocation of their fathers, and to choose a different career, for the most part, one much more difficult, requiring greater exertion and self-denial and making smaller material returns. Secondly: During the fifteen centuries wherein they have devoted themselves exclusively to trade, they have not produced a single new and fruitful commercial idea, and no one great item of material progress is coupled with a Jewish name.

The draft and the check were the discovery of the mediæval Lombards and Genoese. Double-entry book-keeping is a thought emanating from and developed by Italian Christians. Insurance associations originated in England. Neither Gresham nor the Lloyds were Jews. Englishmen and Frenchmen devised stock companies, and the first use and the first abuse of these enterprises was fostered by Christians. I believe that not a single Jewish name will be found in the first lists of the Dutch East India Company, of the Hudson's Bay Company, of the East India Company, or among the schemes of Law. The first steamship lines, the first railways were planned and built by Christians. The Christian, Cyrus Field, laid the first ocean cable. To-day we stand before a new gigantic industrial revolution, which sets large masses of capital in motion—the introduction of electricity as a source of power. The originators of this movement are the Christians, Siemens and Halske. Mr. Cecil Rhodes is no Jew, and, so far as I know, no Jew takes any important part in the Niger and Borneo Company. The great American railways have been built by the Christians Vanderbilt, Villard and others. The creators of the modern giant, the department-store, Boucicault, Jaluzot, Wanamaker, Hertzog, are not Jews. Neither is Mr. Rockefeller a Jew. I do not know how many Jews are included among the celebrated "Four Hundred" of New York—doubtless a disappearingly small number. Seek for Jews in legitimate and in piratical corporate enterprises, in the great Steamship lines, in the Trusts, in the trans-oceanic commercial ventures of London, Hamburg and

Marseilles, and in the Charter Companies, and they will be found mostly in the second and third ranks, and in some not at all. M. Pereire of the *Compagnie Generale Transatlantique* and Mr. Ballien, of the Hamburg-American Steamship Company, are, to my knowledge, the only Jews at the head of great mercantile fleets.

If by commerce we mean anything beyond the sale of a sugar-loaf in a store; if we mean by it the consolidation of capital produced by labor, and its employment in the realization of great industrial conceptions, in the opening out of new countries, in the application of mechanism to the world's commervial exchanges; it will be recognized that the Jews always follow, that they never lead. With possibly the exception of the South African gold mine district and the petroleum lands of Baku, they are nowhere the first in the field. Even the Rothschilds had no creative thought when they built the *Chemin de Fer du Nord* in France, or the Ferdinand-Northern railway in Austria. The same is true of Baron de Hirsch, the originator of Oriental railways, and of the unfortunate Strousberg, who planned the Roumanian railroads. All this is imitation; there is no bold initiative about it. This lack of originality certainly does not bespeak commercial talent in a people whose occupation, handed down from father to son, is trade. Had they the native commercial instincts, wherewith prejudice credits them, and did not trade in reality antagonize the inmost genius of the race, it would surely, within the past fifteen hundred years, have produced some few commercial originators and creators, such as it has produced in the domain of poetry, art, philosophy and science.

III.

It is impossible to treat a vast and intricate phenomenon, such as the Jewish problem, exhaustively in a Review article. I desired to elucidate only a few of the many aspects of this question, and I draw the following conclusions from what has been adduced.

Even well-meaning Christian observers of Jews admit the one point only, that the Jews serve the people among whom they live in a commercial capacity solely. But this is not a correct perception of their nature. It is just in commerce that they could be best spared and most easily replaced, at least among the civilized people of the Occident, and they will presumably, of their own volition, leave trade and turn to other vocations more in accord

with their genius after they have lived in freedom and equal rights for a few more generations.

Where the Jews have attained equal rights, they are still haunted by the fears of Ghetto times; they have not yet a sense of quiet and assured possession, but are pursued by the secret dread that they will be again deprived of what has been given them. They are possessed by an almost morbid desire to demonstrate to their Christian compatriots that they are citizens of the country simply, and nothing but that. Their patriotism is more sensitive and demonstrative than that of Christians. They noisily repudiate any solidarity with Jews of other lands. They affect an unnatural indifference toward all Jewish interests, an indifference never met with among Christians. They strive to make their Judaism as unobtrusive as possible, and frequently persuade themselves that they are not a distinctive race, still less a distinctive people, nor that they have had antecedent and historic origins differing from those of their Christian compatriots. Oddly enough, however, only a minority is sufficiently logical to do that which comports with such sentiments, that is, to be baptized, and to give their descendants a Christian ancestry by marriage with Christians. From this the conclusion follows, that the Assimilationists are subject to a passing nervousness only, and that, at bottom, they have not entirely overcome Jewish nature, and that they will again awaken to race-consciousness when emancipation has ceased to be a novelty.

The Jews, who do not possess equal rights—and these comprise four-fifths of the race—have preserved the consciousness that they are a distinctive people. They realize that they can escape the hatred that pursues them only by ceasing to be a recognizable minority in the midst of other peoples. They refuse to sink their identity. Lost identity is no solution of the Jewish problem. They look for their salvation in a re-union in a land which shall be their own, where they will be the majority, and where they can develop in a temperature of sympathy along their own organic lines.

MAX NORDAU.

JEFFERSONIAN PRINCIPLES.

BY WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

THE admirers of Thomas Jefferson have reason to be gratified at the growing interest felt in the principles enunciated by him. During the early days of the Republic, Jefferson and Hamilton represented two opposite schools of political thought. Jefferson believed in the doctrines set forth in the Declaration of Independence; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men; and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. He believed that the people could be trusted to govern themselves: not that they would govern themselves perfectly, but that they would govern themselves better than any hereditary ruler could govern them. His faith in popular government was tersely expressed in a letter to John Tyler: "Believing, as I do, that the mass of the citizens is the safest depository of their own rights, and especially that the evils flowing from the duperies of the people are less injurious than those from the egoism of their agents, I am a friend of that composition of government which has in it the most of this ingredient."

The closing days of Jefferson's life were brightened by the contemplation of the progress already made, and by an unshaken confidence in the future of the nation which he had helped to found. Ten days before his death, in a letter expressing his regret that illness prevented his participation in the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, he said: "All eyes are opened, or opening, to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth, that the mass of mankind had not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a

favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollections of these rights, and an undiminished devotion to them."

Hamilton, on the other hand, doubted the capacity of the people for self government, and his distrust of the masses lured him to the fatal field where he died at the hand of Aaron Burr. In a statement giving his objections to duelling and his reason for accepting the challenge, he said: "The ability to be in the future useful, whether in resisting mischief or effecting good in the crises of our public affairs which seem likely to happen, would probably be inseparable from a conformity with public prejudices in this particular."

Senator Lodge discusses this question in his life of Hamilton, and says: "Hamilton believed the Constitution to be unequal to the burden imposed upon it. And he considered the government too weak. At any moment, as it seemed to him, there might be a general upheaval, and that then the elements which had desolated France and swept over Europe, might here engage in a conflict for supremacy." Mr. Lodge adds: "He was utterly at fault in supposing that there was in the United States the same elements and the same forces as in France. Both race and history made their existence impossible. The representative democracy developing in America was more hostile to the anarchy of the French Revolution than the strongest and most energetic government which the wit of man could devise. Hamilton's mistake was neither unnatural nor uncommon; but, joined with his just belief of the duty which would devolve upon him in such a crisis as he anticipated, it made it imperative for him to accept the challenge of Burr."

When the Republican party was organized, it did not conjure with the name of Hamilton, but in its platform of 1856 appealed to those who were in favor of "restoring the action of the federal government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson."

Lincoln paid a high tribute to Jefferson in 1859. I quote from a letter of that date: "All honor to Jefferson; to a man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth,

applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that, today and in all coming days, it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

During recent years organized wealth has taken advantage of the lethargy of the people, and "the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor in the structure of government" (as predicted by Lincoln) is becoming more and more apparent. The poison in the blood has manifested itself first in one form and then in another, until at last the people are awakening to a realization of the fact that the government has drifted from the ideals of the founders, and, with the awakening, comes the appeal to all who are in favor of restoring the federal government to the principles of the fathers.

The ship of state may be intrusted to other pilots during fair weather; but, in the hours of storm, the people turn to the Sage of Monticello, the greatest of the world's constructive statesmen.

Born an aristocrat, he became the first conspicuous Democrat; reared among the owners of landed estates, he led a successful crusade against the laws of primogeniture and entail; rich, for the time in which he lived, he championed the cause of the common people.

He had faith in the patriotism of his fellow men; and yet he was conscious of the frailties of human nature, and his scheme of government was intended to strengthen the public servant to resist temptation, while it protected the people against a betrayal of the trust reposed in their representatives.

"Equal rights to all and special privilages to none," was the rule which he applied to all legislation. And how comprehensive the rule!

Applied to appropriations, it would limit expenditures to the needs of an efficient government, economically administered; and it would protect the overburdened tax payer from the voracious tax eater.

Applied to taxation, it would adjust the burdens of government in proportion to the benefits received. It would not permit the federal government to rely entirely upon internal revenue taxes, collected from liquor and tobacco, and upon import duties collected upon consumption generally, because the taxes collected by both these methods are, in effect, graded income taxes, with the highest rate upon the smallest incomes.

This rule would not permit the establishment of a financial system designed to effect a secret but constant increase in the measure of value, for the benefit of the holders of fixed investments and to the detriment of those who produce wealth, own property, or owe debts.

Jefferson's action in suspending the coinage of silver dollars has been frequently referred to, as an evidence of hostility to silver. The order was made, at the suggestion of the bankers, because of the scarcity of small coin; but it did not interfere with the free and unlimited coinage of silver into half dollars, quarters and dimes, all of which were at that time full legal tender equal with gold. So long as gold is given unlimited coinage into full legal tender money of some denomination, it is immaterial whether the government coins one dollar pieces or three dollar pieces, or confines the coinage to higher denominations; and so, while silver can be coined, without charge and without limit, into full legal tender money of some denomination, it matters not whether it is coined into dollars, half dollars or smaller denominations. The test of bimetallism is not found in the coinage of money of any particular denomination, but in the coinage of both metals, without limitation, into full legal tender money at a fixed ratio.

Jefferson is also quoted in support of the commercial ratio, as against the present coinage ratio; but those who thus quote him ignore the very important fact that, when he recommended the adoption of the commercial ratio, it was at a time when all the gold and silver produced from the mines could find access to government mints, and when the commercial ratio was the resultant of the different coinage ratio acting upon the metals. For the United States to have established a ratio appreciably different from those then existing, would have added a new and disturbing factor. At the present time, gold has access to so many mints, and silver has access to so few mints, that the commercial ratio indicates only the value of the surplus silver which is excluded from the mints, and must seek a mercantile use. So long as the coined silver of the world circulates at the ratio of fifteen to one, as it does in some countries, or at fifteen and a half to one, as it does in other countries, or at sixteen to one, as it does in this country, the United States can, by the restoration of free and unlimited coinage, lift the commercial ratio up to the legal ratio. If we had free and unlimited coinage at sixteen to one, the opening of Eu-

ropean mints at fifteen and a half to one would raise our silver to a premium; but until some strong nation resumes free coinage at such a ratio, we can maintain the parity at sixteen to one.

The rule above referred to would prohibit special contracts intended to nullify the legal tender laws of the nation. Comparatively few can avail themselves of the advantage of special contracts, and when a few protect themselves from possible fluctuations in one kind of money, they add to the risk which must be borne by those who are not in a position to make such contracts. Gold contracts create a new demand for gold, and tend to destroy the parity which the government attempts to maintain. No believer in the Jeffersonian doctrine of "equality before the law" can defend the special contract, which not only raises one class of individuals above the law, but tends to thwart the very purpose of the law.

The rule would compel the government to exercise the debtor's option in the redemption of coin obligations, when necessary for the protection of the public against the selfish schemes of those who would deplete the treasury, for the purpose of forcing an issue of bonds or in order to discredit government paper. The debtor's option is necessary to the maintenance of the double standard. If creditors had the right to choose the coin of payment, the demand would fall exclusively upon the dearer metal, and thus increase its price. When the debtor has the option, the demand falls upon the cheaper metal, and, when the demand is sufficient, raises the price of that metal up to the coinage ratio.

The Jeffersonian rule would prohibit the establishment of national banks of issue, because a bank of issue not only exercises a potent and dangerous control over the property of others, but it enjoys a privilege denied to others. It was the issue of paper money by banks that led Jefferson to declare that banks of issue are more dangerous than standing armies. That the bank is wearing the coat of many colors, indicative of parental partiality, is known to the most casual ovserver. One of the bills which has received the indorsement of the House committee, provides for the gradual retirement of the greenbacks, and for the issue of two and one-half per cent. gold bonds when necessary to maintain the gold reserve. Thus bonds drawing interest are to be substituted for greenbacks drawing no interest, and the taxpayers are to work a little harder to meet increased taxation. On the other hand, the national

bank, which is now permitted to issue notes up to ninety per cent. of the face of the bonds deposited, is to be authorized to issue up to par, while the tax of one per cent. upon the circulation is to be reduced to a small fraction of one per cent. The people at large, who enjoy no special advantages, find their taxes increasing; while the banks, which are enjoying special privileges, find their taxes decreasing. If a laborer, a farmer, a merchant or a professional man, saves enough money to buy a government bond, he loses the use of the money invested in the bond and must content himself with the interest paid upon the bond; but a national bank will, under the proposed law, be able to invest its capital in bonds and then, by depositing the bonds, secure bank notes to the par value of the bonds, thus securing a return of its investment while it continues to draw interest upon the bonds. The ordinary individual can eat his cake or keep it; the national bank can both eat its cake and keep it.

According to Jefferson's philosophy, the government must not only avoid injustice in its dealings with the people, but it must prevent injustice as between man and man. The citizen has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and it is the duty of the government to make this right secure, in fact this is declared to be the very object of government.

Jeffersonian principles, applied to present industrial conditions, would annihilate the trusts. A monopoly which controls the product of a necessary of life has society at its mercy. To authorize, or permit, the establishment of such a monopoly is equivalent to surrendering the taxing power to private individuals, to be used for personal gain.

That those who are industrially weak should be protected from injury at the hands of those who are industrially strong, is as imperatively necessary as that the physically weak should be protected from the physically strong. Since all corporate privileges are bestowed by law they can be withdrawn by law; the power of the government is, therefore, sufficient to compel the corporation to remember its creator, not only in the days of its youth, but throughout its entire existence.

Freedom of contract is impossible except between those who stand upon practically the same level. Where one party is weak and dependent, and the other strong and aggressive, freedom of contract may degenerate into freedom to coerce. The demand

for arbitration of disputes between capital and labor grows out of the disparity between the large corporate employer and the employee, and this demand is consistent with the Jeffersonian doctrine that governments are instituted to secure to the individual his inherent and inailenable rights.

Jefferson was a firm believer in trial by jury. In a letter written in 1789, he defends the jury system, pointing out that it is a protection against the possible bias of the judge, and says: "Were I called upon to decide, whether the people had best be omitted in the legislative or judiciary department, I would say it is better to leave them out of the legislative. The execution of the laws is more important than the making of them. However, it is best to have the people in all three departments, where that is possible." Government by injunction, which is a poorly disguised attempt to deny a jury trial to those accused of crime, is a violation of the principles taught by Jefferson.

In view of the recent demand for a large increase in the permanent army, it may not be out of place to refer to Jefferson's position on this subject. In his first inaugural address he included among the things advocated by him, " a well disciplined militia, our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war till regulars may relieve them," and "the supremacy of the civil over the military authority." In his first message to Congress, in December, 1801, he emphasized his partiality for the militia system in preference to a large regular army, and in referring to the nation's defence said: "Nor is it conceived needful nor safe that a standing army should be kept up in time of peace for that purpose." He recognized the menace of a great military establishment, and believed that a republic should rely for its defence upon its citizen soldiery.

I shall not attempt to apply the principles of Jefferson to all the questions now under discussion. Enough has already been said to show how fundamental those principles are in their character.

But, in considering the policy to be pursued by the United States in dealing with the Filipinos, we are entering upon a field so new to our people that we have especial need to turn to the past for wisdom and admonition. Jefferson's writings cover every phase of the question.

Is the doctrine of conquest an American doctrine? In a letter

written to Mr. Short, in 1791, Jefferson said: "If there be one principle more deeply written than any other in the mind of every American, it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest."

His ambition for territory was limited to the North American continent. He favored the annexation of Cuba, "when solicited by herself," and insisted that no territory should be accepted which required a navy to defend it. He expressly disclaimed any desire to have our national sovereignty extended farther south than Cuba. He was devoted to the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and no proposition could be more antagonistic to his teachings than that an alien race should be subjugated by force of arms, taxed without representation, and governed without their consent.

In the "Summary View of the Rights of British America," written by him in 1774, he said:

> "Not only the principles of common sense, but the common feelings of human nature, must be surrendered up, before His Majesty's subjects here can be persuaded to believe, that they hold their political existence at the will of a British parliament. Shall these governments be dissolved, their property annihilated, and their people reduced to a state of nature, at the imperious breath of a body of men whom they never saw, in whom they never confided, and over whom they have no powers of punishment or removal, let their crimes against the American public be ever so great? Can any one reason be assigned, why one hundred and sixty thousand electors in the island of Great Britain, should give law to four millions in the States of America, every individual of whom is equal to every individual of them in virtue, in understanding, and in bodily strength? Were this to be admitted, instead of being a free people, as we have hitherto supposed, and mean to continue ourselves, we would suddenly be found the slaves, not of one, but of one hundred and sixty thousand tyrants; distinguished, too, from all others, by this singular circumstance, that they are removed from the reach of fear, the only restraining motive which may hold the hand of a tyrant."

In the same paper he said: "Still less let it be proposed, that our properties, within our own territories, shall be taxed or regulated by any power on earth, but our own. The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time: the hand of force may destroy, but cannot disjoin them."

Jefferson mentioned, incidentally, that the Americans were the equals of the English in virtue, understanding and bodily strength, but, if any one thinks that the rights of the colonists arose from the fact that they were the equals of the inhabitants of

the mother country, let him read Lincoln's analysis of the Declaration of Independence. In a speech delivered at Beardstown, Ill., August 12, 1858, he said:

"They (the Fathers of the Republic) erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles upon which the temple of liberty was being built."

I cannot refrain from adding Lincoln's appeal:

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty; let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me; take no thought of the political fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles."

Jefferson was a student both of history and of human nature; he knew the strength of race attachments and race prejudices, and he was profoundly impressed with the danger of race antagonism, even in the United States. If we could lay aside all questions of right, can we ignore the certain complications which would arise from an attempt to make subjects of the Filipinos and enforce the authority of a relatively small number of white rulers?

The renaissance of Jeffersonian principles is at hand.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

THE IMBROGLIO IN SAMOA.

BY HENRY C. IDE, FORMERLY CHIEF JUSTICE OF SAMOA.

THREE times has Mataafa been anointed King of Samoa, only to have the cup of happiness dashed from his lips after his coronation. In one way or another, nearly all the political disturbances which have occurred in the island kingdom for the past fifteen years, have had Mataafa as their central figure. As South Sea islanders go, he is worthy of having been the principal factor in these stirring events. His admirer and defender, Robert Louis Stevenson, thus describes him:

"He is a tall and powerful person, sixty years of age, white haired and with white moustache; his eyes bright and quiet, his jaw perceptibly underhung, which gives him something of the impression of a benevolent mastiff, his manners dignified and a thought insinuating, with an air of a Catholic prelate. Long since he made a vow of chastity, 'to live as our Lord lived on this earth,' and Polynesians report with bated breath that he has kept it. He was the idol of the whole nation, except a fragment of opponents. Speaking for myself, I have visited and dwelt in almost every seat of the Polynesian race, and have met but one man who gave me a stronger impression of character and parts."

Nearly every American who has passed any time in Samoa since Mataafa became a factor in its politics, has entertained a great admiration for his personal qualities, and however much his action is to be deprecated in the controversies that have arisen, the personal sympathies of those who have known him have nearly all been in his favor. There would have been a strong feeling of satisfaction, if his right to the kingship could have been established by the recent decision of the Chief Justice.

In 1886, Malietoa Laupepa was king of Samoa. The Germans, bent upon securing the exclusive control of the islands, made demands upon Malietoa which were not, and could not be,

fulfilled, and caused the High Chief, Tamasese, to be proclaimed King. Malietoa fled to the bush, but was followed by a message that, if he did not give himself up within a few hours, great sorrows must befall his country. Therefore he came down from the recesses of the mountain, bequeathed the care of his native land to his kinsman, Mataafa, and put forth a touching farewell to his country, and to the different provinces thereof:

"To all Samoa: On account of my great love to my country and my great affection to all Samoa, this is the reason that I deliver up my body to the German Government. That Government may do as they wish to me. The reason of this is because I do not desire that the blood of Samoa shall be spilled for me again, but I do not know what is my offence which has caused their anger to me and to my country. Tuamasaga, farewell! Manono and family, farewell! So also Salalafai, Tutuila, Aana and Atua, farewell! If we do not again see one another in this world, pray that we may be again gathered above."

He went from his weeping people to the German warship which lay in the harbor, and was borne away to Australia, to South Africa, to the German Cameroons, to Germany, and again through the Red Sea, still on to Jaluit, one of the coral lagoons of the German Marshall Islands, lying under the equator, where he was destined to pass the years of his lonely exile.

Around Mataafa rallied all the native elements that were opposed to the Germans and to their puppet King, Tamasese. The Americans and English, resident in Samoa, joined in the support of Mataafa. Civil war raged. Arms, ammunition, food and sympathy were provided for Mataafa by the English and Americans, while Tamasese received similar support from the Germans. In December, 1888, at Fagalii, three or four miles east of Apia, a battle was fought between the Mataafa-natives and 140 German sailors, who had been landed to protect German property and to fortify the waning cause of Tamasese. The Germans fought bravely, but in the dark and among cocoanut trees, and lost 56 in killed and wounded. The heads of several German sailors were taken by the natives, and this fact ultimately defeated Mataafa's first kingship. But the cause of Tamasese was now beyond resurrection, and he himself retired into oblivion and soon died.

Thus was Mataafa King of Samoa from 1887 to near 1890. He succeeded to the honors and title of Malietoa Laupepa, but the military disaster at Fagalii and the belated, but finally effectual, remonstrance of England and the United States, brought

Germany to a standstill, and the conference was proposed which resulted in the Berlin Treaty of June 14, 1889. In that instrument, the three powers agreed thereafter to respect the independence and autonomy of Samoa, to establish a protectorate over the islands, and to return Malietoa Laupepa and recognize him as King, Mataafa being rejected on the ground of the German insistence that he was responsible for the beheading of German sailors at Fagalii. This was the end of Mataafa's first kingship.

Meanwhile, the country was being governed under the Berlin Treaty. That international compact contained some indefinite references to an election of a King; and, after a time, when the Treaty had failed instantly to bring the prosperity, happiness, abundance and content which the simple-minded natives had expected to follow it, they began to look upon Mataafa as the hero of the war, who had fought side by side with them, in the bush, along the shore, and in the forest plantations, and to insist that there should be an election, and that he should be their King once more. Gradually, he yielded to their persuasions, retired to Malie, west of Apia, was crowned as King by the mal-contents, and there established a rival government, with the state and ceremony incident to a Samoan monarch. Thus the two governments went on side by side from 1891, until the summer of 1893, when Malietoa made an atack upon Mataafa, defeated him and scattered his forces. Mataafa was captured by British and German warships, and held as a prisoner of the powers. They decreed that he should be taken to Jaluit, in the Marshall Islands, where Malietoa had so long been prisoner. So his people came upon the warship, and in solemn form, with cocoanut water, poured upon his head, washed out the royal title, to which he had been anointed, nd he sailed away to exile. This ended his second kingship.

From 1893 to 1898, Malietoa Laupepa continued to be the recognized King of Samoa, but he was never able to receive the undivided support of his people. In August, 1898, he was ill of a fever. He was taken to Vailima, the Robert Louis Stevenson homestead, to get the benefit of the mountain air. But the original vigor of his constitution had been impaired by his years of captivity and sorrow, and contention, and the fever did its work. He was a courteous, gentle, kindly man, illy-fitted for scenes of bloodshed and turmoil. A short time before his illness, the powers had concluded that Mataafa had been sufficient-

ly punished, and that he should be returned to his beloved Samoa, upon his solemn pledge that he would render loyal obedience to the government, and in all ways encourage peace and loyalty.

When Mataafa arrived in Samoa, Malietoa had just been gathered to his fathers, and the Treaty then, beyond question, provided for the long-sought election of a successor, "according to the laws and customs of Samoa." The candidacy of Mataafa was inevitable and natural. He had the whole Catholic party to support him, and a great Protestant following of those who admired him for his stand against the Germans in 1886-7, and for his chiefly qualities, and who had stood beside him when he had twice before been King, and who pitied him on account of his long exile. According to Samoan custom, therefore, he was again chosen King and anointed as such in November last. Meanwhile, other candidates had appeared—Tamasese, the son of the deceased German puppet King, and Malietoa Tanus, the son of the lately deceased King, a boy of 16 or 17 years of age, still under the tutelage of the London Missionary School. Tamasese withdrew his claims in favor of Malietoa Tanus, with the understanding that he should have a position of influence in the Government. Malietoa Tanus was chosen King by his supporters, and claimed to have been lawfully elected. Thereupon, the decision fell to the Chief Justice, by the terms of the Treaty. In the meantime, the natives from the remote districts began to gather in force at the capital, and the situation became threatening in the extreme. It was apparent that the followers of Mataafa, at least in and about Apia, were far more numerous and better equipped than those of his adversary. On the 31st day of December, the Chief Justice announced his decision that Mataafa was ineligible for the kingship, and that, therefore, Malietoa Tanus was King.

Before another day had elapsed, that judgment was reversed by force of arms. Malietoa Tanus was in hiding at a missionary's house and, later, upon a British warship. Tamasese was with him, and his followers were scattered or slain, their houses burned, and the whole government in possession of Mataafa. Mataafa was King again, this time not only by virtue of the anointing, but by virtue of the military strength of his followers, supported and recognized by all the German officials and people in Samoa. The situation was exceedingly embarrassing for the

Chief Justice, living a mile back from town, the whole neighborhood being occupied by natives who regarded his decision as an injustice, and who had overthrown it by violence and bloodshed. He retired to the British warship, "Porpoise"; and the British and American Consuls, apparently terrified by the exciting course of events, thereupon met with the German Consul and recognized a Provisional Government, consisting of Mataafa and a Council of thirteen of his chiefs, with Dr. Raffel, the German President of the Municipality of Apia, as chief executive officer. Herein a great mistake was made. There is no provision in the Treaty for a Provisional Government. The Consuls had no authority to recognize it or to take any action with reference to it, and they played directly into the hands of Mataafa and the Germans by so doing.

The Germans were not slow to seize their advantage. The Provisional Government declared the office of Chief Justice vacant. The Treaty provides that, in the case of a vacancy, the President of the Municipal Council shall perform the duties of Chief Justice, and Dr. Raffel was instantly installed as acting Chief Justice. This was a manifest violation of the Treaty. The Chief Justice could only be removed by the concurrence of at least two of the powers, whereas, none of them had concurred. By this time, the English and American Consuls had apparently rallied sufficiently from their dazed condition to protest against this revolutionary proceeding on the part of the Germans, and proceeded, with a body of marines from the "Porpoise", to reinstate the Chief Justice, a course of conduct which was ultimately approved by the three powers, the German Government having repudiated the summary act of its officials in attempting to set aside the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the Chief Justice became involved in a series of proceedings against German subjects and officials for contempt of court, in which difficult questions of jurisdiction and international law were involved, and which resulted in intensifying, if possible, the already extremely bitter feelings prevailing. But the Provisional Government, with Mataafa as King, still held sway.

Early in March, the American warship, "Philadelphia", appeared upon the scene. Rear Admiral Kautz, in command, assembled a conference of the Consuls and naval officers of the three powers, and thereafter issued a manifesto, declaring the

Provisional Government to be unauthorized by the Treaty, commanding its members to retire to their homes, and threatening violence if they failed to do so, and caused Malietoa Tanus to be anointed King. The German Consul General, never having consented to these proceedings, issued a counter proclamation, asserting that the Provisional Government had been authorized by the action of all the Consuls, and urging that Government to stand steadfast. Thus fortified, the Provisional Government stood by its guns, literally. It refused to disband. The Rear Admiral, accordingly, aided by the English ships, but not by the German, proceeded to carry his threat into execution, bombarding portions of the town and its environs, and the towns along the coast, and brought back the deported Malietoa chiefs, who instantly reorganized their faction of natives, so that civil war again prevailed. Meanwhile, the experiment which the Germans had tried in 1888, of landing sailors to fight in the midst of the cocoanut plantations against the nimble natives, was repeated in the same locality and with the same results. American and English officers and sailors were slain and compelled to retreat, and some of them were beheaded. Since that time, the fighting has gone on at intervals, the only result being that a gentle, picturesque and kindly people are engaged, under the auspices of three great powers, in exterminating one another.

In this connection, perhaps, a word should be said about the Samoan custom of taking heads. It is justly regarded as barbaric, and is forbidden by Samoan law; yet, it is not done as an act of cruelty, but solely to secure a trophy of war. The Samoans are well versed in Scripture, and justify this practice from the sacred Word. They will say: "Is it not so that when David killed Goliath, he cut off his head and carried it before the King?" They have been recently denounced as "savages," and so they are, in a certain sense. They are tattooed, wear but little clothing, though enough for the climate, their land titles and system of living are communistic and patriarchal, like those of Abraham. At the same time, they have a nobility of rank, courtliness and politeness and dignity of manner. They are Christians, builders and supporters of churches. They read and write, conduct family worship every day, have their books printed in London, and play cricket, polo and games of cards. But the fact that the taking of heads in the German-Samoan war of 1888, was regarded as suffi-

cient reason for excluding Mataafa from the kingship when the Treaty was made, is an indication of how the taking of American and English heads in the present war will affect his candidacy. He will be regarded by England and the United States as absolutely disqualified, and it will be impossible for Germany, in view of the position which she took in 1889, to oppose that contention. It is highly improbable now that Mataafa will be longer recognized as King and the probability is that the noblest Samoan of them all, owing to bad advice and misguided ambition, will again take his station upon the shores of the lagoon at Jaluit.

Samoa is without telegraphic communication with the rest of the world. One of the great difficulties, both before and since the making of the Treaty, has been unauthorized and extreme action on the part of officials located there, remote from controlling authority, magnifying their own positions and powers, and inclined to take extraordinary action under the impulse of sudden and insular excitement.

Great mischief comes from these unauthorized acts, even though they are repudiated later. It is safe to say that, if there had been telegraphic communication with Samoa, a great proportion of the difficulties of the last fifteen years would have been avoided. At present, it requires weeks to secure communication with the home Governments. But with an opportunity to receive immediate instructions from home, officials would be sure to avoid unauthorized extreme action, and all dangerous matters would be determined in advance by instructions from the several foreign offices, where there is a larger range of vision, free from the heat of insular prejudice and personal jealousies and animosities. If the cable from Vancouver to the Australasian British colonies is laid, and a connection made with Samoa, the Samoan problem will be greatly simplified.

In a previous article, the present writer traced the political history of Samoa down to 1897, and expressed the opinion that the Treaty ought to be amended in important respects, but that its abrogation would be a mistake. Recent events have not modified this opinion. The Treaty was our deliberate act, after years of negotiation and investigation, and when we were in possession of all the facts now known, except such as have resulted from the practical working of the Treaty itself. It was a national, not a political, act, negotiated by a commission of high standing,

appointed by a Republican administration, in pursuance of arrangements made for that purpose by a Democratic administration. Its fundamental purpose, as far as our country was concerned, was to secure the neutralization of the islands lying at the center of the South Pacific, as the Hawaiian Islands do at the center of the North Pacific, in the direct pathway of the commerce ever increasing between our country and the British colonies, and for the protection of our rights and interests in the admirable harbor of Pago Pago. Every other important group in the South Seas had been seized and appropriated by some foreign Government. Samoa was the only foothold left for us. Its appropriation was eagerly sought, both by Great Britain and by Germany. It was a source of constant international irritation. We were brought to the verge of war with Germany by her persistent attempts to annex the islands. Congress appropriated five hundred thousand dollars for the defence of our interest in Samoa. The Treaty constituted a law binding upon the great nations, and defining the rights of all. It substituted the rule of law for that of force. It is the standard by which every act of either party to the international compact can be measured. It preserves our rights in the Pago Pago harbor, it secures to all our citizens now in Samoa, and to those who may wish hereafter to carry our flag and commerce thither, absolute equality in trade, the protection of the laws, and freedom from aggression of other nationalities. It has given efficient government to the Municipality of Apia, where most of the foreigners reside, it has established a local government that owns its own buildings, pays its own bills, and has done more road building than had been done in Samoa in all time before. It has prevented the destructive sale of intoxicating liquors to natives; it has completely and finally settled titles to all lands claimed by foreigners, and has perfected an admirable system of registration of titles; it has provided a court in which all internal controversies can be settled, an impartial tribunal for the adjustment of controversies which, heretofore, could be settled only by force.

The Spanish-American war has emphasized the importance of coaling stations in remote parts of the world. With coal treated as contraband of war, a modern warship is absolutely helpless in times of war, unless it can reach a base of supplies belonging to its own country. Unless we retain our grasp upon Pago Pago, the whole of the South Pacific would be closed to us the instant war

was declared with any naval power. With the tremendous development that is going on upon the shores of the Pacific, making it the theatre of some of the vastest political and commercial events of this age, and with the United States taking its position as a world power, and being from its location more interested than any other great power in occurrences throughout every portion of the Pacific, we cannot afford to make the slightest relaxation of the rights in Samoa that have been secured to us by the Berlin Treaty. "The white man's burden" in Samoa rests as heavily upon German shoulders as upon those of England and America. The Germans have there a larger interest than any other nationality. They have a solemn compact with us, as to the manner in which those interests and their people shall be safeguarded and preserved. Samoa has been made a most important point in the policy of the German colonial party. The German Government would not, for a moment, consider any abatement of its rights in Samoa, and we are bound to recognize them to the fullest extent, under the Treaty.

Some of the difficulties of administration are plainly avoidable. The construction of a cable, as has already been indicated, would be a great help. Likewise our own Government might fulfill its obligations under the Treaty, which it has been exceedingly remiss in doing. What would be thought of the policy of a Government in the Philippines, if it should send out a Chief Justice, and a Chief Executive Officer of Manila, and a Consul or equivalent officer, and withdraw its army and warships for a series of years, and tell those officials to conduct the Government, preserve the peace and enforce the laws? Yet, that is just what our Government has done as to Samoa. From 1892 to 1899, no American warship visited Samoa, a period of practically seven years, in which officials were left to struggle on as best they could, without the slightest aid from the Government at Washington. The Germans, during nearly all that period, maintained two warships in Samoa. The British Government has every year sent one or more warships to the islands. This costs money. It is not strange that the Germans, having had to bear most of the heat and burden, should have come to think that they are entitled to a greater voice in the management of affairs than their partners who had contributed next to nothing.

Our influence there has been greatly impaired by our failure to

do our part in support of the Treaty. Let our Government fulfill its duty under the Treaty, furnish its fair share of the naval force necessary for the proper policing of the islands, and lend its actual support to the Treaty officials, and the troubles in Samoa will largely vanish. Our newly awakened interest in the Pacific should enable us to see that our rights in Samoa are to be protected in precisely the same way as in the Philippines and Hawaii, namely, by establishing and *actually supporting* a just government.

It has been suggested that the islands should be divided, and Savaii taken by Great Britain, Upolu by the Germans, and Tutuila by the United States. Upolu is at the center of the group, and is by far the richest and most valuable of all the islands. This scheme is an old one. In 1866, President Cleveland appointed George H. Bates as a special commissioner to proceed to Samoa in connection with like commissioners appointed by England and Germany, to make investigation and report as to what ought to be done. In his report, Mr. Bates refers to "the suggestion made in Berlin for a partition of Samoa, the United States to have Tutuila, England Savaii, and Germany Upolu," but he makes no recommendation in favor of such a course. This suggestion does not seem entitled to more consideration now than in 1886. The people of Samoa come and go constantly between the islands, to so marked an extent that the early discoverers named the group the "Navigators' Islands." The same chief often holds sway of the lands and people situated in two or more of the islands. In their wars, they are divided into factions according to their tribal relations, without reference to the island upon which they reside for the time being. The natives from the German island, in case of division, would continue to take part, as they always have done, in the political affairs of the other islands and *vice versa*. It would be impracticable to determine whether depredations committed upon the American island, for instance, were committed by natives for whose acts Germany was responsible. The islands are so near together that constant collisions of interest would arise, both between natives and aliens subject to the different jurisdictions. It would be unjust to the natives, who are one race and one people, to apportion them out into three different nationalities.

While the harbor of Pago Pago is an admirable one, the best in Samoa and entirely safe in times of storm, yet its surroundings are such as to make it an undesirable place for our warships to remain

in for a long time. It is entirely land locked and cut off from the trade winds, with frequent tropical showers—caused by the condensation of the vapors by the high mountains—followed by a scorching sun. It is an unfit place for the establishment of a town of any size, and the whole island of Tutuila, upon which it is situated, is rugged and mountainous, and more nearly worthless than Upolu or Savaii. The trans-Pacific steamers all touch at Apia, 75 miles away from Pago Pago, and the cable, when it comes, will doubtless land at Apia. It would be exceedingly undesirable to have it wholly within German territory. But if the United States took Tutuila, nobody would think of governing it without support from home, so that the necessity of naval aid would be at least as imperative under such a scheme as under the Berlin Treaty.

In its general lines the Treaty embraces the important features essential to such an international protectorate. It is doubtful if anything would be gained by an attempt to recast the whole Treaty. But it was realized at the time that events would show points of friction in its working and defects in its provisions, and that such changes should subsequently be made as experience had shown to be expedient and desirable, and three years was deemed a sufficient time for such actual trial. The Eighth Article provides:

> "Upon the request of either power after three years from the signature hereof, the powers shall consider by common accord what ameliorations, if any, may be introduced into the provisions of this General Act."

The Treaty has now been in operation for nine years. No amendments have been adopted. Manifestly, it is unfair to criticise the Treaty for failure to work satisfactorily, when no effort has been made to effect the modifications that were originally contemplated, and no support whatever has been given by our country to the Treaty officials with the single exception of the recent action of Rear Admiral Kautz in the attempt to enforce the decision of the Chief Justice. The system of taxation provided in the Treaty is both impracticable and unjust. It imposes equal head taxes upon every man, woman and child of the Samoan race, without the slightest regard to capacity to meet the exaction. This is unjust. But it has uniformly proven to be vain and ineffectual. Natives resent and avoid it. It is a constant stimulus

to rebellion, because the native who joins the rebellion at once gets out of reach of the tax collector, and escapes taxation altogether. A reasonable customs duty, imposed upon such articles of import as are largely used by the natives, not high enough to stimulate smuggling, but high enough to compel the traders to add it to the selling price of their commodities, would make every trader a collector of taxes without friction, and would supply all the revenue needed for the support of the Government and for steady prosecution of internal improvements. This would remove one of the great causes of friction and rebellion.

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in certain classes of cases should be more clearly defined. Whether the Chief Justice may deal with members of the different nationalities for contempt, when that contempt consists, not in acts done in open court, but in acts done at other times and places, which tend to degrade and lower the court, and to interfere with its processes, is a very serious question under the present reading of the Berlin Act. Each Consul has exclusive jurisdiction of all criminal offences committed by people of his own nation. We have now the unseemly and demoralizing spectacle of seeing the Chief Justice pursuing, with proceedings for contempt, and writs of *ne exeat*, German subjects for alleged contempts of his court and the processes thereof, each of which consists of acts done beyond the presence of the court, while the German Consul General takes the defendants under his immediate consular protection, and denounces the proceedings as an invasion of his jurisdiction. There is something to be said upon both sides, and the Treaty can easily be so modified as to prevent such unseemly controversies in the future.

There have been, in times past, unfortunate controversies between the native government and the President of the Municipality of Apia, who is, by the terms of the Treaty, receiver and custodian of all the funds of the native government, as to the right to control the disbursement of public funds. Under the Treaty, as it exists, the native government manifestly has the right to control the disposition of its own funds, and such has been the decision of the Supreme Court; but, inasmuch as the native government at times would be inclined to use the funds for distribution among its own members, without any adequate equivalent to the public, and as those funds have been largely realized from customs taxes paid by foreigners, and as the President is largely

considered responsible for the public expenditures, he is manifestly entitled to have his recommendations upon that subject carefully considered by the native Government, and to be a potent factor in the disbursements of those revenues. But that he should have the sole determination as to what should be done with the public funds, would be a degradation and humiliation to the native element that is unnecessary and inexpedient; and, inasmuch as the President is always a German, it would be placing the whole control of all the finances of the country absolutely in the hands of the Germans, a condition of things to which the other two powers never ought to, and probably never will, consent. A suitable provision would require the native Government and the President either to agree upon necessary and reasonable expenditures, before public funds could be disbursed, or, when they disagreed, to refer the matter to the Chief Justice for final decision. This would afford protection to the treasury, to the native Government, and to the President.

The Treaty ought to make definite provision for assistance in enforcing the decrees, mandates and judgments of the Supreme Court. It is practically silent upon this subject, and, from the time the court was established down to March, 1899, there has not been one instance in which aid has been furnished, directly or indirectly, to the Supreme Court by the powers, or any of them. Imagine a Supreme Court of one Judge to be established by the United States in the Philippines, and that court being left for eight or nine years to maintain itself among an alien people of divers nationalities, most of them utterly unfamiliar with the proceedings of such a court. What could we expect the result to be? Yet, the Supreme Court of Samoa has been left in just that situation, and it is a marvel, under the circumstances, that it has been able to become the central institution of the country, and to command general respect and obedience.

A commission has now been appointed, consisting of one commissioner from each of the three powers, to agree upon measures that shall be taken, both for redressing wrongs that have been done in the recent disturbances, and for introducing such ameliorations as may be necessary for the future government of the islands. The full text of the instructions has not been made public. After contention upon that point, it has been agreed that their action must be unanimous in order to make any measure

which they may take immediately effective. The gentlemen who have been appointed upon the commission are of high character. They will doubtless approach the performance of their delicate duties with a lofty purpose, and with the intention to make such reasonable concessions and modifications of pre-existing views as may be necessary to secure unanimous action. It is probable that they will be able to take such action as will end the disastrous and deeply to be regretted division of counsels that now exists among the foreign Samoan officials, and to agree upon immediate plans of action that will relieve the existing strain. There is no reason, in the nature of things, why they should not be able to formulate amendments to the Treaty that, so far as foreigners are concerned, will be unanimously supported by the powers.

The greatest difficulty will be in dealing with the native question. They have no knowledge of native character or modes of thought, and cannot acquire such knowledge within the limits of their probable stay in Samoa. They will be apt to think, as others have so many times thought before them, that, when the three powers agree upon a course of conduct and issue their mandates, the natives will acquiesce. Outwardly, they probably will do so; but, as a matter of fact, they will not do so unless an adjustment is made which commends itself to them as fair and just. They may retire to their homes while the commissioners sail smilingly away; but if a King is installed at the behest of the powers, and against the protest of the great mass of the Samoan people, he will have little more authority than the President of a debating club. The natives will refuse to pay taxes or to obey the commands of the King, they will identify all foreign officials with the attempt to force upon them a native ruler whom they loathe, will commit depredations upon the plantations of foreigners and will decline to obey the summons of the Supreme Court. They will refuse to build roads, or to allow the King's adherents to come into the localities possessed by his opponents. The King will be a King of a few natives about Apia. The processes of the court will reach only through practically the same territory, while all the rest of Samoa will sit sullen, obstinate and disloyal. It will be a paper government and not an actual one.

Of course, it is in the power of the three great Governments to crush all native opposition, if they see fit to do so, and to kill, if need be, those who resent what they deem to be injustice;

but that is an unworthy thing for three of the mightiest Governments on earth to set their hands to. The Samoans are an interesting, picturesque and kindly people, by nature and training; and it would be horrible, an act to be execrated by mankind, to see them trampled and crushed under the iron heel and torn and mangled by shells. The solution of the native problem is one that will tax the ability and insight of the commission to the highest degree; and if they are able so to shape their course as to secure the substantial, sincere and loyal support of the Samoan people and the unanimous approval of the powers, they will have accomplished a result that tends to secure the peace of the world and the preservation of a noble race from extermination, and they will be entitled to high recognition for valuable services in a difficult field.

HENRY C. IDE.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, M. P.

COMMERCE, and especially international commerce, plays to-day a larger part in the life and movements of the world than it ever did before. Not only the opening up to trade and colonization of new areas, not only that increased production of minerals and of commodities obtained by the cultivation of the soil consequent on the enormous resources which physical science now places at our command, but, even more than these, the extraordinary development of communications by sea and land, their greater swiftness and their greater cheapness—all these causes have swelled the volume of trade to an extent far in excess of the growth of the world's population. Thus commerce occupies men's minds more than it ever did before. Classes which in Europe treated it with indifference, or even with scorn, two centuries ago, are now almost as keenly interested as the classes directly engaged in mercantile life. The prosperity of a country, its wealth, its luxury, its power, are all deemed to depend more upon its trade than upon any other cause. Competition is far keener than ever, not only between individuals but between nations as a whole, and the annual returns of the export and import trade of each country are watched with an attention as close as that which the engineer gives to the pressure of the steam and the number of revolutions of the screw on a record-breaking ocean voyage.

Accordingly, commerce is now a more potent factor in international politics than in any earlier period. Wars, which in ruder ages were undertaken for the sake of plunder, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were waged, really or nominally, on account of religious differences, which in the last century, as well as in earlier times, were often due to the ambition of mon-

archs, are now frequently to be feared from the clash of commercial interests, and this source of peril, which was indeed not unknown before, seems to be quite as serious as dynastic pride or racial animosity. The two most recent grounds of quarrel which have arisen among the European Powers have been the partition of Africa and the effort to secure footholds in China. In both of these cases it is not so much territory that has been in question as markets, for territory is now looked upon as chiefly valuable in respect of the trade which it can be made the means of developing. And though the United States has less need than any European country to look to or depend upon foreign markets, since it is itself the greatest market in the world, not only in respect of its vast population, but still more in respect of the purchasing capacity of the individual members of that population, there have been many signs that a desire for the expansion of its export trade in manufactured goods, as well as in food stuffs and other agricultural products, is steadily increasing, and has had an influence upon that policy of territorial extension beyond the seas to which the nation is now apparently committed.

In this state of facts, every possible mode of promoting the commercial success of each nation in the fierce competition which we witness begins to be studied and discussed. One such mode is the cultivation of the aptitude and skill of the individual man, who is the ultimate factor in this competition. Hence that cry for technical instruction which fills our ears in Europe and which is almost as loud in America. Commercial education is a branch of technical instruction in general, and may be described as that branch of it which is concerned not so much with the methods of production as with the methods of distribution, that is to say, with the processes of sale and purchase. It is concerned with them on their practical side. Economic science investigates the general laws which govern the exchange of commodities. The art of commerce deals with the practical forms which the process of exchange takes, shows the reasons for those forms, explains how they ought to be conducted, and cultivates the various talents which are needed to conduct them with efficiency and success.

That there is any such Art of Commerce is a comparatively recent notion. Thirty or forty years ago, it was not supposed, either in England or in America, that any special training was needed for a business life. The phrase "a commercial education" was in-

deed familiar. But it meant merely a non-classical education, that is to say, an education which included no Greek and very little Latin; and in practice it was understood, in England at least, to mean something "cheap and nasty," an illiberal education, an education below the level of the conventional gentleman. That it is now beginning to be used in a quite different sense, as denoting a special preparation for business, analagous to the special preparation given to physicians or lawyers or civil engineers, is due not to reflection on the part of Englishmen, but almost entirely to the example of foreign countries and, in particular, of Germany, France and Belgium. In those three countries such special preparation has been given for many years—the great Institute at Leipzig was founded in 1852. Yet the example of Germany would not have told upon the English, who had long deemed themselves the first commercial people of Europe, but for the amazing development of German manufacturing industries and German export trade which began to attract notice soon after the war of 1870, and has latterly threatened the old supremacy of England. Thirty years ago the English thought the Teutons of the Continent mere theorists, and would not have taken any lessons in practical matters from them. To-day the achievements of Germany in applied science and the expansion of her export trade have set all the rest of Europe to study her methods, and to try to profit by them. Even now people in England are not prepared to go nearly as far as the Germans go in their faith in the value of education, nor in the willingness to keep young men at school preparing themselves for business when they might be actually engaged in it. We in England are really only beginning to discuss the whole subject, and though it is constantly talked of, few positive conclusions have yet been generally accepted, and still less has been done to establish systematic commercial instruction on a large scale. I gather that this is, speaking broadly, the case in America also, though in some American cities a better educational provision has been made than yet exists in Great Britain. Accordingly, in the remarks which follow, I shall deal with general considerations rather than with details, and endeavor to state some principles which may hold good both for America and England.

There are, no doubt, important differences between America and England. What is called secondary education—that is to say, education higher than elementary—is much more a matter

of public concern in America, where every State has a system of grammar schools or high schools maintained by public funds, whereas in England it is only primary or elementary education that is everywhere provided at the public cost. In America the ancient classical languages have not formed so large a part of education as they have done in England and Scotland. In the United States, separated from Europe by a wide ocean, and with no foreign language spoken on its borders except Spanish (for the trifling exception of French in lower Canada may be disregarded), modern foreign languages are of less importance to a business man than they are in England. And in the United States the conditions of economic and social life have given a keenness and versatility to the mind of young men, a quickness in adapting themselves to changes in trade and a readiness to shift from one kind of business to another, which are more rare in an old and settled country like England. Nevertheless, the main conditions of the problem remain similar for England and for America. The intellectual character of the two nations is fundamentally the same. Their social ideals do not greatly differ. The prejudices which lie hidden in their minds operate in the same way. And though America has a far larger home trade than England, she is becoming hardly less eager to develop her foreign trade. Accordingly, what I have to say will, if it is true, hold true for both peoples.

The first question to be considered, for if it is answered in the negative there is an end of the whole matter, is whether a special preparation for commercial life is really of any practical use at all. Some men of business say it is not, holding that business is a thing which can be learned only in an office or a warehouse, all previous training being thrown away, because such training is given before the concrete facts of commerce have become familiar. This objection might perhaps be answered by an appeal to the experience of Germany, France and Belgium, where commercial opinion is almost (though not quite) unanimous in setting a high value on special training, and where in consequence public authorities of all kinds have been at great trouble and expense to provide it. But the objection is so deeply rooted in the minds of many business men who, though they do not say much, exert a wide influence, that it deserves to be dealt with. It seems to rest largely upon two misunderstandings. One is the notion that the advocates of commercial education expect it to turn every boy

into a competent business man. Now this is what no education will or can do in any trade or profession whatever. Many young fellows of good ability, who have had the best instruction money can buy, do not succeed, whether it be in business, or in law, or in medicine, or in soldiering, because a host of other things besides ability and education are elements in success. Industry, sobriety, steadiness of application, pleasant manners, social tact and knowledge of human nature, the power of inspiring confidence, be it confidence in your honesty, or confidence in your tenacity of purpose, all these things count for much in winning success in any and every walk of life. A physician, or a lawyer, or a soldier may fail for want of some of these gifts, but that is not deemed a reason for omitting to give him all the knowledge needed for his profession. So with business. No amount of teaching, or for the matter of that, no amount of cleverness, will ensure success in business. All that special preparation can possibly do is to make those who have the natural gifts that lead to success somewhat better, and to make those in whom these natural gifts are deficient somewhat less bad. And as the majority of young men are neither so capable as to be sure of success, however ill trained, nor so incapable as to be sure of failure, however well trained, the difference which training may make seems sufficient to determine us to give it.

The other misunderstanding arises from supposing that it is claimed by the advocates of special commercial preparation that a young man so prepared will, on his first admission to an office or a warehouse, be as useful to his employer as if he had entered it two years sooner, having spent those two years in the office instead of at school or college. But this is not what is claimed. Suppose A and B, two boys of equal diligence and talent, finish their general secondary education at the age of fifteen. A is put forthwith into an office. B goes through a course of special commercial instruction, and enters the same office when both boys are seventeen. B will for some months know less of the ordinary routine work of the office than A knows, and so far will be less useful. But two years later, when both boys are nineteen, it may well be that B having acquired the requisite familiarity with practice, will be able to bring his special knowledge and trained aptitude into play, and be more useful to his employer, more likely to achieve ultimate success than A, whose knowledge and skill will remain permanently inferior. Accordingly, that which is claimed for special prepara-

tion is, that though its results cannot bear full fruit till after some time, they make so great a difference to a man's capacity for ultimate success that the time spent on receiving special instruction, during a period of some months or years before he enters business, is better spent than it would be in the office or the warehouse during the same period. Assuming for the moment—since this is a matter to which I will return presently—that there are aptitudes which can be trained and facts which can be imparted specially useful for a business life, this argument would seem to be sound, and it is confirmed by the parallel cases of some other employments and professions.

We are now able to approach what is really the chief practical difficulty of the subject, viz.: the extreme variety of the kinds of work which are summed up and covered by the general term of Business or Commerce. Business is not an occupation like medicine or law, with a definite scope, and requiring a well-understood body of special knowledge. It covers all sorts of avocations. There is wholesale trading and retail trading in the home market. There is export trade and all that pertains to shipping goods abroad. There is banking and finance. There is stock broking and the dealing in all sorts of securities. There is the work of accountants and actuaries. There is railroad management and the whole field of transportation. There is insurance business in its various forms. And this list might be indefinitely extended by enumerating minor varieties of business, not to speak of the diversities of goods dealt in, a knowledge of one class of which will be of little use to a man when he comes to handle another class. How is it possible to frame any scheme of commercial education which shall cover these diverse kinds of work, yet how is it possible for a youth to know beforehand—that is to say, in his school years—what kind of work it is that circumstances will lead him to enter? Few young men have the pleasant knowledge that positions in an office or warehouse are waiting for them. They must take the first, or the most promising, opening they can get.

This seems a formidable objection, but there is a twofold answer to it. In the first place, one must distinguish between the aptitudes that are needed for business, and the knowledge which will be serviceable in business. Now the aptitudes wanted, the mental qualities which make for commercial success, are pretty much the same in every form of business. I will inquire presently

what those qualities are; meantime it is sufficient to say that whatever can be done to train and develop them may be done equally well whatever the particular department in which they are to be afterwards employed. Secondly, though it is true that some kinds of knowledge are needed for one sort of business, other kinds for other sorts, still there are branches of study a proficiency in which will be valuable whatever be the special form of trade wherein a man may be occupied. A knowledge of foreign languages, for instance, though more helpful to a youth entering an export house than to one who is to serve a railway company, can be turned to some account in a good many different kinds of commercial life. The power of rapid calculation, and especially of calculating without the aid of paper, is always profitable. A knowledge of the elements of finance, or of the terms of book-keeping, or of the ordinary operations of trade and the documents used therein, invoices, bills of exchange, and so forth, is a kind of knowledge all business men ought to have. Accordingly, it seems a fair conclusion that there are certain elements common to commercial education which can be taught with advantage to all young men preparing for business, and which may therefore be made the regular and normal foundation of a commercial course. More special topics, a mastery of which will be valuable only in some special line, such as banking or stock-broking, or railway work, may be taught in a large city, where the number of persons wishing for instruction in such topics is large enough to make it worth while to supply the teaching. In London, for instance, or in New York or Chicago, there is hardly any particular branch of business in which a public institution might not be expected to provide instruction, because there would be a demand sufficient to fill the class room. But in cities of the size of Nottingham or Newcastle in England, of Buffalo or Pittsburgh in the United States, this would hardly be the case. In them it would be enough to teach the subjects of confessedly general utility.

This brings us to the question of what commercial education really is, what it ought to include and cover. And here let us revert to the distinction already drawn between Aptitudes and Knowledge. The function of a proper course of special perparation is to deal with both of these. It ought to aim at forming and training the mental faculties most needed in business, and it ought to impart the kinds of knowledge most serviceable in business.

Beginning with the Aptitudes—and I am speaking of intellectual aptitudes only, for those of a moral nature, important as they are, do not come into our present inquiry—there are two which seem to be specially conducive to commercial success. One of them is the habit of observing, that is to say, of observing quickly, keenly and accurately. It is a habit precious in all walks of life, invaluable to the physician, the traveler and the novelist, valuable to the lawyer, the farmer and the politician. To some classes of business men, as for instance to the selling agent or the commercial traveler, it is just as valuable, and in fact makes all the difference between success and failure. Though no doubt largely a natural gift, it is one which may be greatly inproved by appropriate training, one which may be trained from very early years. The sciences, commonly called by the name of Natural History, such as botany, entomology and geology, afford an excellent means of teaching boys and girls how to observe, and this can also be done in the practical parts of elementary chemistry and physics. In a somewhat different way it can be done also in the teaching of language, *i. e.*, the pupils may be stimulated to notice and try to explain differences of phrase, or differences in the way in which two languages express a similar idea. However, it is chiefly of observation through the senses that I am thinking, and for training in this nothing is so good as natural history.

The other mental habit is that of reflecting on facts observed, of putting facts together and asking the reason for them. This again, as everybody knows, is a faculty and habit of the utmost utility to men in every walk of practical life, and I mention it in connection with business only because many people who understand its utility for the professional man or the m n concerned with applied science, are apt to forget that it is quite as useful in modern commerce. Commerce has become a far more complex affair in our time than it ever was before, and can, less than ever before, be successfully prosecuted upon any routine or rule of thumb system. The conditions of trade change from day to day. New scientific discoveries, new financial complications, new political situations, enter more and more as factors into many branches of commerce. A man's mind needs now to have not only a watchful alertness in noting such changes, but a capacity for appreciating the consequences which a change may have upon matters which seem to lie out of the immediate sphere of its influence. In short,

since the problems a business man has to deal with are now more intricate and delicate than in older and simpler days, the business man needs always more and more to accustom himself to think about those problems, approaching them from every side and not merely adopting the view which he finds among his friends or in the newspapers. He has to beware of trusting to fixed ideas and positive rules. He must watch the commercial and political sky as the captain of a sailing ship watches the carry of the clouds and the movement of the barometer, and the freshening of the wind, and the direction of the swell. And his observation must be a reflective observation, leading him on to a forecast. All this is obvious when one comes to think of it; and I dwell upon it only because the old idea that business was an easier sort of occupation than the learned profession, needing a less active intellect, still half survives in many quarters, and disposes men to underestimate the worth for commercial life of a stimulative intellectual training.

As to the means by which education can form such mental capacities as I have described, this is a matter much more of the skill of the teacher than of the particular subjects taught. A first rate teacher will handle any subject in a way to excite and interest the pupil's mind, and will estimate his success much less by the quantity of information wherewith he has furnished the pupil's memory than by the habits of acute, independent, consecutive and concentrated thinking which he has enabled the pupils to form.

We may now come to consider the branches of instruction which a commercial education ought to include. And here it is first of all necessary to distinguish between the classes of persons for whom provision is to be made. Three such classes may be distinguished. There are those who finish their general education, so far as it is given in school, at fourteen years of age; those whose parents' means enable them to continue their general education till sixteen; and those, the sons of the comparatively rich, who can afford to stay at school and go on completing what is called a liberal education till eighteen. Evidently a different commercial curriculum must be instituted for each of these three classes, that for the second being wider and higher than that which can be taken by the first, and that for the third going still further and higher than that suited for the second.

For boys leaving school at thirteen or fourteen, and desiring to enter an office or a warehouse at the earliest possible moment,

no very extended course is possible. They have not time for it, their minds are not sufficiently mature to be fit to tackle abstract topics, and their knowledge of life is too small to make the teaching of things which presuppose some knowledge of life profitable. Accordingly, the most that can be done for them seems to be to provide instruction in one or more of the following branches:

(1.) A practical mastery of commercial arithmetic, and especially a training in the habit of quick and accurate mental calculation, without the aid of the slate or paper.

(2.) The elements of commercial geography, based on the elements of physical geography.

(3.) A modern language, French, German or Spanish, whichever may in the particular locality be most desired.

(4.) Shorthand and book-keeping. There is some controversy as to the value of these subjects. Some high authorities doubt whether book-keeping can be profitably taught before the boy has entered an office and seen what books are for. The point is one for practical men to settle.

(5.) English composition, not with the view of forming what is called style, but in order to accustom the boy to state what he knows in the clearest and fewest words, and especially to show him how to arrange his ideas. Composition is seldom well taught, at least in English schools; and the teaching of what is called English grammar has in reality less to do with it than is commonly supposed. If more pains were spent on making a boy think of the precise meaning of what he has to say and the order in which it ought to be said, and less trouble taken about mere grammatical terminology, better results might perhaps be attained.

For young people who leave a secondary school at sixteen, it is both possible and desirable to provide a wider range of instruction directed to commerce. The programme should include the following subjects, though not all these would be taken by all learners.

(1.) Modern languages.

(2.) English composition, including practice in the art of analyzing and summarizing the contents of documents or reports.

(3.) Shorthand and book-keeping (but consider remark made above).

(4.) Commercial geography and the movements of the exchange of commodities in the world at large.

(5.) A general view of the industry and trade of the country.

(6.) The elements of business practice, *i. e.*, a knowledge of the chief operations which belong to commerce in general, including the nature of the documents most commonly used, and a comprehension, which though elementary need not be superficial, of the nature of incorporated companies and partnerships, and the use and functions of banks.

(7.) The elements of political economy, especially those branches of it which relate to exchange and finance.

Finally, we come to those who pursue their general education up till the age of eighteen at least, some of whom will wish then to enter on a special preparation for commerce, while others will first take a university course and then, if they have time left before they enter commercial life, will desire to learn something calculated to be specially serviceable to them in it. The number of such persons will be comparatively small, for few indeed are those whose pecuniary means permit them to postpone the beginning of their active business life to so late a point. But the class, if small, is important, because it will chiefly consist of the sons of men who are already at the head of established manufacturing or trading firms or corporations. Such young people will step at once into positions of responsibility, in which it is desirable that they should have as wide and intelligent a view of business as education can give them. Besides modern languages and the subjects numbered (5.), (6.) and (7.) in the last foregoing list, the teaching of which, and especially of (7.), would for them be carried to a higher point, they should be encouraged to study recent economic history and the elements of commercial law, and might be taught how to deal with statistics, and the art of intelligently watching markets, and understanding the conditions which govern the price of securities.

The highest commercial schools of Germany, France and Belgium teach all these things as well as some others which to our English eye appear, if not superfluous, yet so far from being essential that it is not likely that an English or American public would set a high value on them. They also attempt to teach a knowledge of products and goods generally, a subject which seems to belong rather to a special course suited for a particular locality than to a general curriculum. Nor do I mention chemistry, physics, or the other branches of natural science, because universities and technical institutions already exist for teaching them.

The question in what way provision should be made for enabling persons belonging to each of the three foregoing classes to obtain the instruction suited to their needs, can not be answered generally. It depends very much on the locality and on the habits of the people. As the boys whose general education stops at fourteen can very seldom afford to forego the chance of beginning to earn somthing at once, very few of them can be expected to attend day classes giving special commercial preparation. It is by evening classes that they will usually be served. Of those on the other hand who leave a secondary school at sixteen, a certain proportion might give a year to the special commercial course. Yet existing habits, both in the United States and in England, make it probable that the majority will content themselves with getting taught in the evening after their day's work is done. Instruction given to those already tired is, however, much less efficient and in Continental Europe this is so strongly felt that day classes are warmly recommended. As young men of the third and wealthier class occupy a freer position, it may be hoped that a larger proportion among them will devote their whole time and energy for a year or two—in Germany, France and Belgium the course is one of two years—to systematic commercial preparation. And in the United States, where the number of universities is much larger, relatively to the population, than in England, so that few large towns lack a fairly equipped university, it seems desirable that the subject should be taken up by the universities, and that classes for the scientific study of commercial economics should be brought into a university curriculum. There is nothing lowering to the conception of a university in its undertaking such a function. The true conception of a great seat of learning requires it to provide for the teaching of all the main branches of human knowledge and skill, of the practical arts as well as of what are called the pure sciences, in a philosophic spirit and upon scientific methods. This view has, I believe, already commended itself to some American universities, and it is beginning to make way in England. In Liverpool, for example, the professors of University College (one of the three colleges of the Victoria University) have taken charge of some of the commercial classes recently established in that great mercantile centre. Nor should it be forgotten how much those who are to be the heads of great industrial and commercial firms may gain by being led, at the outset of their career, to look

upon business as a fit matter for science, as a subject which may engage the higher faculties of thought instead of being regarded solely from the side of pecuniary profit. Nothing would do more to secure sound legislation in all questions of currency and of taxation (and especially in tariff questions) than the possession by a considerable number of leading business men of a mastery of the scientific theory of these subjects. This is true of all countries, but most true of a country which, like the United States, is in the long run governed by public opinion.

The main conclusions to which this rapid and necessarily imperfect survey of a large subject are intended to bear may be summarized as follows:

(1.) The provision of special instruction in commercial matters is desirable, not because special knowledge or training is of great consequence as compared with natural intelligence or with the gifts of character which lead to success, but because the stress of competition is now so keen that no nation can afford to neglect any expedient which may help to give its citizens the best chance.

(2.) The term "commercial instruction" includes some branches of study and training which will be useful to all men engaged in business, and other branches useful only to those who are engaged in particular kinds of work. Provisions for the teaching of the former ought to be made in all considerable cities; provision for the teaching of the latter only in larger centers of population, where a supply of young men desiring instruction in special subjects may be expected.

(3.) The age at which special commercial instruction should begin must depend on the pecuniary means and prospects of the youths for whom it is provided. Three classes may be distinguished according to age, and three types of courses of instruction ought therefore to be provided for these three classes respectively.

(4.) The later the age at which youths complete their general education the fuller and the higher in character should be the special commercial course provided for them.

(5.) The most complete course, and that suited to the more mature minds of older persons, ought if possible to be connected with the university (if any) of the city in which it is to be provided, while of course retaining a distinctly practical character.

It may not be amiss to wind up with two warnings which seem needed to prevent a misconception of what has been said.

First.—This paper is not designed to argue on behalf of what is called a modern or non-classical education. I am not one of those who think that either the ancient languages, or what are called "literary" or "humanistic" subjects, play too large a part in our schools, either in England or in the United States. On the contrary I believe (basing myself on such observations as I have been able to make) that Latin and Greek, when properly taught, are superior as instruments of education to any modern language, and that "literary" subjects, such as history, are on the whole more efficient stimulants to the mind (taking an average of minds) than mathematics or natural science.

Secondly.—Still less do I suggest that the time allotted to general education, whether elementary or secondary, should be shortened in order to make room for the teaching of commercial subjects. The further he can carry his general education, the better will it be in the long run for the boy or young man, and more would be lost by curtailing the time spent on the subjects which everybody should learn than would be gained by any special preparation for a particular enployment. This is a point on which the enlightened and experienced opinion of German educationists particularly insists. They declare that the success of their people in manufactures and commerce is due far more to the thorough and wide training given in their secondary schools than to the provision, ample as it is, which they have made for technical and commercial education, and they add that technical and commercial education succeeds in proportion to the soundness of the general education of the pupils who receive it, and to the extent to which it is conducted upon proper educational principles by highly qualified teachers. This is a matter fit to be remembered in England and the United States, for the demand for commercial education might do more harm than good were it to lead either to a shortening or to a commercializing of general school education, or were it to dispose us to ignore the supreme importance of securing that the teaching of the commercial subjects themselves shall be so directed as to arouse and stimulate the faculties no less than inform the memory of the learner.

JAMES BRYCE.

THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION.

BY S. N. D. NORTH, A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION.

THE bill creating the United States non-partizan Industrial Commission was many years pending in Congress, was once vetoed by President Cleveland, and was signed by President McKinley, June 18, 1898. It took on divers forms at different stages of its incubation, and as finally passed authorized a commission of nineteen members, nine of whom were appointed by the President from civil life, the other ten being members of Congress,—five Senators appointed by the Vice-President, and five Representatives appointed by the Speaker. In making their appointments, the latter chose largely from the membership of the Labor Committees of the two houses. The President went into all walks of business life, and three of his nine appointees are recognized as representatives of organized labor.

There is no precedent in the United States for a body so incongruously made up. The injection of the Congressional element into the Commission is due to the reluctance of Congress to delegate its own functions. By claiming a majority of the Industrial Commission, Congress compromised with its old-fashioned prejudices. Experience has already proved that the Commission must rely almost wholly upon the presidential members for the routine work. The claims upon a Congressman's time are so absorbing, that absenteeism has chiefly distinguished their connection with the Commission thus far. But the membership from Congress has already proved itself valuable in an advisory way, and this service will increase in importance as the Commission approaches the formulation of results. The mixed organization has its precedent in several of the English Royal Commissions, and it will keep this body closely in touch with Congress.

The object of the Industrial Commission, as broadly stated in the act creating it, is "to investigate questions pertaining to immigration, to labor, to agriculture, to manufacturing and to business," and, as a result of its investigations, "to suggest such laws as may be made the basis of uniform legislation by the various States of the Union, in order to harmonize conflicting interests and be equitable to the laborer, the employer, the producer and the consumer."

This reads like a wholesale commission to reform the industrial world, to invent the missing panacea for the ills that afflict mankind, to point out the royal road to universal contentment and prosperity which the world has sought in vain since the days when "Adam dolve and Eve span." But that is the superficial view of the matter. Recognizing the obvious and impassable limitations upon the work of the Commission, there remains a field of effort which is not merely important, but may be said to have become imperative. There come times in the onward march of industrial civilization, when it is necessary—if one may be pardoned a wholesale mixing of metaphors—to pause and take account of stock; to strike a balance between conflicting interests; to take an observation by the sun, and determine with accuracy the direction in which the craft is sailing. The most famous precedents for the establishment of such a commission of inquiry are those furnished by Great Britain. At least three Royal Commissions on labor, the last one appointed in 1891, have been put "to inquire into the questions affecting the relations between employer and employed, ... and to report whether legislation can with advantage be directed to the remedy of any evils which may be disclosed, and if so, in what manner." The reports of these bodies, apart from any remedial legislation which may have sprung from them, accomplished a tremendous service to industrialism, in clarifying the situation and teaching both employer and employee how far the world had advanced beyond the conditions which prevailed in industry at the opening of the century, when the factory system was young and perfected machinery had not yet worked its magic transformation. The report of the Commission of 1891, in particular, may be described as the most important publication on the labor question that has yet been written. Its effect upon the economic literature and thinking of the day is beyond measurement.

It is doubtful if the United States Industrial Commission can produce a report at all comparable to this in character and importance. But it has an opportunity at once splendid and unique. It has a field of investigation that is almost unexplored by any such governmental authority. It is true that Congressional Committees have constantly entered upon it, as in the case of the Abram S. Hewitt Committee and the so-called Blair Senate Committee, both of which printed great volumes of testimony, but neither ever made any report. These Congressional investigations have been haphazard and incomplete, for the reason that the time of Congress is engrossed in other matters, and politics has been inseparable from the work, in the nature of things. From whatever cause, it remains the fact that there has never yet been any systematic attempt to officially investigate and report upon the changed relations of capital and labor in the United States, and the adaptability of our national and State laws to the new industrial conditions which have arisen in consequence.

Moreover, the time appears to be peculiarly opportune. We are not simply on the turn of the century, but at a point of new departure in American industry. Emerging from a long period of depression, victorious in a brief but glorious foreign war, we are apparently entering upon a commercial and business expansion without parallel in our annals. We are forcing our manufactured goods into the world's markets with a sudden success that surprises ourselves, and startles our foreign competitors. We have long been in the habit of manufacturing on a larger scale than commonly prevails elsewhere, as M. Emile Lavasseur has pointed out in detail; but we are entering now upon an era of combination and consolidation, involving a revolution in the economic conditions of production, the far-reaching effects of which can neither be seen nor imagined. We have reached a point of perfection, in the organization and solidarity of the labor of the country, which is fast substituting collective bargaining for the individual contract in our great industries. Labor saving machinery is becoming more perfect and more omnipotent every day, and electricity is creating a new mechanical revolution no less portentous than that which came with the introduction of steam. Causes and effects are everywhere visible undreamed of ten and twenty years ago. It is this new and strange industrialism that the Commission is called upon to study, to analyze and

to interpret, in the light of all the wisdom it can gather from those who are participating in it.

The study takes on two phases, distinct and yet so closely associated and interwoven, that at many points they are inseparable. One is the legal, the other the sociological phase. The act commands the Commission to inquire into and report upon the status of industry before the law in the several States of the Union. Here is a phase of industrialism to which Congress has never paid any attention, and which is unique in the United States. In Great Britain, where Parliament legislates in both large and small affairs for the whole kingdom, the same factory laws apply equally in all parts of the country, and one manufacturer can get no advantage over another by changing the location of his mill. The same is true of France and Germany. But in this country, there has been growing up very rapidly during the last twenty-five years, in our great manufacturing States, a heterogeneous body of labor laws, so called, which aim at supervision, by the Government, of the relations of employer and employee Under the operation of these laws the conditions governing manufacturing enterprise have been profoundly modified. Competition in industry has grown so close, that the economic effects of this legislation are now recognized as an important factor in production.

The diversity of the labor legislation of the several States is almost startling. There are no two States of the forty-five, in which the conditions governing industry, so far as they are regulated by the State itself, can be described as at all similar. Examining all these laws, in all these States, noting their points of variation and contradiction, they impress us as a legal farrago, lacking the most rudimentary elements of a uniform system, such as should prevail in a country which boasts equality of rights to all its citizens. To illustrate by obvious instances, the laws fixing the hours of labor for women and children in manufacturing establishments, vary from fifty-six in New Jersey, fifty-eight in Massachusetts, sixty in other New England States, in New York and Pennsylvania, to 72 in southern and southwestern States. The age limit at which children can be employed in these establishments varies from fourteen to thirteen, twelve and eleven, until it strikes certain States where there is no legal limit whatever. The employers' liability laws are as wide in their provisions

as the continent itself. Factory inspection is enforced with varying stringency in half a dozen States, and entirely omitted in the rest. Such instances of discriminating legislation are beginning to tell in the reinvestments of capital and the relocation of industries. They reveal an unequal development which demands an intelligent effort in the direction of unification.

In one sense it is a situation beyond the power of regulation. Congress cannot interfere, for these are matters that appertain strictly to the States. The most the Industrial Commission can do is to supply an analysis of these conflicting statutory provisions and a report of the actual operation of the various labor laws, upon which it can base recommendations showing which of them can be adopted with advantage by such States as do not now possess them. The first step in the direction of intelligent unification will thus have been taken. The rest must be left to time and public opinion. The current will at least have been set in the right direction, and we may hope for the ultimate upbuilding of the semblance of a national code of labor laws, under which the working classes can be assured that they are receiving, so far as the State can determine it, the same treatment and consideration, whether they live and work in an Eastern State or a Western State, and the employer can feel sure that the laws which regulate his business are sufficiently alike to give no legal advantage to any competitor anywhere in the Union. The work of the Industrial Commission, so far as I have above outlined it, may be compared to that of the Statutory Revision Commission of the United States, a body consisting of commissioners from the several States of the Union, which aims to bring about a like uniformity in the general statutes of these States, and which has accomplished some tangible results since it was first organized. The Commission has taken an important step looking toward general co-operation in the work of the two bodies, by securing as its advisory counsel Mr. F. J. Stimson, of Boston, who is the secretary of the Statutory Revision Commission, and who is well known besides as a student of labor legislation and the author of text books on the subject.

I do not wish to be understood as being over-sanguine of the results that are likely to follow the work of the Commission in the field of uniform labor legislation among the States. That the work it has been set to do in this field is necessary and im-

portant cannot be intelligently questioned. But the obstacles that oppose any immediate results, except of an educational character, are formidable almost beyond the point of exaggeration. Foremost among them may be stated the essentially different civilizations which prevail in the United States. The conditions of life and of labor are not the same in Massachusetts and in South Carolina, and cannot be made the same by any laws which human ingenuity can devise. The one State has carried her factory laws to an extreme which leads her capitalists to cry out that they are being smothered to death under restrictive legislation; the statute books of the other commonwealth are practically free from all such laws. The difference is due to scores of causes operating divergently through a century, and it may be that another century will pass before co-equal conditions assert themselves. A single potent cause largely controls the economic conditions of the problem as between the two communities. In one State the factory windows are open the year round; in the other artificial heat must regulate the temperature of the mill more than half the time. The influence of climate extends to the quality and quantity of food the operatives must eat, to the clothing they must wear, and thus to the wages they must earn. It even affects the age of puberty, and creates a different standard for the age limit in child labor. It would be absurd to say that one Procrustean system of labor legislation is or can be equally applicable, in all its details, to the northern and the semi-tropical communities. Moreover, it is plain that the valid argument against uniformity which climatic conditions present, will be effectively utilized to resist legal enactments looking toward uniformity, from selfish considerations of a local character. So long as freedom from restrictive legislation, coupled with certain other advantages, tempts Northern capital into South Carolina, for investment in cotton manufacture, there is an influence at work more potent than the pressure of public opinion from other parts of the Union. So long as localities can successfully tempt manufacturing establishments into their midst, by offering bounties in the form of exemption from taxation, they are likely to continue to extend these bribes, however desirable they may admit it to be, as an abstract proposition, that taxation shall be uniform throughout the United States. When we take cognizance of the differences in taxation which exist to-day be-

tween nearby States and localities, and their causes, we best understand the hopelessness of any movement which aims at establishing exact equality of condition in this country.

In the matter of the hours of labor, the possibility of uniform legislation appears equally remote. This is the question which, more than any other, is just now close to the heart of organized labor in the United States. The sociological argument upon which the trades-unionist bases his demand for an eight-hour day is tremendously reinforced by the demonstrated fact that improved machinery is capable of producing in all staple lines of goods faster than the consumption of the world can dispose of the product. Equally true is it that the argument for a shorter working day is stronger in a hot and debilitating climate than in the North; as a matter of fact, it is only in the Northern States that the movement has made any headway.

Again, the presence of great masses of colored labor in the South presents another phase of the problem which is certain to grow more troublesome and more insistent as time passes. It is a body of labor which accepts lower wages than white labor, and is constantly pushing itself into new fields of competition with white labor. The negro problem, in its political phase, is the perplexity of this generation: its industrial phase is to become the perplexity of the next.

And so we say that each great section of our great country must be left to work out its own problems in its own way, and in keeping with the peculiar environment of each. The country is too big for a strait-jacket. But all parts of it can learn from the experience of other parts, and the Industrial Commission can be of service by increasing the general knowledge of the industrial methods which prevail under such diverse conditions.

Growing directly out of this phase of the work is the study of the relations at present existing between capital and labor,—the sociological side of the question, as contrasted with its legal side. Here the Commission already finds itself enveloped in a cloud of conflicting theories, of ill-digested facts, and of antagonistic interests. The Commission is not likely to forget that it does not possess the philosopher's stone, and has no insight into this insoluble world problem, which has been denied to other and wiser students. Nevertheless, it sees certain directions in which it can hope to render a useful service.

In the first place, it recognizes in itself a sort of safety valve for the country. People who suffer wrongs, whether real or imaginary, always feel better when they are allowed an opportunity to ventilate them before some recognized governmental authority where they are insured a respectful hearing and a certain degree of consideration. It was a large part of the purpose of Congress, in creating this Commission, to establish a quasi-tribunal, or national forum, if you please, before which anybody and everybody who thinks he has a wrong to expose or a panacea for existing social or economic evils, can appear and state his case. Congress has little time and less taste for such things. It is the chronic complaint of social reformers and professional agitators, that they can get no hearing at the hands of the Government. Nothing helps toward the evaporation of discontent so much as an opportunity to give utterance to it. Recognizing this trait in human nature, the Commission is prepared to listen to everybody who may choose to present himself at its headquarters in Washington, for the purpose of exposing evils or suggesting remedies. Later on, it will probably send sub-commissions to the chief cities to give a wider opportunity to be heard. In the meanwhile, its mail is already loaded with communications from all parts of the country, in which the writers propound their views with freedom and fullness. An expert will digest this material, and separate the wheat from the chaff. On its own initiative, the Commission will summon comparatively few witnesses, confining its invitations to persons who can shed some valuable light, through study and experience, upon the conditions of our industrial life. One hundred such picked witnesses can furnish more material for its reports than a thousand men drawn at random from the ranks. Organized labor will be represented before the Commission by the chiefs of its great representative bodies,—the flower of the working class,—the leaders who have been studying conditions and moulding the opinions of their unions for the better part of their lives. On the other hand, in selecting "captains of industry" to explain the employers' side, men will be chosen who, by the immensity of their enterprises, the length of their experience, or the peculiar success which has attended their relations with their employees, may be assumed to know something which ought to be generally known. Out of such a crucible should come a consensus of judgment similar to that of the British Royal Commission,

which was remarkable as an exact statement of the points at issue between the two forces of industrialism, of the arguments by which each side reinforced its contentions, and of the points at which agreement had been reached, or seemed to be gradually coming within reach.

A similar statement based upon ascertained facts, is much to be desired in the United States. It will certainly show that immense progress has already been made in certain sections of this country, and in certain of its great industries, toward the peaceable adjudication of the chronic dispute about wages and the conditions of employment. It will show that the situation, however hopelessly pessimistic it may outwardly appear, is full of signs that labor and capital, instead of drifting farther and farther apart, are gradually learning not only the necessity, but the methods, of keeping together. The country as a whole is only dimly cognizant of the progress that has been made, in many industries, in the matter of collective bargaining, in the adjustment of wages on the basis of sliding scales, determined after the fullest interchange of definite information as to costs, profits, and general industrial conditions. The upshot of the whole matter is, in its last analysis, that the great underlying cause of strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and the great bulk of recurring labor disputes, is ignorance,—ignorance on the part of both employer and employed, as to the exact status which must always determine whether wages are properly adjusted. If the Commission can make this fact appear, if it can bring it effectively to the attention of those who chiefly suffer in consequence of it, it will have performed a service to the country worth a million times its cost in dollars and cents. This, in a word, is the chief function of the Commission. It is in its capacity as a great educational machine that its best results are to be anticipated.

I have indicated above some of the chief problems with which the Industrial Commission has been called upon by Congress to deal. In truth, the whole gamut of modern ills is embraced in the single sentence of the law which we have quoted above. When it was first brought face to face with the shoreless sea of inquiry upon which the Commission was launched, some of its members were tempted to think that Congress might have been perpetrating a gigantic joke, in proposing that nineteen men, chosen at haphazard from our seventy millions, should sit down to-

gether and mark out a short cut to the millenium. But they went to work in good faith to see how these matters might be segregated. Their first discovery was that they naturally divided themselves into four grand groups, and, accordingly, the Commission separated itself into four sub-divisions of five members each, which have respectively to deal with problems peculiar to Agriculture, to Manufacturing and General Business, to Mining, and to Transportation. Composed of members of each of these sub-commissions, they made a fifth, called the sub-commission on statistics, to which they intrusted the important task of collecting and classifying the mass of material already at hand, in the shape of government and other statistics, reports, etc., relating to these various questions. The Commission does not propose to duplicate any of the official statistical and other information already available for its use. Literally, millions of dollars have been expended in the collection and publication of these *data*. Having thus segregated its work into four groups, the Commission has further defined it by putting out, for each sub-commission, a typical plan of inquiry, patterned somewhat after the syllabus of the British Royal Commission, and suggesting in outline the topics with which the several investigations may concern themselves. These topics run in number from fifty up to a hundred or more, many, however, being duplicates of each other, where the topics appertain equally to two or more fields of inquiry, as trades-unionism, immigration, education, etc. A dozen or less of these topics are big and portentous enough to occupy the entire time of the Commission for the two years to which its life is limited. Take, for example, the non-competitive employment of convict labor, options in grain and produce selling, sweat shops and their regulation, not to mention the larger questions to which reference has already been made. As its work develops, the Commission will find these big topics crowding the minor ones to the rear, and it will avoid the danger which comes from attempting to cover so much ground that none of it can be covered thoroughly.

As a case in point, the creation of the Commission was contemporaneous with the epidemic of industrial reorganization and consolidation now sweeping over the country. The manner in which it deals with this question will determine the country's judgment upon the entire work of the Commission. It understands that it must handle it fearlessly, intelligently and ex-

haustively. It is preparing to approach the subject in a manner quite different from the haphazard treatment it has thus far received at the hands of Congressional and Legislative Committees. It has appointed Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, of Cornell University, as its expert agent to study the question of industrial combination and consolidation from the economic point of view, and to collate and analyze the facts in their bearing upon prices, upon the wage earning class, upon production, and upon the community as a whole. Professor Jenks enters upon the work with the advantage of many years of special study of the question, in connection with his economic teaching. Under his guidance, the Commission will seek to present a definite summary of the causes, methods and results of this industrial phenomenon. Certainly there is no information of which the country is quite so much in need. Almost before we have been able to realize what was going on, the manufacturing industry of the United States has been transformed from the competitive to the monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic basis. We are to-day face to face with conditions without precedent in history, which set at naught all the time-honored maxims of political economy. It is impossible to exaggerate the effect upon the future life of our people, and upon our social and political institutions. Neither is it possible to reverse or to suspend the experiment. In defiance of the frantic efforts of Legislatures to check their progress or to embarrass their operations, these Goliath combinations have already seized upon the great staple industries of the country; they represent to-day a capitalization,—including the water injected,—nearly equal to the whole amount of capital reported to the Eleventh Federal Census as employed to carry on all the big and little industries existing in 1890. What has been done cannot be undone,—until such time at least as it shall undo itself in what now appears to be the inevitable reaction. But it is plain that a definite governmental attitude toward them must be formulated. A mass of abortive laws encumbering the statute books of many States has failed to stop the consolidation of industrial plants. The time has come when some method for their effective regulation must be devised. The Industrial Commission has here a rare opportunity to render a service vital to the future welfare of the country. It may fail utterly to meet the situation. It will not be surprising if it does, because it now seems one that can only be left to its own

solution. On the other hand, if it shall be able to work out some definite and effective method of dealing with this modern force of non-competitive capitalization, it will have justified its creation, though it should accomplish nothing else.

I have endeavored to give some hint of the modern Pandora's box from which the Industrial Commission is expected to lift the cover, and some ground for belief that the hope it seeks to find at the bottom of the box will not prove altogether elusive. I accept its existence as a recognition of the fact that the well-being of the humblest citizen of the Republic is the first concern of the government. Much remains to be done in fulfilment of the promise upon which this great nation was founded, the promise of the preamble of the constitution, "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, . . . promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Summing up our experience, we must all agree that while these great blessings have abided with us, as with no other people on the globe, yet there is always opportunity for the more complete realization of each of them. We cannot too often or too strenuously try, by too many expedients, to remedy even those ills inherited from the ages, which most persistently defy the humanitarianism of civilization. We may easily make the mistake of assuming that legislation is the cure-all for each and every social evil. A wise old saw says that "that country is the happiest which is governed the least." But wiser still is the remark of Sir Arthur Helps, that as civilization grows more complex, the necessity for governmental regulation of the relations of men increases correspondingly. Paternalism in government is a term many of us have been brought up to abhor. Nevertheless, we are compelled to realize that organized society, as represented in the Government, acquires new responsibilities with every new advance in civilization. First among these responsibilities is a knowledge of the facts of every day life among the masses of our people. No price can be too high to pay for it. And if the Industrial Commission can add to the general knowledge we have of these conditions, and thus prepare the way for some improvement in them, however slight, it will have justified its existence.

S. N. D. North.

THE REVERSES OF BRITOMART.

BY EDMUND GOSSE.

In the most chivalrous of all the poems of the world, Spenser has been at pains to describe how that enchanting votaress of Woman's Rights, the incomparable Britomart, met the good knight Paridell at open joust, and utterly smote and overthrew him in friendly combat. This is the *locus classicus* of the feminists, or would be, if women, with their sound sense and their contempt for the immaterial, had not so poor an opinion of literature. I believe, however, that they admit that weak and dreamy creature, Man, to have been unusually well employed when he,—in the person of the author of "The Faery Queen,"—occupied his melodious verse in recounting the "late full and foul indignity" of the war-like knight at the hands of the disdainful Britomart. This celebrated contest, concluded at the Castle of Satyrane, and recounted to us by the Squire of Dames, does complete justice to the claims of Women, even when pushed to their furthest extent. Here we have her separated from any suspicion of family duties; here we have open competition, equality of rights, identical treatment with men on all points. Here is even the much desired "Economical independence," for Britomart appears to have paid her own bill for board and lodging at the Castle. There is no more splendid example in literature of the absolute supremacy of Woman in a free field with Man.

But one little historic circumstance seems to have been overlooked by those who hurried round to congratulate the triumphant Britomart upon her prowess. When the battle was over, and the bruises of Paridell were blackening beneath his festal array, when Sir Satyrane was the enamored host, and Britomart the cold and courteous guest, nothing whatever was said about any mo-

mentary check to the progress of her victory. The impression was that Paridell had made a very poor resistance,—had, in fact, been rolled over into the mud at the very first close of spears. But a close examination of the text gives us reason to believe that the emancipation of Woman was not contrived with such an absolute rapidity and ease. Paridell was not unhorsed immediately, nor were all the accidents of battle his. It appears in the poem, that when—

> "Their steel-head spears they strongly couch'd, and met
> Together with impetuous rage and force,
> That with the terror of their fierce affret
> They rudely drove to ground both man and horse,
> That *each* awhile lay like a senseless corse."

No reference to this was made at the subsequent banquet, where Paridell presented so tame an appearance, yet, if words have any meaning, it is plain that for some time the fortunes of war hung in the balance. "Each" lay awhile; in other words, there were moments or a moment, in which the panoplied and habergeoned Maiden, having received a heavy blow, was distinctly getting the worst of the fight. It seems worth observing that one of those moments in the history of that great recounter of Feminism, of which the battle of Britomart and Paridell is but a colored shadow, appears to be passing us now. This is a juncture at which the Woman Movement seems to be, not indeed lying "a senseless corse," but suffering a momentary check in the progress of what cannot fail to be its ultimate victory.

In a recent number of this REVIEW, I endeavored to sketch very broadly the tendencies of literature in England during the last five or six years. I drew attention to the materializing of our national dreams, to the startlingly sudden and definite crystallization of our vague desires into prompt action, and I attempted to define the literary result. We saw how unfavorably that tendency to action has affected all the meditative and philisophic parts of literature, and in what an extraordinary way it has nourished and fostered the objective parts. What is true of England, which has merely prepared for war, must be trebly true of America, which has actually engaged in, and accepted for the first time, a momentous policy of imperial conquest. It is certainly true of France, with the wild noises of her witches' sabbath of military wickedness ringing in her ears. All these elements of excitement or alarm have affected the intellectual attitude of the nations, have

uplifted the masculine elements of speech and have silenced the feminine.

It is obvious that these influences cannot affect literature only,—they affect our entire mental life. Is it surprising, then, that this is not a favorable moment for the expression of the claims of Feminism? As a fact, indeed, those claims have, for the time, been curtailed and withdrawn much more completely than one would have esteemed possible. What I will allow myself to call the exaggeration of the feminine thesis, which reached its point of greatest defiance about 1890, has not, in Europe or America, been advanced since then, but has, in every country, been rather reduced or softened away. It should be obvious,—and yet it has required a practical instance to bring the fact before us,—that although, when there is nothing happening in the realms of peace, Woman will assert her independence, yet, when fighting begins, she is apt to withdraw of her own accord into those primitive conditions of help and home-encouragement which she previously condemned with so much acerbity. In other words, when all is quiet, Woman is very apt to strut about proclaiming her isolation, but when "pain and anguish" wring the brow of her brothers, she becomes once more "a ministering angel" as of old.

One of the leading feminists of the last campaign asserted that "to reduce woman to the bondage of family life is to treat her as an inferior animal." I will not offer any comment on the wisdom or the levity of such a conception of the position of woman, but I must point out that it can only be held in a state of society where there is an absolute basis of political security. If we are to arrive at a condition in which we shall be able to admit that to attach woman to the guidance of the family is to treat her as an inferior animal, it can only be when all chance of material insecurity has passed away. Disturbance of the kind which a threat of war or revolution brings with it, instantly creates for men a field of energy into which women cannot enter; and, at the same time, it makes them more secure in that special sphere where men intrude only when they have no more suitable occupation. I think it is Mr. Herbert Spencer who observes that in primitive societies the unit is the family, and only in advanced civilization the individual. Something of the same kind is true of the influence of war and peace; the latter encourages the individual, the former, with the first threat of disturbance, binds together the units into a family.

During the period we are passing through, the feminist authorities are silent. It is much to be wished that they would explain to us, in what light they regard the reverses,—political, academic, physiological, sociological,—which they have been enduring all along the line. They fought for many things, but it would perhaps be possible to maintain that all can be summed up in the single word, "consideration." They fought for dignity, for the honor of identical treatment on all points, for "mental independence," for "economic independence." But the result of a wave of disturbances—not a very large one in the measurement of history—has been to accentuate their physical deficiencies in such a marked degree that they themselves have been the first to retreat from the unequal contest. Is it too much to hope that the result may be to prove to them the fallacy of the theory of "identical treatment," and to persuade them that the consideration which they justly demand is to be sought for, not in the same field of action as that of men, but in one where men are incapable of distinguishing themselves? Those who desire to follow the recent history of the movement may do so in the lucid and intelligent work which Miss Schirmacher has recently published* on the subject.

Meanwhile, the most serious home-thrusts which Britomart has received in the tournament, have been given, not by the Paridells and Satyranes, but by her own squires. The present season has been marked by a succession of attacks made by distinguished women on the exaggerations of the feminine thesis. These demand respectful attention from both sides, and are not liable to suspicion as the outcome of sexual prejudice.

I cannot think that I am by nature or by training ungallant. A fashionable birthday-book, in copies of which I cannot inscribe my autograph too frequently or too gladly, assures me that I am "full of reverence for a true woman," and, as we invariably become what we are described as being, I feel that nothing now would persuade me to be unhandsome to the sex. And yet I know not by what diabolical remnant of a barbarous atavism I have to confess that the exaggerated thesis of feminism exasperates me beyond words. What is so lusciously termed, in adoring publishers' advertisements, "a masterpiece of sexual female fiction" makes me positively unwell, not with indignation at its immorality (its

*Paris: A. Colin, 1898.

morals, poor thing, are of the least possible importance), but at its preposterous vulgar futility. Yet the *clichés* of the old gallantry oppress us still, and a man cuts as poor a figure in opposing the extreme feminism as he does in refusing his seat in a crowded omnibus to a hard-featured woman in bloomers. Accordingly the feminists have it almost their own way, except when duty calls a man to the Spartan protest of the ballot-box. Britomart has an easy conquest over Paridell, simply because an hereditary prejudice makes it a physical impossibility for the knight to give a really business twist to the truncheon of his spear. But when Britomart meets Belphoebe, then indeed the elfin warrior can afford to lie back among the ferns of the forest, and enjoy himslf to the utmost.

An indomitable warrior in the front rank of anti-feminists was the late Mrs. Lynn Linton. It was magnificent to see her sitting, erect, at the tea-table, an apocalyptic light flashing from her spectacles, and to hear her incisive tongue smiting the whole regiment of froward women, hip and thigh. She was no palterer; she put into words everything on the subject which a man might think but would never dare to say. Indeed, her weakness was, that she said (and wrote) so much that no man in his senses would ever wish to say. She was a very clever and a very honest woman, but in her old age she seemed to have forgotten the ancient axiom "that girls will be girls." She was a compromising ally, because she went too far, and mistook for crimes, specially developed in this very wicked age, liveliness and frivolities inherent in youth itself. It was currently believed that, if Mrs. Lynn Linton could only survive to a sufficiently great age, she might come to disapprove of every single thing which any woman under thirty would think, or say, or wear, or do. It is a mistake to allow yourself to become a Jeremiah or even a Savonarola. You lose, by the universality of your diatribes, the influence which a more moderate tendency to censure would ensure you. The consequence was that the extreme feminists snapped their fingers at Mrs. Lynn Linton.

But the enemies of their own sex who have now risen up against them in every country are not so easily to be put aside, because their utterances are more adroit, and because they display neither bias nor ill-will. Miss Arabella Kenealy's discussion of "Woman as an Athlete" has attracted an extraordinary amount of attention. This lady deals with the phenomenon of the muscular

strength cultivated and displayed by girls in the present generation; and, instead of joining in the customary chorus of gratulation over it, she gravely questions its utility, and gives an array of scientific reasons for her scepticism. She is no haunter of tea-tables or conventional person herself, but a medical practitioner of several years standing and practice. Miss Arabella Kenealy has a long acquaintance with the London School of Medicine for Women, and all her natural sympathies are with an advanced and extended employment of feminine energies. She brings much technical experience to her argument, and no apparent prejudice.

What Miss Kenealy says, does certainly inflict a dint upon the silver armour of Britomart. She tells the women who boast of the marvellous addition to their muscular energies, that they have acquired these powers at the expense of others, at least as valuable and more characteristic. She tells them that they need not be so proud of being able to scour the country on their bicycles and smash their neighbor's windows with their hockey, because in attaining this muscularity they have destroyed the harmonious balance of their faculties. She asks them whether they have reflected that muscle, which they deify, is nothing but means to an end, and whether they justify the neglect of that end. She accuses the tall, fleet girls of to-day of fostering athleticism at the expense of sympathy, emotion and delicacy. Their countenances, a few years ago, were gentle, refined and full of expression; they have now gained the hard "bicycle face" which comes from prolonged muscular tension. In short, she charges the woman-athlete with having sacrificed all her charm to a wiry "fitness" which is no real indication of health, and no proper characteristic of her sex in its normal condition.

What is said by Miss Kenealy has been simultaneously said by woman-writers in Germany and France. Even in Sweden, where gymnastics have so long been deemed imperative for women, and in Switzerland, where they have more recently been introduced, there is a reaction against the exaggerated use of them. From all parts of Europe comes the complaint—and it is expressed pre-eminently by intelligent women—that a clamorous and egotistical type is being encouraged among girls by this excessive athleticism, and that the next generation cannot fail to suffer from these unmaidenly mothers. That the faces of these strapping maidens do not any longer reflect "the haze of the emotions" seems in measure

to be true. There will probably be a reaction, and we shall see the daughters of Britomart elegant at the harp once more, or bent over the mysteries of crewel-work. I do not believe that any absurdity of fashion "destroys the harmonious balance of faculties;" it can only provisionally disturb it. Nor can I deny that the dreadful picture painted in colors of the thundercloud by Miss Arabella Kenealy strikes me as a little more lurid than experience warrants.

Consequently, it is not the criticism of Miss Kenealy, or even the German attacks on the Woman's Rights party, as exemplified in the novels of Rudolf Gorm, which appear to me to be deserving of very close attention, because, after all, those are destructive. What we want is constructive criticism; we want some one to come forward with a definite theory of how things can be mended. Not enough notice has been given to the contributions of French thinkers to this important subject, although the lucidity and logic of the Latin intellect gives a particular value to French opinion on a subject so commonly abandoned to mere sentiment or prejudice. France took up the feminist theories very late. There was practically no attention paid to them until Mlle. Hubertine Auclerc founded the Women's Rights Society in 1876. In twenty years the movement has made great strides in Paris, where it has been exasperated by much impertinence from journalists and other idle persons, of a kind to which its adherents in Anglo-Saxon countries are not subjected. Quite lately, however, its views, in their exaggerated form, have met with a rebuff at once so grave and so well-founded that it deserves to be known throughout the world. Madame Leméprière's volume, "*Le Rôle Social de la Femme*,"* has made quite a sensation in Paris; but, so far as I know, it has not yet been noticed in England or America.

Madame Anna Lempérière is a lady of wide culture and remarkable intellectual gifts. She is a practitioner in the Parisian schools of philosophy, and she has been looked upon as a bulwark of the extreme feminist party. Of late, however, Madame Lempérière has been led to make a very close analysis of the arguments on which that party base their views, and she has been irresistibly drawn to reject them. Her new book, a very careful contribution to sociology, is at once a denunciation of the errors of the advanced Women's Rights people and a definition of what, in

*Felix Alcan, Paris.

the writer's opinion, should take the place of those errors. Mme. Lempérière has the advantage of being constructive as well as destructive. Her good sense is eminent throughout her pages. She exaggerates nothing; she resists every attempt to be sensational or even humorous; her aim is solely to discover along what line of action women can expend their forces, so as to do most good for others and to attain most happiness for themselves.

On one point, and that a highly important one, Mme. Lempérière does not at present expatiate. The dangerous isolation of the unmarried, which indeed is what mainly leads to those economical conditions of which an excessive feminism is the fatal result, does not particularly occupy her on this occasion. But the French Women's Rights people have been making the Family the central object of their attack—"to reduce woman to family duties is to treat her as one of the lower animals." The clamor for identical treatment with men on all points precludes the application of the laws of family life. We have been told that the field of women's action must be made precisely the same as man's, and that no opportunism on the matter can possibly be permitted. Mme. Lempérière has no difficulty in proving, what indeed one would suppose to be obvious, that this insistence on identical treatment can do nothing else than accentuate the physical deficiencies of woman. It is true that the physiologists have, up to the present time, been unable to find any difference in the constitution of the male and female brain; and so far as intellect is concerned, there is no radical reason why one sex should be inferior in any thing to the other. But there are "the thews, the stature, bulk and big assemblance of a man," of which Shakespeare speaks, and to these Britomart can never hope to attain. It is idle to talk of "identity of treatment" in the rough, manual provinces of life.

Mme. Lempérière is all for equality, not identity. She says that there are different uses for the masculine and the feminine brain, and that the great error is to squabble about precedency among things precisely parallel. She rejects the idea that woman can or ought to compete with man, and she annoys the extreme feminists very much by saying that their theories, and their whole attitude toward this class of questions, is due to sheer ignorance. "Woman must assert her dignity; she must refuse to be turned into a domestic drudge; she must carry the banner of individuality

in the vanguard of civilization!" say the Feminists. Mme. Lempérière listens to them, and replies: "Poor things! How very badly educated you are! Your want of mentality is quite alarming!" She dares to sweep away all this vain-glory as a pathetic exhibition of "cerebral vanity," and she urges the stormy sisterhood to apply themselves to obtaining a clear idea of what woman's real place should be in a normal modern society.

She has, herself, no doubt on this point, and her theories are worked out with a convincing mixture of logic and good sense. Her view is briefly this. All consideration of woman's duty must start with the family, which, so far from involving any degradation or want of dignity, offers her the finest possible sphere of activity. But, in the family, it is not necessary or desirable that she should hold a dependent or a secondary place. Her place there is not dependent, but interdependent. That is to say, in the normal family neither man nor woman can succeed without the other ; absolute interdependence of each upon the other, on all points, in all conditions, in all circumstances, being the only safe path towards practical perfection. This interdependence, which at first sight seems an insupportable abnegation of the personal rights of the human being, is really, by the law of nature, the most direct mode of securing the full force of individual liberty. This is a union, founded upon an equal exchange of services, which has only to be exactly balanced to be absolutely ideal.

The reader is now prepared for the reception of Mme. Lempérière's central theory, that woman is essentially a dispensing and organizing entity. The physical muscularity of man, his activity, his freedom from all accidents which hamper movement and prompt action, point him out as the acquirer and producer of resources. The mistake of the extreme feminists is to assert that they also must, before all else, strive to produce and acquire. This their organization will never permit them to do in a manner which will be adequate for direct rivalry with man. If, therefore, they were to succeed in breaking down all the traditional barriers which distinguish the sexes, if the formulas of gallantry were to be so absolutely destroyed that man and woman worked in direct physical emulation, woman would be nowhere in the struggle. But a new light is thrown over the whole difficulty when it is admitted that the spheres are wholly distinct, though beneficently interdependent—that man has to be always creating resources for woman to

organize and distribute. In other words, woman has to construct life with materials which man supplies, and what she possesses in the normal order of social existence is not so much a "right" as something far more important—a power.

In this place I cannot do more than indicate thus roughly the central notion in Mme. Lempérières very remarkable book. I shall consider it a privilege if I am able to draw the attention of American readers to a work so wholesome and so sensible, in my judgment the most logical which the discussion of the woman's rights question has produced for a long time past. The writer very strongly recommends a more careful training of women upon rational principles, and for much of the rant and extravagance which is talked and printed on this subject she is inclined to blame the irregular and feeble education which is now given to girls. She believes that the teaching of women ought not to be on exactly the same lines as that of men, but that they should be taught to be organizers no less specifically and deliberately than men are taught to be producers. The views of Mme. Lempérière on female education are far from being the least interesting or least suggestive part of her valuable book. On the whole, I am sure that she gives the armor of Britomart the most sounding blow that it has received for a long time past, and with a hand that is wholly friendly and sympathetic to all that is healthy in the aspirations of our modern heroine.

EDMUND GOSSE.

TAXATION OF PUBLIC FRANCHISES.

BY STATE-SENATOR JOHN FORD, AUTHOR OF THE FRANCHISE-TAX BILL.

As the first requisite to an intelligent comprehension of the public franchise tax law and the questions which it raises, one must have a clear conception of the distinction between a corporate franchise, which is simply the right to exist and do business as a corporation, enjoyed by all corporations alike, and the so-called public franchise, such as the right acquired to construct and operate a railroad in the public streets, which is a species of valuable property received from the community. This public franchise is held and enjoyed by every railroad and other transportation corporation using the public highways, in addition to its corporate franchise. The Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court (15 App. Div., 585) clearly recognizes this "marked distinction between the franchise to construct and operate a railroad on a street, which franchise is absolute property, independent of the existence of the corporation and other corporate franchises, such as those of trading companies, which are merely to be a corporation and to do business." In the same volume (page 588), in another case in which a railroad company was plaintiff, it was held "that though the plaintiff had not laid a rail nor entered upon the street, its franchise was as absolutely property as the land abutting on the street." This is merely a reiteration of the doctrine clearly laid down by the New York Court of Appeals (111 N. Y., 1), which held that although the corporate franchise of a corporation holding a public franchise in the streets might become extinct through the dissolution of the corporation, the public franchise remained unimpaired as an asset, to be disposed of for the benefit of creditors, precisely like any other kind of property be-

longing to the corporation at the time of its dissolution. The new law affects this class of property alone, and has nothing to do with mere corporate franchises, whose value, when they have any value, is strictly analogous to that of the good will of an ordinary trading or manufacturing firm.

Since the decision of the Court of Appeals in *The People ex rel. Union Trust Company vs. Coleman* (126 N. Y., 448), rendered in 1891, franchises, both public and corporate, in the State of New York, have been absolutely exempt from local assessment, although they had previously borne some considerable share of the burden of taxation as personal property. The Tax Commission of New York City estimates that that municipality alone has lost, since the Union Trust Company decision, upwards of one hundred million dollars in taxes; for, although it concerned corporate franchises merely, yet the Court of Appeals in subsequent decisions extended the doctrine, and held that the public franchise of a street railroad corporation was likewise exempt from local taxation. Mr. Justice Cullen in an opinion unanimously concurred in (*People ex rel. Brooklyn R. R. Co. vs. Neff*, 19 App. Division, 590), rendered in 1897, remarks:

"This being the law, there should no longer be any attempt to avoid it or to tax property that is exempt. If the law is just, every one should favor it; if it be unjust, the only remedy is by application to the Legislature to alter it, for it is unquestionably within the power of the Legislature to subject this character of property to the same public burdens which other property within the State has to bear (*Henderson Bridge Co. vs. Kentucky*, 166 U. S., 150), a burden which for over forty years corporations have borne without cavil or complaint, and without suggestion that it was not imposed on them by law."

It was to alleviate the manifest injustice of the tax law to which the learned Justice called attention, that the bill to tax public franchises was introduced into the New York Legislature at its last session. How most effectively and simply to accomplish the purpose in mind, without disarranging the existing tax system or setting up new machinery, was a problem of no little complexity. It seemed clearly unjust to class corporate franchises, which can be had by the mere filing of certain papers in certain designated public offices upon the payment of an inconsiderable incorporation tax, by as many small groups of citizens as care to apply for them, and which have practically no value except that which is created for them by the enterprise, skill and experience of the incorporators, with the sort of franchises designated "public," whose value

is created exclusively by the community, and granted in most cases without compensation of any kind in perpetuity to the corporations enjoying them. A local tax upon corporate franchises generally will be justified only when a uniform tax is levied upon that other very important species of property known as good will, so that the concern carrying on, say, a dry goods business, as a partnership, will be subjected to the same burdens imposed on the competing concern doing its business as a corporation; for the corporate franchise of the latter has no element of value, of any consequence, not found in the good will of the former.

Nor did it seem fair that such franchises as those of steam railroad corporations, which purchase, improve and maintain, at their own expense every foot of land they use or occupy, and pay their full quota of local taxes upon it, in common with other property owners of every locality through which their roads pass, should be classified, for purposes of taxation, with the public franchises enjoyed by street railway corporations, for example, which come into possession of public property purchased, improved and maintained at enormous public expense, and exempted from taxation besides. The effort at improvement in the tax law was, therefore, directed exclusively to bringing the public franchise within the schedule of property taxable for State and local purposes.

Public franchises are easements in the street, of such a character as have been classified as real property since the dawn of the common law. Moreover, the New York courts, from the highest to the lowest, have repeatedly characterized them as belonging to that category. In the *People, etc., vs. O'Brien* (111 N. Y., 1), cited above, the Court of Appeals, in defining the character of the property which a railroad company owned in the public streets of New York City, had decided in 1888 that "the Broadway Surface Railroad Company took an estate in perpetuity in Broadway through its grant from the city, under the authority of the constitution and the act of the Legislature." "It is also well settled by authority in this State," the same decision adds, " that such a right constitutes property within the usual and common signification of that word." "The laws of this State," continues the court, "have made such interests taxable, inheritable, alienable, subject to levy and sale under execution, to condemnation under the exercise of the right of eminent domain, and invested them

with the attributes of property generally." Quite as explicitly another decision already quoted (15 App. Div., 588), held that the public franchise of the railroad corporation concerned in that case "was as absolutely property as the land abutting on the street." In the Mechanics' Lien law of New York, the term "real property" is defined as including, among other things, "the right or franchise granted by a municipal corporation for the use of the streets or public places thereof."

The question naturally arose, Why then is not this property taxed in common with other real estate, even though the Court of Appeals has held in the Union Trust Company case that it cannot be taxed as personalty? The answer was easily found. Although, under every one of the half-dozen or more definitions of the terms "land," real estate" and "real property" found in the various statutes of New York, public franchises of street railroads and transportation corporations would be included, they were carefully excluded from the special definition of those terms which was found in the tax law. "They are real estate for all other purposes," said the law in effect, "but not for purposes of taxation." And, as if to emphasize the inconsistency, the tax law definition actually included one kind of franchise as real estate, when, after enumerating as such "all wharves and piers," meaning the material structures, it added, "including the value of the right to collect wharfage, cranage or dockage thereon."

The definition then went on to name the kinds of property of railroads, telephone, gas and telegraph corporations and the like, mentioning the rails, substructures, superstructures, poles, wires, pipes underground and so on, but scrupulously avoided adding, as it did in the case of wharves and piers, "including the value of the right to collect toll from the public thereon." Thus was the most valuable and productive property in the community, which cost its owners nothing or next to nothing, exempted from taxation; and the burdens it ought to bear were thrown on other real estate, bought and paid for at its full market value by its owners, taxed regardless of its mortgage debt or its productiveness, and already burdened with the cost of purchasing, excavating, filling, bridging, regulating, grading and preparing the public streets for the corporations to which they were handed over for the mere asking. The public franchise tax law simply inserts about ten lines of new matter in the definition of real estate for purposes of taxation, so

as to bring the intangible public franchise, whose value in most cases represents from fifty to eighty per cent. of the total value of the assets of the corporation enjoying it, as well as the tangible structures, substructures and superstructures, within reach of the tax gatherer.

All the ingenuity of the opponents of the measure in both houses of the Legislature, and doubtless of the eminent counsel who appeared in opposition to it as well, was exhausted in a vain endeavor to devise some amendment that would cure its alleged "incompleteness" and "crudity." The fact is that it was so plain, simple and complete in itself that no rational amendment to it was possible. It makes no new law. It does not change the structure of the previously existing tax law in the slightest degree, but simply adds to the schedule of taxable real estate vast properties hitherto exempt. Whatever crudity or incompleteness there is about it is due, not to its own form, but rather to the general tax law under which it brings public franchises to be taxed precisely as other property of the same class is taxed. Nor is there a single valid reason why any new method of assessing or taxing these properties should be provided, which does not apply with equal force to all other real estate.

It is said that great opportunities for exercising favoritism, extorting campaign contributions, and discriminating between the different corporations affected, are afforded by the act, through the wide discretion enjoyed by local officials in assessing these franchises. All of that is literally true. But it is as literally true of the many times more valuable real estate already assessed throughout the State by the very same local officials. Every one knows that assessments are made now in an arbitrary and unscientific manner. The taxing power is, and always has been, used to a greater or less extent for political purposes, to reward friends and punish enemies of the respective local administrations, to extort campaign contributions, and even, in some instances, for the private gain of the public officials themselves. These things are inevitable under our tax law, as it stands; and every citizen in the State, whether he be the millionaire owner of a skyscraper on lower Broadway, a humble mechanic with a little home in the suburbs, or a struggling farmer, is subject to the hardships which they impose. Yet through all the years during which these conditions have existed, no eminent counsel appeared

before the legislative committees to plead for relief for the ordinary citizen from the cruel injustices done him through our absurd system. It was only when it was proposed to bring the untaxed property of the great corporations within the operation of the same law that the Capitol building began to swarm with eminent counsel, and the committee rooms to ring with their eloquent denunciations of the wicked attempt to tax the property of their clients as the property of other citizens is taxed. If the method of local assessment is bad for one class of real estate, it is equally bad for all other classes. If a special effort is to be made to ease the burden upon any class, the farm, the homestead, and the business block, ought in all justice to receive the first attention of the Legislature.

There will be less difficulty and uncertainty in assessing public franchises than in fixing the taxable value of almost any other kind of real estate, certainly so in the case of some kinds of real estate mentioned in the tax law. For example, there are "land under water," and "all trees and underwood growing upon land, and mines, minerals, quarries and fossils in and under the same." Then there is "the value of the right to collect wharfage, cranage, or dockage" on wharves and piers, an intangible kind of real property, and as truly a franchise as any brought into the law by the new act. It has been the business of the local assessor for years to assess all these things, with no rule or method of procedure prescribed in the law for his guidance. Yet he has managed to assess them all in some fashion, and to get some contribution to the public treasuries out of them, even though with him it may have been largely a matter of guess work. Were the public franchises to be assessed and taxed in the same way, they would at least bear some share of the public burden and their possessors would have no reasonable cause for complaint. But in the case of franchises of all kinds, there is a simple and unerring method of valuation, sanctioned by long usage in many states, and approved by the Supreme Court of the United States. It is to take the market or actual value of all the indebtedness, exclusive of debts for current expenses, and the market or actual value of all the stock of every kind issued, and the total will be the value of all the assets of the corporation. Deduct the actual or market value of all the tangible property in its possession, and there remains the value of the intangible property, or the franchise. This rule is recognized by

the laws of Connecticut, which, in taxing railroads, levy the same tax upon the market value of their debts as upon the market value of their stock. It is employed in assessing franchises in New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois and several other states. Its application in the valuation of public franchises under the new law in New York State will be even simpler than above indicated; for, since the franchise is to be taxed as real estate, it will not be necessary to separate the respective values of the tangible and intangible realty at all; but the actual value of the personal property only need be deducted from the total valuation of assets, as found under the rule, in order to discover the valuation of the taxable real property.

It would have been a simple matter to incorporate this method of assessment into the statute, but to have done so would have been unjust to the possessors of public franchises, because it would compel assessors everywhere to assess this property at full actual value, whereas it is well known that other property is, as a rule, assessed much lower and at widely different rates throughout the State. It seemed much wiser to follow the example of other States in which franchises are assessed and taxed locally, and leave the method of assessment to the discretion of the assessor as in the case of all other real estate. While corporate property should be made to bear its fair share of taxation, it should in no wise be discriminated against.

This precise method of valuing franchises, when first applied by the State Board of Equalization of Illinois to railroads, gave rise to three contesting actions, which were carried to the Supreme Court of the United States and there disposed of in a single decision in 1876 (*Taylor vs. Secor, Etc.*, 92 U. S., 575). Mr. Justice Miller, who wrote the opinion in the case, said:

"The statute of Illinois and the rule adopted by the Board of Equalization, under the power conferred by the clause we have just recited, may not be the wisest mode of doing complete justice in this difficult matter; but we confess we have, on the whole, seen no scheme which is better adapted to effect the purpose, so far as railroad corporations are concerned, of taxing at once all of their property, and of making the tax just and equal in all its relations to other taxable property of the State."

Again, after discussing in detail the rule as applied, the learned Justice continues:

"It is, therefore, obvious that, when you have ascertained the current cash value of the whole funded debt, and the current cash value of

the entire number of shares, you have, by the action of those who above all others can best estimate it, ascertained the true value of the road, all its property, its capital stock and its franchises; for these are all represented by the value of its bonded debt and of the shares of its capital stock."

No method fixed for the valuation of any species of real estate either by the courts or by the assessors, in the State of New York, is so simple, certain and easy of application as this. The great bulk of the properties reached by the act are publicly bought and sold daily, in the form of securities representing them. The stock market supplies continually an index of the value of all the principal franchises, while sales of other kinds of real estate are rare in comparison; and actual sales are the very best guides to actual values. There will be no trouble about equitably assessing franchises, except in the directors' rooms of the corporations owning them, and in the offices of their eminent counsel.

Some few important public franchises in the city of New York, and in other cities, are now paying some return to the cities in the form of a percentage of the gross receipts or otherwise. Some corporations pay considerable lump sums for their franchises when granted. All corporations holding public franchise pay a State franchise tax. It is therefore contended that the new law imposes double taxes upon them.

As to the franchise tax which they pay, that is a tax upon their corporate, not their public, franchises. A steam railroad, which paid for its roadbed at full market value, spent millions in preparing it for the ties and rails, and other millions in maintaining it, and which is taxed on every foot of the land it uses in connection with its right of way, pays a franchise tax to the State in addition. It is a tax on its right to be a corporation, and that is what the franchise tax paid by a street railroad corporation is, and nothing more nor less. The new tax on the street railroad will be, in effect, a tax on its roadbed—hitherto exempted—similar to that always paid by the steam road. As to the percentage of gross receipts paid to the city and the lump sums paid for the franchises, those constitute the consideration agreed to be paid by the grantees for the property they received. They are simply the purchase price. But because an ordinary citizen has bought and paid for his property and fully complied with his purchase contract, does the law therefore exempt him from taxation? He may have paid more than his property was worth, but he pays taxes

every year in addition. The possessors of public franchises have, for the most part, paid absolutely nothing for their properties, and never a tenth part of what they were worth. By what process of reasoning they bring themselves to believe that, because of the miserable little return they make to the city for their inestimably valuable easements in the streets, they are therefore entitled to exemption from taxation on them, is past finding out. Slight additional charges, such as car license fees, and the like, imposed on them, can hardly be classed as taxes at all, but in any event are so inconsiderable that they surely cannot be urged seriously as an equitable prohibition against State and local taxation.

What revenue will be realized from the act it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy. That it will be very large is certain—far larger than even the corporations themselves realize. In general, it may be stated that the entire value of the stock of transportation corporations is the measure of the value of their respective franchises. The actual investment of capital is usually represented by the bonded indebtedness. When one considers the large number of companies, the value of whose shares will foot up from twenty-five to a hundred million dollars, one can form some idea of how much will be added to the assessed valuation of property throughout the State. On the other hand, the first effect of the law will be to depreciate the value of the stock, by reason of the prospective payment of a part of the profits of the company into the public treasury

The results of the operation of the law will be a revelation to the people, and a lesson they will not soon forget, in the art of utilizing these sources of revenue for the public advantage, instead of permitting them to be used exclusively for private gain. If the cities of New York were in possession of their own sources of municipal revenue, as fully as is Glasgow, they, like the Scotch city, would also be paying the entire cost of running their local governments without levying a cent of tax for that purpose upon the property of their inhabitants. And anyone who reads the signs of the times aright can not doubt that American municipalities will be content with nothing short of the realization of a similar condition of freedom from their present intolerable burdens of taxation.

JOHN FORD.

THE OUTLOOK FOR CARLISM.

BY THE HON. JAMES ROCHE, M. P.

SINCE the year 1834, Spain has been at regular intervals the scene of strife and hard fought battles between the two branches of the reigning family of Bourbons, both directly descended from Charles the Fourth, the monarch who abdicated and fled at the approach of Napoleon. He was succeeded by his elder son, Ferdinand VII., whose misrule created much dissatisfaction; for not only did he restore the Inquisition in its most objectionable form, but he also drove a coach and four through every law which did not suit his purpose. Having no male heir, he abolished the Salic Law in favor of his daughter Isabella, and to the detriment of his brother Carlos, in whose behalf a bold effort was made in 1834, by the Carlists of the Basque Provinces. England interfered and sent a British force of 10,000 men, under the command of Sir E. de Lacy Evans, who beat the insurgents at Ayetta, and San Sebastian. Don Carlos retired to France, and died at Trieste in 1855, having abdicated in 1848 in favor of the father of the present pretender, who is known as Carlos VII. A rising took place in 1849, another in 1860, and the last Carlist War began in 1871 and ended in 1874, when Carlos was beaten, hip and thigh, by the regular troops. Since then he has lived in retirement, and has taken no active steps to recover the throne of his ancestors, save by publishing a few pronunciamentos from time to time. In his last address to his partisans he foretold what has since happened. He declared that he would not move, so long as his country was fighting a foreign foe, but that, as soon as she had lost her colonies and peace was ratified, he would claim his rights and endeavor to assume the reins of government, and to extricate Spain from the

dreadful position to which she has been reduced by the corrupt administrations that have held sway for years in that unhappy land.

It is interesting to consider for a moment the present political condition of Spain, upon which must depend the chances of a rising in favor of Don Carlos de Bourbon. There are three elements necessary for success in such a movement: (1.) the complete adherence of the Basque Provinces; (2.) the support of Catalonia; (3.) military organizations, and ample money.

There are likewise three likely elements of failure: (1.) the activity of the present Government; (2.) the pacification of the Basque Provinces, which could be effected by granting to them many of their *fueros* or ancient rights; and (3.) the opposition of the advanced Republican-Socialist party, whose influence is chiefly felt in Catalonia and in Andalusia.

The Basque Provinces have hitherto been the stronghold of the Carlist movement, for by Ferdinand VII. they had been stripped of their ancient rights, those *fueros* which had been respected by all his predecessors, and had existed since the thirteenth century in the provinces of Navarra, Biscaya, Alava and Guipuzcoa. Based on the old laws of the Visigoths, they grew up in the period between the irruption of the Moors into the Spanish Peninsula, and the consolidation of the Spanish monarchy under the House of Hapsburg. The leading provisions of these *fueros* are:

First, in Navarra, the Cortes, chosen for three years, and consisting of the three estates of the Clergy, Nobles and Commons, are to meet yearly; and without their consent, no law can be passed, or anything of importance undertaken.

The Government consists of a viceroy, who presides in the Cortes and Great Council, the great Council of Navarra (a body similar to the old French Parliament) and the *Contaduria*, before which all accounts of revenue and expenditure must be laid. There is no custom house or toll but at the frontier, and except the trifling grant of 176,000 reals—$8,800—nothing flows into the royal treasury. All these *fueros* the King of Spain must bind himself by an oath to maintain.

Second, in Biscaya, the *fueros* were first codified by Count Juan in 1371, and recast, completed and confirmed in 1526 by Charles the First (the German Emperor Charles V.). According

to this Charter of rights, every new "Lord" (this is the only title which the Biscayans confer upon the King of Spain) must swear to uphold the *fueros*. The Government consists of a "Corregidor," two deputies and six regidors. The supreme power is vested in the "Junta General", or General Assembly. Justice is administered by the Corregidor and his "*Tenientes*" or Lieutenants. Every Biscayan of pure blood is counted a nobleman; there is no royal governing board in the province, except the post office, and Biscayans are not bound to serve in the Spanish Army, or to receive Spanish troops.

Third and fourth, in Alava and Guipuzcoa, the *fueros* are of a similar character, differing only in details.

Such were the ancient rights abolished by Ferdinand VII., restored by him in 1812, abolished once more by him in 1823, by Espartero in 1830, re-enacted by Isabella in 1844, and finally removed a few years later.

Both Pretenders, known as Carlos V. and Carlos VII., the present Duke of Madrid, made the restoration of the *fueros* the keynote of their political article of faith. In 1834, it was undoubtedly a better tune to pipe than now, for the "*Vazcongados*," so often disappointed in their aspirations, have ceased to care much for the vindication of sacred principles; they would sooner devote their energies to the cultivation and preservation of their lands, under a stable and conservative form of government, than engage in another struggle, the result of which they have good cause to fear.

There is a strong element in Spanish politics which seems to have been overlooked by most observers, and upon which much will depend in the near future. I refer to the vast army of *rapatriados*, the unhappy soldiers who are returning in thousands from Cuba and from the Philippines. Sore in soul and body, the victims of incompetent leaders and of a corrupt administration, the creditors of the Government to the extent of two or three years' pay, these men will soon have to be reckoned with or compensated. The newly formed Cabinet has already expressed its intentions, through Señor Villaverde, Minister of Finance, of paying up all arrears and placing Spanish finances upon a firm and honest basis; already the regiments garrisoning the Basque Provinces have been clothed anew, and are jingling pesetas in their pockets; pensions are to be provided for the victims of the war, and all

claims are to be carefully examined. Should these intentions be carried out, the *rapatriados* may be satisfied to bear the ills they know, but if the procrastinating policy of "Mañana" be again resorted to, and the Pretender with his vast wealth can enlist the services of those seasoned and embittered veterans, he will dispose of a force the value of which cannot be overrated. A large proportion of the "rapatriados" hail from Catalonia and the Basque Provinces. They have to make their way to their homesteads, at their own expense, from the port at which they land, but often fail to reach their destination, so great are the privations they have suffered during their stay in the colonies and on the homeward journey.

The Ultramontane Catholicity of the Basque Provinces (*Mas Catolicas que el Papa, mas realistas que el rey**), would naturally sway the population in any political movement. Leo XIII. dealt the Carlist cause a heavy blow when he directed the Spanish clergy to obey their present rulers, but at the Vatican, opportunism is not unknown. Circumstances and men alter cases. The Pontiff is in his ninetieth year, and the next occupant of the papal throne may, like Pius IX., be in full sympathy with Don Carlos. The Basque clerics are Carlist to a man, and if assured of even the tacit consent of Rome they would, as in the seventies, take the field, and shoulder an *escopeta*, if need were. The exploits of the famous and bloodthirsty priest, Santa Cruz, would doubtless be imitated by many gentlemen of his sacred calling, in whose opinion the words "*Dios, Patria y Rey*" are almost synonymous terms.

There is a very strong analogy between the positions of the Basque and Irish clergies. Both are recruited from the people; both are the guides and confidants of the people; both wield upon their flocks the immense influence of the confessional. The Celtic tongue spoken in Ireland and in the Basque Provinces is a language unknown to the alien authorities. Priests and people work and fight in a common cause, the expulsion of the "*forastero*" (foreigner), the attainment of Home Government and fixity of tenure, and the removal of taxation. Their counsels are good and disinterested; under their sway, the morality of their flocks compares most favorably with that of other peoples, and they jealously protect the temporal as well as the spiritual interests of those committed to their care. A political cause in either country would,

*More Catholic than the Pope, more royalist than the King.

ipso facto, cease to exist, amid present circumstances, without the support of the clergy.

The Eastern Province of Catalonia presents very different conditions. Catalonia is to Spain what Ulster is to Ireland; the Belfast of Catalonia is Barcelona, the most prosperous city in Spain, a port trading with the world, peopled by all nationalities, and the headquarters of the Socialist Republican party.

Twenty years ago, the Catalons fought bravely on the Carlist side, under the command of Don Alfonso de Bourbon, the brother of Don Carlos. They had no *fueros* to recover, but they had long suffered from the heavy taxes which were levied upon their prosperous country, to defray the lavish expenses of Madrid, the centre of extravagance and corruption. The economic condition of Catalonia is no more the same, and though still smarting under undue exactions, the Catalon is prosperous, educated and more than liberal in his aspirations. A federated Republic would satisfy his wants better than a change of dynasty, for he has long since concluded that if Madrid drains his resources under the Alphonsists, the Basque Provinces might prove equally costly under Don Carlos.

Competent judges are agreed that the present dynasty cannot last, but they also think that, before Don Carlos is crowned King of Spain, he will have to meet and defeat a strong and wealthy Republican party, the number of whose adherents is daily increasing in Catalonia and throughout the South of Spain. The dynamite outrages perpetrated in the Barcelona theatre, at Cartagena and elsewhere, have doubtless hampered the progress of the "*Republicanos federalistas*," but they have had less effect upon their ardor than was produced upon that of the Carlist clergy by the famous bull of Leo XIII., enforcing obedience to the present form of government.

In all Spanish revolutions, the military pronunciamento has played an important part, and to-day, more than ever, we must consider the chances which a General Weyler or some other political soldier might have in the contest for power. There seems no reason why such a candidate should not throw in his lot with the Republican party, remembering that a Marshal's baton has been changed before now into the sceptre of a tyrant. General Weyler is very active, very militant, and has already expressed his intention to fight the newly formed Conservative Cabinet inch by inch.

He is, of course, the one military commander who has not surrendered some portion of Spain's possessions within the last few months, and his misdoings in Cuba have never caused him to be censured by the Spanish nation. While most of his fellow generals are about to be tried by court martial, General Weyler remains a warm favorite, and the populace greet him as though he were an "Espada" of the same calibre as Guerrita or Espartero. A Spanish general whose popularity equals that of an eminent toreador is always an important factor in politics.

*In some recent articles on "French Pretenders," the claims of Don Carlos of Spain to the throne of France have been set forth. In theory they seem irrefutable, and, granted that he should one day rule over the destinies of Spain, there is no reason why France should not also become part of his dominions.

Don Carlos, heir to the throne of Spain by the Salic Law, is also the most direct descendant of Louis XIV. Under the will of Charles II. of Spain, Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second son of "Le Grand Dauphin," inherited the throne of Spain. It is quite true that by the treaty of Utrecht, Philip resigned his claim to the French throne for himself and his successors, but the partisans of Don Carlos claim, first, that he was not entitled to resign those claims on behalf of his successors; second, that most of the provisions of the Peace of Utrecht were violated by the contracting parties, and that Louis Philippe, King of France, ignored the treaty *in toto* by marrying his son, the Duc de Montpensier, to the heiress of Queen Isabella of Spain in default of her leaving issue.

A still stronger argument is adduced by Don Carlos and his party. Ignoring all treaties and compacts, they contend that the right of the legitimate king is a "divine right" which cannot be made subject to treaties or compacts, that Don Carlos alone possesses that divine right, and that to him belong the thrones of France and Spain. The difficulty of inducing the French people to accept a foreign ruler is overcome by the statement that the Spanish Bourbons were really French princes, ruling and residing abroad, and that they have never been foreign to France in the true sense of the word.

It is further averred by the French and Spanish Carlists, that the strongest barrier which could be opposed to the growing

*See "St. James Gazette," February 4th, 1899.

strength of the Teutonic Powers would be found in a coalition between France and Spain under one Latin ruler. This argument appeals with much force to the Anti-Teutons, who are numerous in both countries.

The principles of Don Carlos are those of Henri V., the late Comte de Chambord, at whose death the branch of Orleans, now represented by the duke of that name, claimed inheritance to the throne of France. The thorough-going Royalists, known as "*Les Blancs d'Espagne*," have never foresworn their allegiance to Don Carlos, the representative of the elder branch of the Bourbons, and their party daily waxes in influence and in numbers. This is mainly due to the many proofs afforded by the Duke of Orleans of his utter inability ever to do the right thing at the right moment. The Pretender who, during the Boulanger crisis, was content to watch events in France from a balcony of the Lord Warden Hotel at Folkestone, while his partisans besought of him to cross the water and try issues with anarchism, cannot inspire confidence as a leader of men bent on wresting a throne from a hungry horde of place hunters. This same Duke, after throwing in his lot with the Dreyfus faction in France, has again failed to strike a blow when the patriot Deroulede and his famous league endeavored to upset the Government of France on the day its President was consigned to his grave.

Whatever shortcomings may be laid at the door of Don Carlos, he has proved himself a soldier of valor, and a strategist of no mean merit. His son, Don Jaime, is serving in a Russian regiment at Warsaw, and has won golden opinions in Russia, and should his father waive his right to the throne of France in his favor, it is quite possible that the advent of Don Jaime would meet with the approval of Nicholas II., the ruler of France's most powerful ally. England, having no direct interests in the dynastic questions of France or Spain, looks on dispassionately. There exists in London a Carlist Committee, but its members are mostly unknown men with little influence and no money to spare. They, of course, have been on the *qui vive* since February, 1898, when they were told to be ready for immediate action, and are now expecting fresh developments.

The London press is equally sure that a Carlist rising is imminent. Special correspondents for "The Times" and other papers are already in Spain, and much interest is evinced in the doings of

Don Carlos and of his party. Some effort must soon be made to redeem oft-given pledges. In a distracted country, rent asunder by internecine feuds, bled to death by corrupt administrations and severe defeat, deprived of its colonies and bereft of competent leaders, an able man with energy and honest purpose should be hailed with joy. Is such a man forthcoming in the person of Don Carlos? His past would answer "No;" the future may say "Yes."

Now, as in 1873, everything is ripe for a successful rising. Discord in the ranks of the Conservatives, dissatisfaction among the Liberals, universal discontent at the long delay in the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and the growing conviction instilled into the minds of the people that America bought over the leaders of the Spanish army and thus secured their bloodless victories, a thorough organization of Carlist clubs and centres of propaganda, all tend to prove that a Pretender with a handful of men would soon gather around him a very considerable army.

The action of the clergy in proclaiming allegiance to the established form of Government would not have very much importance in the present crisis, for the Carlist question has invaded the domain of practical politics, and is openly discussed by responsible politicians. Public meetings are addressed by the partisans of Don Carlos not only in the Basque Provinces, but in other large towns, and the abstention of the clergy is not even noticed. The people remember the quick change of front, from Carlism to Alphonsism, effected by the clergy in 1876, and expect to see a similar *volte-face* executed in favor of a successful competitor for the throne of Spain.

As I have already indicated, the future action of Rome will be a most important element in the event of a successful Carlist rising. Not only will it influence it directly, but it will do much to consolidate Don Carlos or to shake his power, and will be no mean factor in determining the conduct of certain European Courts toward him. The increase of Latin influence would undoubtedly strengthen the hand of Rome, and in the event of Don Carlos becoming King of Spain, the alliance by marriage of Don Jaime, his son, with a reigning Latin family, such as that of Austria, or even Italy, might make a sensible difference on the political chessboard of the Vatican. The successor to Leo XIII. will probably have to solve this problem, and upon the election of that successor much will depend. Among the many possible Popes, there is one whose

chances are far greater than those of the other members of the Sacred College. I refer to Cardinal Vanutelli, a comparatively young man, with vast political and family influence, with a brilliant record both as a theologian and a diplomatist, and endowed with energy of action and great eloquence. Both he and his brother, Monsignor Vanutelli, are known to hold strong views in favor of the Carlist movement in Spain, and of a Legitimist restoration in France. The strengthening of the Latin influence in Europe is to them an article of faith, and it is difficult to foretell to what extent Pope Vanutelli would put into effect the opinions now held by Cardinal Vanutelli.

The efforts actually made by the Vatican to take part in the Peace Conference clearly show that, even under Leo XIII., the nonagenarian Pontiff, Rome has not waived her claim to be heard on matters affecting international politics; and it seems difficult to believe that her voice would remain silent on a question to her as pregnant with interest as the return of the Bourbons to the thrones of Spain and France.

Admitting that Don Carlos can afford to ignore Rome in his endeavor to conquer a throne, he will have to cement his victory with her goodwill. Many difficulties would be overcome if, by the abdication of his father, Don Jaime became King of Spain and married his cousin, the Infanta Maria de las Mercedes, sister of the present little King. The two branches would thus be united, and the supporters of the Salic Law, as well as its opponents, would hail with joy a termination of the feud.

Don Carlos, however, is not likely to hand over his rights to his son. He considers that the present condition of Spain requires to be treated by a strong and experienced ruler, and being still in the prime of life, he feels he can serve his country for many years to come. Neither he nor his young consort would consent to retire in favor of Don Jaime, a boy scarce out of his teens, whose knowledge of men and things has yet to be acquired, and whose military training is still in the preliminary stages.

His father, on the other hand, has proved himself a good tactician in the field, and with very raw material at his disposal he more than once inflicted heavy losses upon the enemy. He is credited with having a complete plan of campaign for future operations, and able officers to assist him in carrying it out. One of them, General Antonio Brea, has just published an account of the

1873-76 campaign, entitled "The Campaign of the North." General Brea makes no mystery of what the next campaign is likely to be; guerilla warfare will, of course, be resorted to, as of old, but the introduction of the Maxim gun will prove an immense advantage to whichever side will hold the mountain passes. Don Carlos is credited with having powerful mountain and field artillery. If this be true, he should have little difficulty in making his way into the plains of New Castille from two different points: the Pyrenees or Basque Provinces in the North, and Catalonia in the East. Two armies marching jointly from these points should either effect a junction, say at Alcala or Molina, push on toward Madrid, and make a combined attack, or operate separately, the Catalonian contingent making a front attack from Alcala, while the Pyrenean army would move from Toledo. The capital would be hemmed in by simultaneous front and rear attacks, and, given good generalship and a well organized commissariat on the Carlist side, the occupation of Madrid would soon be an accomplished fact.

In the last campaign dilatory tactics prevented the success of a similar scheme, but bitter experience must have taught Don Carlos that in warfare swift action can alone bring victory, and he is not likely to repeat at fifty the mistakes which he made at thirty, when the joys of Capua and the pleasures of life delayed him on the road to Madrid, and led him into exile.

One naturally inquires what would be the attitude of existing Governments in Europe toward Don Carlos, should he succeed in winning the throne of Spain. Europe has little interest in the matter; so far as Germany is concerned, the Hohenzollern question is at an end with regard to Spain. France has too many questions of her own to settle; England will not repeat the blunder she made in 1834 by sending another De Lacy Evans to settle the affairs of the Peninsula; while Italy, Austria, and Russia would probably recognize the new king.

The world at large is agreed that Spain could not have a worse government than the one which has ruled her destinies, with such conspicuous ineptitude, for the past twenty years, and the opinion is fast growing that a radical change is necessary.

"Retrench and reform and repent" should be the motto of the successor to Alphonso XIII.

JAMES ROCHE.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.—II.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL NELSON A. MILES, COMMANDING THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

THE landing of the troops and supplies at Daiquiri and Siboney, including over 2,000 animals, was successfully accomplished; and was followed by the cautious and judicious advance of the leading division under General Lawton, without loss. The dash forward at Las Guasimas caused some disappointment, owing to the serious loss suffered, particularly that of the gallant young men who fell in that first encounter; yet the fortitude and courage displayed by our troops on that occasion was most commendable.

The sharp, fierce fighting at El Caney and San Juan was very gratifying to those who appreciate courage, fortitude and heroic sacrifice. Both of those positions were held by comparatively small forces of Spaniards, and were regarded as the outer-works of the intrenchments around Santiago. But troops occupying intrenched positions and stone buildings, armed with smokeless powder rifles and machine guns, cannot be dislodged, except by directing against them a most destructive artillery fire or an overwhelming force of troops, or by flank manœuvers. Our troops, under the skillful and conspicuous leadership of the subordinate commanders directly in charge of them on the fighting line, displayed in a marked degree dauntless intrepidity, fortitude and gallantry. Lawton exhibited most excellent generalship and the same tenacity and activity which he had displayed on other fields. Chaffee was conspicuous for his courage, for which he was already noted. Bates, one of the veterans of the Civil War, moved his division to the support of Lawton, and again returned in time to take part in the closing scenes about San Juan Hill. Wheeler, who had taken part in the affair at Las Guasimas and had become

ill from over-exertion, which compelled his absence during the principal fighting at San Juan Hill, yet, on hearing of the engagement, with more martial spirit than physical strength, joined his command later in the day. During his temporary absence, the Cavalry Division was under the command of Colonel (afterwards General) Sumner, whose commands were given in the most cool and deliberate way, under the most trying circumstances, as the troops swept up the ascent at San Juan Hill. The bravery of Roosevelt was conspicuous as he led his command into action, while the troops under Generals Hawkins and Kent were skillfully manœuvered by their brave commanders.

The army lost in these engagements some of its best officers and bravest men. The total number present for duty June 30 was 858 officers and 17,358 enlisted men. From July 1 to 12, there were 22 officers and 222 enlisted men killed, and 93 officers and 1,288 enlisted men wounded.

The troops, with the assistance of the Cubans, continued to besiege the garrison, extending their line to the right until it reached the bay of Santiago, covering the Cobre road.

While the news of the results of the engagements was gratifying, the situation of the troops caused much anxiety, and the severe loss that had occurred rendered the situation serious. In fact, it is impossible to describe the condition of anxiety that existed in Washington at that time, and especially on the receipt of the following telegram:

"Playa del Este, July 3, 1898.
(Received Washington, 11.44 a. m.)

"The Secretary of War, Washington:

"We have the town well invested on the north and east, but with a very thin line. Upon approaching it we find it of such a character and the defenses so strong, it will be impossible to carry it by storm with my present force, and I am seriously considering withdrawing about five miles and taking up a new position on the high ground between the San Juan River and Siboney, with our left at Sardinero, so as to get our supplies, to a large extent, by means of the railroad, which we can use, having engines and cars at Siboney. Our losses up to date will aggregate a thousand, but list has not yet been made; but little sickness outside of exhaustion from intense heat and exertion of the battle of the day before yesterday and the almost constant fire which is kept up on the trenches. Wagon road to the rear is kept up with some difficulty on account of rains, but I will be able to use it for the present. General Wheeler is seriously ill, and will probably have to go to the rear to-day. General Young also very ill, confined to his bed. General Hawkins slightly wounded in foot. During sortie enemy made last night, which was handsomely repulsed, the behavior of the regular

troops was magnificent. I am urging Admiral Sampson to attempt to force the entrance of the harbor, and will have a consultation with him this morning. He is coming to the front to see me. I have been unable to be out during the heat of the day for four days, but am retaining the command. General Garcia reported he holds the railroad from Santiago to San Luis, and has burned a bridge and removed some rails; also that General Pando has arrived at Palma, and that the French Consul, with about four hundred French citizens, came into his lines yesterday from Santiago. Have directed him to treat them with every courtesy possible.

SHAFTER, Major-General."

The following reply was sent, not only for the purpose of expressing appreciation of the heroic conduct of the troops, but to give all possible encouragement, with the assurance of speedy reinforcement:

"Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, D. C., July 3, 1898.

"General Shafter, Playa del Este, Cuba:

"Accept my hearty congratulations on the record made of magnificent fortitude, gallantry, and sacrifice displayed in the desperate fighting of the troops before Santiago. I realize the hardships, difficulties, and sufferings, and am proud that amid those terrible scenes the troops illustrated such fearless and patriotic devotion to the welfare of our common country and flag. Whatever the results to follow their unsurpassed deeds of valor, the past is already a gratifying chapter of history. I expect to be with you within one week with strong reinforcements.

MILES,
Major-General, Commanding."

The following reply was received:

"Headquarters Fifth Army Corps,
Near Santiago, Playa, July 4, 1898.

"Major-General Nelson A. Miles,
Commanding the Army of the United States, Washington:

"I thank you in the name of the gallant men I have the honor to command for the splendid tribute of praise which you have accorded them. They bore themselves as American soldiers always have. Your telegram will be published at the head of the regiments in the morning. I feel that I am master of the situation and can hold the enemy for any length of time. I am delighted to know that you are coming that you may see for yourself the obstacles which this army had to overcome. My only regret is the great number of gallant souls who have given their lives for our country's cause.

SHAFTER."

On July 3rd Cervera's fleet sailed out of the harbor of Santiago. It was not a challenge to battle, for Cervera knew the odds against him were overwhelming. On the contrary, it was a dash for life. For his plunge the Spaniard chose a most favorable moment, as he could have seen the flagship of the mighty fleet which

environed him (and its fleetest) steam majestically toward the east, as Admiral Sampson had gone to meet General Shafter, as indicated in the above telegram, leaving Admiral Schley temporarily in command. The disposition of the vessels of our fleet had been well planned, and within three hours and forty minutes from the time of the appearance of the first vessel the whole Spanish fleet, consisting of four cruisers and two torpedo-boat destroyers, had either been sunk or were burning on the beach. Admiral Cervera and 76 other officers and 1,600 men were taken prisoners; 350 men were killed or drowned, and 160 wounded.

This gratifying victory settled what had been up to that moment the problem of the Spanish war in the West Indies, namely, the question as to the command of the sea. The inclosing of Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor was the only occasion for sending troops to that place at that season of the year. The general plan of campaign then was to first capture or destroy the fleet and then to capture the Island of Porto Rico.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet presented a new problem, especially in view of the fact that serious losses had been suffered by the army and of the possibility that further sacrifice might be required to reduce the garrison at Santiago, it being known that the army was liable to be decimated by disease at that season.

The situation at that time is indicated by the following telegrams:

"Playa del Este, via Haiti,
July 4, 1898, 11.50 p. m.

"Adjutant-General, U. S. A., Washington:

"Headquarters Fifth Army Corps, in camp near Santiago de Cuba, 4. There appears to be no reasonable doubt that General Pando succeeded in entering Santiago last night with his force, said to be about 5,000 men. This puts a different aspect upon affairs, and while we can probably maintain ourselves, it would be at the cost of very considerable fighting and loss. General Lawton reports that General Garcia, who was to block entrance of Pando, informed him at 10 o'clock last night that Pando had passed in on Cobre road. Lawton says cannot compel General Garcia to obey my instructions, and that if they intend to place themselves in any position where they will have to fight, and if they intend to reduce Santiago, we will have to depend alone upon our own troops, and that we will require twice the number we now have. I sent a message to Admiral Sampson, asking if he proposed entering the harbor so as to give us his assistance. Commodore Watson replies that he does not know Admiral Sampson's intention since the destruction of the Spanish squadron, but does not himself think fleet should try to go into harbor of Santiago. This, under the curcumstances, is not very encouraging. Have been expecting a division from Tampa and Duf-

field's second brigade from Camp Alger, but only a small number of recruits has appeared so far. If we have got to try and reduce the town, now that the fleet is destroyed, which was stated to be the chief object of the expedition, there must be no delay in getting large bodies of troops here. The town is in a terrible condition as to food, and people are starving, as stated by foreign consuls this morning, but the troops can fight and have large quantities of rice, but no other supplies. There will be nothing done here until noon of the 5th, and I suppose I can put them off a little longer to enable people to get out. Country here is destitute of food and growing crops, except mangoes. Men are in good spirits and so far in good health, though it is hard to tell how long the latter will continue. I am sorry to say I am no better and, in addition to my weakness, cannot be out on account of slight attack of gout, but hope to be better soon. Lieutenant Miley had interview with Consuls this morning, and his report will be telegraphed immediately. I do not send this in cipher, as time is precious.

SHAFTER, Major-General."

"Playa del Este, via Haiti,
July 5, 1898, 1.10 a. m.

"Adjutant-General, Washington:

"Headquarters Fifth Army Corps, camp near San Juan River, 4. If Sampson will force an entrance with all his fleet to the upper bay of Santiago, we can take the city within a few hours. Under these conditions I believe the town will surrender. If the army is to take the place, I want 15,000 troops speedily, and it is not certain that they can be landed, as it is getting stormy. Sure and speedy way is through the bay. Am now in position to do my part.

SHAFTER, Major-General."

Three propositions were made from the War Department to the Chief Executive. The discussion of these propositions resulted in my writing two notes, which will be understood by what follows. The first was the following:

"Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, July 5, 1898.

"The Honorable, The Secretary of War:

"Sir: As the object for which the Army was sent to Santiago de Cuba has been accomplished, viz.: the forcing of the Spanish fleet out of the harbor and its destruction by the Navy, I deem the present time most favorable for proceeding immediately to Porto Rico. I consider it of the highest importance that we should take and keep that Island, which is the gateway to the Spanish possessions on the Western Hemisphere, and it is also important that our troops should be landed there as early as possible during this month. There are now about 4,000 men on transports at Key West, approximately 7,000 will soon be at Charleston, South Carolina, and there are already 20,000 at Santiago. If this force is not sufficient, the transports can return for more, if required.

Very respectfully,
NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General, Commanding."

In the second note it was stated that an officer had volunteered "to take one of the transports now at Santiago, protecting it with material there, and with which several of the transports are partly loaded, and force it into the harbor of Santiago for the purpose of dropping dynamite cartridges and dragging for submerged mines or torpedoes. Any number of volunteers will be found ready for this service if required."

On learning that no one of the four propositions was definitely determined upon, and lest my views might be misunderstood, I sent, on the afternoon of the same day, the following letter:

"Headquarters of the Army,
Washington, July 5, 1898.

"The Honorable, The Secretary of War:

"Sir: I do not wish to be misunderstood in regard to my two notes sent you this morning. You informed me that you had three propositions to make in regard to Santiago. I replied that I would be glad if any one of them could be executed; and certainly no one could be more gratified than myself to hear that our Navy had entered the harbor of Santiago to silence the batteries that are now turned upon our brave officers and men. It so happened that on returning to my office one of my staff officers volunteered his services, without the least knowledge of what you had said to me, for the very enterprise which was suggested in one of your propositions, and I sent notice of this to you for your personal information.

"I also informed you that in case it should not be thought advisable to adopt the suggestions as indicated in your memorandum, I had another to suggest, having in mind at the time the language of General Shafter's dispatch of last night, referring to the number of troops required, viz.: "We will require twice the number we now have"; also, "If we have got to try and reduce the town now that the fleet is destroyed, which was stated to be the chief object of the expedition, there must be no delay in getting large bodies of troops here;" and also realizing the fact that much time would be necessary to get 20,000 more troops to that place, it occurred to me that should it *not* be thought advisable to continue operations against the garrison at Santiago, it would be a good time to move on to Porto Rico, the capture of which place seemed to me of great importance at this time.

"These notes were addressed to you with the expectation that if they were of any service and met your approval, you would make such use of them as you thought advisable, but not otherwise, and I request that this communication be forwarded to the President in order to dispossess his mind of what must be a misapprehension.

Very respectfully,
NELSON A. MILES,
Major-General, Commanding."

At a council of war held at the White House on the next day, the subject was seriously considered, and it was then decided that

the garrison at Santiago must be destroyed or captured; and it was also decided that I should proceed immediately to Santiago and take such measures as would accomplish that object.

It was my purpose to land the troops that were then *en route* to Santiago on the west side of the harbor, within two and a half miles of Morro Castle, and I left with the assurance that I would have all necessary assistance from Admiral Sampson's fleet.

I left Washington on the 7th of July and reached Columbia, South Carolina, on the 8th, and thence proceeded by special train to Charleston, at which place I arrived on the evening of the same day and immediately boarded the swift steamer "Yale," the Atlantic liner, better known as the "Paris," which was already loaded with troops, ready to heave anchor, off the harbor and city of Charleston. She was accompanied and convoyed by the U. S. S. "Columbia," also carrying troops. At midnight these two fleet steamers headed for the south with all possible speed and arrived off the harbor of Santiago on the morning of July 11th, while the fleet there gathered was still bombarding the works near Santiago harbor. I immediately communicated with Admiral Sampson, apprising him of my purpose, and he promptly came on board the "Yale." I at once acquainted him with my plan of operation, in which he cordially acquiesced and signified his readiness to support me heartily in carrying it out. As soon as the necessary arrangements could be made for that purpose, I landed on July 12th, and proceeded to General Shafter's headquarters. A note was then sent to the General commanding the Spanish forces, informing him of my arrival and that I desired to have an immediate conference with him between the lines, to which he readily assented, fixing the time at twelve o'clock on the ensuing day.

Already, before leaving Washington, I had been made aware of the appearance of yellow fever among our troops in Cuba and the serious situation which that fact presented. On arriving there I found that the contagion had increased rapidly, and the importance of immediate and decisive action was abundantly apparent.

The meeting with General Toral between the lines on the 13th, under a flag of truce, was no less interesting than important. Several communications had passed between him and General Shafter in regard to the surrender of the garrison, and General Shafter had wired the Secretary of War to the effect that the entrance of our fleet into the harbor was necessary before he could expect a

surrender. In the conversation with General Toral reference was made to his correspondence with General Shafter, the latter urging him to surrender his forces, and he (Toral) claiming that under the Spanish law he could not surrender so long as he had ammunition and food, of both of which it is well known he had a supply. Indeed, the very last ship to enter the harbor of Santiago before it was blockaded by our fleet brought a herd of cattle, which very materially increased the supplies already on hand. At the close of our conversation, I informed the Spanish Commander that when I left Washington, six days before, the decision of the Government had already been reached, that this portion of the Spanish army must either be destroyed or captured, and that the necessary force would be provided and used for that purpose; that I had brought strong reinforcements; and that if they were not sufficient more would follow in order to make sure of accomplishing the object stated. I also reminded him that he had already abundantly vindicated the honor of the Spanish arms in the defense which he had made. I pointed out that further resistance would be of no avail and would only result in unnecessary waste of life. Finally, I informed him that I would give him until the next morning at daylight to decide, and that it would be useless to expect any further delay. He earnestly represented that he could not in so short a time communicate with his Government; and recognizing the possibility of the truth of that statement, I extended the time until twelve o'clock, noon. The conference was then discontinued.

On my way back to camp I received the following telegram from the Secretary of War:

"Washington, D. C., July 13, 1898.

"Major-General Miles:

"You may accept surrender by granting parole to officers and men, the officers retaining their side arms. The officers and men after parole to return to Spain, the United States assisting. If not accepted, then assault, unless in your judgment an assault would fail. Consult with Sampson and pursue such course as to the assault as you jointly agree upon. Matter should be settled promptly.

R. A. ALGER, Secretary of War."

Thus, as will be seen, the matter was left entirely within my discretion. Immediately thereafter I communicated with Admiral Sampson, requesting him to have his preparations completed to cover the landing of troops at the point designated, Cabanas

Bay, on the west side of the entrance of Santiago harbor, at twelve o'clock on the following day. I also gave direction to the Generals commanding the troops on board the transports to complete their preparations for landing their trooops at that time and place.

Early the following morning, accordingly, the ships of the fleet were in motion, converging to their designated positions, followed by the transports. This movement was observable from the Spanish lookouts, and information of the manœuver was speedily communicated to General Toral, some officers having reported to him that they could see fifty-seven vessels, some of which were loaded with troops. Before twelve o'clock arrived, the Spanish Commander sent the following letter:

"Santiago de Cuba, July 14, 1898.

"Honored Sir: His excellency, the general in chief of the army of the Island of Cuba, telegraphs from Havana yesterday at 7 p. m. the following: 'Believing that business of such importance as the capitulation of that place should be known and decided upon by the Government of His Majesty, I give you notice that I have sent the conditions of your telegram, asking an immediate answer and enabling you also to show this to the General of the American army to see if he will agree to await the answer of the Government, which cannot be as soon as the time which he has decided, as communication by way of Bermuda is more slow than by Key West. In the meanwhile your honor and the General of the American army may agree upon capitulation on the basis of repatriation (returning to Spain).' I have the honor to transmit this to you, in case you may (consider) the foregoing satisfactory, that we may designate persons in representation of himself, who, with those in my name, agree to clauses of the capitulation upon the basis of the return to Spain, accepted already in the beginning by the general in chief of this army.

"Awaiting a reply, I am, very respectfully, your servant,

JOSE TORAL, etc."

"General in Chief of the American Forces."

This was, as will be seen, in effect an acquiescence in the demands made upon him the previous day, and on meeting him under a flag of truce at the appointed hour, twelve o'clock, he said that such was his purpose, but under the Spanish rules it would be necessary for everything to be known and approved at Madrid, and that there was not the least doubt that his Government would confirm his action. His manner and frankness left no doubt of his sincerity, and I informed him that I would accept his assurance without reservation, which, as subsequent events proved, was made in good faith, greatly to the gratification of the troops who had taken part in the heroic struggle.

The surrender included not only the garrison of Santiago, consisting of some 11,000 men, but the entire command of General Toral stationed at different points in the eastern part of Cuba, numbering in all 24,000 men.

The Cubans are entitled to at least a good share of the credit for these results, as they, and the United States marines landed near Guantanamo, were the only troops who had been contending against the troops not actually in the garrison at Santiago. Their action during the siege is indicated by the following letter:

"Near Santiago, Cuba, July 15, 1898.

"Dear General Garcia: I beg to congratulate you, as well as ourselves, on what seems now to have been a fortunate solution of the Santiago problem, resulting in the success of our combined forces in the taking of the city, the departure of the Spanish and the restoration of peace in Santiago.

"Permit me to say to you that your forces have performed most notable service and their work has been invaluable to us; not only in scouting and procuring information, but in the vital matter of the construction of trenches and defences for the investment of the city. Your people have accomplished an immense amount of this work with almost no appliances whatever and have cheerfully surrendered the use of them to our troops when the continuation of the investment rendered it necessary to move our regiments forward to the right.

"I make this statement, General, personally and not officially, because I am but a subordinate commander, but do so for the reason that I have been more closely in touch with your forces and have had better occasion to observe their work and the value of their co-operation than perhaps any other.

"I desire to thank you also for the service of General Sanchez and his troops, which were placed at my disposition, and I desire to commend General Sanchez to your favorable consideration. He has promptly and willingly complied with every demand I made on him, and has performed valuable service in extending our right flank to reach the cemetery and cover the Cobre road.

"I shall take another occasion to thank you for the innumerable personal courtesies that you and the officers of your command have shown me, and which, I hope to have an opportunity to repay in somewise hereafter.

"I beg to remain your obedient servant,

WILLIAM LUDLOW,
Brigadier-General, U. S. V."

Indeed, their part in obtaining the results should not be thus lightly dismissed. In my official report I have tried in some measure to do them justice. Since that report was submitted, I have seen the translation of a work published in Spain by the second in command of the naval forces of the Province of Santiago de Cuba, who was present within the beleaguered lines throughout

the Santiago campaign, in which I find admissions greatly to the credit of our Cuban allies. But without these admissions from the enemy, the fact that these insurgents had for three years been steadily gaining ground against troops who had met ours at El Caney with such heroism, is sufficient vindication of their courage and fighting capacity.

I sent the following dispatch, and, later, issued the order which follows:

"Headquarters Cavalry Division, United States Army,
Before Santiago, Cuba, July 14, 1898—12.55 p. m.

"The Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:

"General Toral formally surrendered the troops of his army corps and division of Santiago on the terms and understanding that his troops would be returned to Spain. General Shafter will appoint commissioners to draw up the conditions of arrangement for carrying out the terms of surrender. This is very gratifying, and General Shafter and the officers and men of this command are entitled to great credit for their tenacity, fortitude, and in overcoming almost insuperable obstacles which they have encountered. A portion of the army has been infected with yellow fever, and efforts will be made to separate those who are infected and those free from it, and to keep those who are still on board ship separated from those on shore. Arrangements will be immediately made for carrying out the further instructions of the President and yourself.

MILES,
Major-General, Commanding the Army."

"Headquarters of the Army,
Siboney, Cuba, July 16, 1898.

"General Field Orders, No. 1

"The gratifying success of the American arms at Santiago de Cuba and some features of a professional character both important and instructive are hereby announced to the Army.

"The declaration of war found our country with a small army scattered over a vast territory. The troops composing this army were speedily mobilized at Tampa, Fla. Before it was possible to properly equip a volunteer force, strong appeals for aid came from the Navy, which had inclosed in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba an important part of the Spanish fleet. At that time the only efficient fighting force available was the United States Army, and in order to organize a command of sufficient strength the cavalry had to be sent dismounted to Santiago de Cuba with the infantry and artillery.

"The expedition thus formed was placed under command of Major-General Shafter. Notwithstanding the limited time to equip and organize an expedition of this character, there was never displayed a nobler spirit of patriotism and fortitude on the part of officers and men going forth to maintain the honor of their country. After encountering the vicissitudes of an ocean voyage, they were obliged to disembark on a foreign shore and immediately engage in an aggressive campaign. Under drenching storms, intense and prostrating heat, within a fever-afflicted district, with little comfort or rest, either by day or night, they

pursued their purpose of finding and conquering the enemy. Many of them, trained in the severe experience of the great war, and in frequent campaigns on the western plains, officers and men alike exhibited a great skill, fortitude, and tenacity, with results which have added a new chapter of glory to their country's history. Even when their own generals in several cases were temporarily disabled, the troops fought on with the same heroic spirit until success was finally achieved. In many instances the officers placed themselves in front of their commands, and under their direct and skillful leadership the trained troops of a brave army were driven from the thickets and jungles of an almost inaccessible country. In the open field the troops stormed intrenched infantry, and carried and captured fortified works with an unsurpassed daring and disregard of death. By gaining commanding ground they made the harbor of Santiago untenable for the Spanish fleet, and practically drove it out to a speedy destruction by the American Navy.

"While enduring the hardships and privations of such a campaign, the troops generously shared their scanty food with the 5,000 Cuban patriots in arms and the suffering people who had fled from the besieged city. With the twenty-four regiments and four batteries, the flower of the United States Army, were also three volunteer regiments. These, though unskilled in warfare, yet, inspired with the same spirit, contributed to the victory, suffered hardships, and made sacrifices with the rest. Where all did so well it is impossible, by special mention, to do justice to those who bore conspicuous part. But of certain unusual features mention cannot be omitted, namely, the cavalry dismounted fighting and storming works as infantry, and a regiment of colored troops, who having shared equally in the heroism as well as the sacrifices, is now voluntarily engaged in nursing yellow-fever patients and burying the dead. The gallantry, patriotism, and sacrifices of the American Army, as illustrated in this brief campaign, will be fully appreciated by a grateful country, and the heroic deeds of those who have fought and fallen in the cause of freedom will ever be cherished in sacred memory and be an inspiration to the living.

"By command of Major-General Miles:

J. C. GILMORE,
Brigadier-General, United States Volunteers."

The surrender having been definitely agreed upon, my first thought then was to put the troops into as healthful camps as possible and remove them from the danger of further infection from yellow fever; and also to as speedily as possible organize the expedition for the capture of Porto Rico, which I had been desirous of accomplishing for several weeks.

NELSON A. MILES.

(To be Continued.)

PRESENT ASPECTS OF THE DREYFUS CASE.

BY JOSEPH REINACH.

I.

In the month of April, 1894, a secret agent of the War Department brought in a letter which he had abstracted from the German embassy. This letter enumerated certain documents which its author sent or offered to Colonel von Schwarzkoppen, the Prussian military attaché. The author of this letter, which was not signed, and which was called the *bordereau*, or memorandum, could only be an officer.

When the general staff obtained possession of this letter, they decided at once that the officer who had written it must belong to the general staff. More careful examination ought to have led to the conclusion that the traitor was an officer of the line.

The general staff instituted a preliminary examination; it consisted in examining the handwriting of the officers employed in the departments and comparing it with that of the *bordereau*.

On the fifth of October, the Minister of War obtained the assistance of Commandant du Paty de Clam, an officer reputed to possess some graphological knowledge. This officer was inclined to see spies everywhere, even in his own family. He was, moreover, a violent Anti-Semite. After an examination of two days, he affirmed that the *bordereau* was in the handwriting of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer.

The chief of the bureau of information was a Colonel Sandherr, who was also an Anti-Semite: he died shortly afterwards of general paralysis. Sandherr welcomed du Paty's conclusions.

On the ninth of October, M. Gobert, an expert of the Bank of France, was appointed to make an examination. He concluded that the *bordereau* was not in the handwriting of Captain Dreyfus.

This report, submitted on the morning of the thirteenth, did not suit Sandherr and du Paty. The documents were immediately sent to M. Bertillon, who was not an expert. The same evening he declared that the *bordereau* was the work of Captain Dreyfus.

In the afternoon of the thirteenth, Captain Dreyfus was invited to appear at the War Department, under pretext of a general inspection. On the fourteenth, the very next day, du Paty de Clam was appointed by the Minister of War as an officer of magisterial authority, empowered to hold a private examination. At the same time, the order was given to the superintendent of Cherche-Midi Prison to have a cell in readiness.

On the fifteenth of October, when Captain Dreyfus arrived at the War Department, du Paty dictated a letter to him, in which were enumerated the documents mentioned in the *bordereau*. Dreyfus wrote in his normal and most tranquil handwriting. However, du Paty, with wildly rolling eyes, accused Dreyfus of trembling. Then suddenly du Paty declared to him that his confusion was the proof of his crime, and had him arrested and taken to Cherche-Midi.

Du Paty de Clam then proceeded to make a minute search in the house of Mme. Dreyfus, to whom he had announced the arrest of her husband, enjoining secrecy under dire threats. This search was fruitless. Du Paty concluded that "everything that might have proved in any way compromising had been hidden or destroyed in time."

For two weeks Captain Dreyfus did not know of what he was accused. Du Paty came to see him in prison and insulted him. When Dreyfus protested his innocence, du Paty replied: "Abbé Bruneau said he was innocent, but he died on the scaffold."

Du Paty's methods were those of a Spanish inquisitor. One day, before going in to see Captain Dreyfus, he asked Commandant Forzinetti, the superintendent of the prison, whether he could not enter the cell with a lamp powerful enough to throw a beam of light in the Captain's face, so as to surprise and disconcert him. Another time, when he asked Captain Dreyfus an abrupt question, he kept his eye upon the point of the Captain's foot. Seeing it move, he concluded that this reflex action was a certain proof of guilt. He later related this experiment to the members of the Council of War, and they were led to question his sanity.

On the thirty-first of October, he submitted his report to the

Minister of War. The latter had his doubts and hesitated to act in so grave a matter on such questionable evidence. Du Paty had recommended the most absolute secrecy. To force the Minister's hand, Commandant Henry published the arrest of the Jewish officer in the *Libre Parole.* Thus an Anti-Semitic campaign was set on foot. From the mere fact that the accused officer was a Jew, Drumont at once proclaimed him guilty. General Mercier surrendered to the threat of Drumont and Rochefort.

II.

Dreyfus was condemned not only on the strength of the *bordereau,* but still more on that of secret documents illegally admitted, which had no reference to him, and which had been communicated to the judges outside of the regular channels of accusation and defence. Then the unfortunate man was degraded and deported to Devil's Island.

Colonel Sandherr, the chief of the bureau of information, having been stricken with general paralysis, was replaced by Colonel, then Commandant, Picquart. In the course of the summer of 1896 Colonel Picquart seized a telegram from Schwarzkoppen, the German military attaché, to an infantry officer, a former pontifical Zouave, whose name is Commandant Walsin-Esterhazy. This telegram proved the treason of this miscreant, who had been in the pay of the German military attaché since 1892. Commandant Henry immediately informed Esterhazy.

Having compared Esterhazy's handwriting with that of the *bordereau,* Picquart discovered that Esterhazy was the author of the document on account of which Dreyfus had been condemned. The chiefs of the general staff, after having at first received Colonel Picquart's revelations with favor, soon selfishly shrank back from the work of reparation and justice to which that officer invited them. The former colleagues of Colonel Sandherr immediately endeavored, in all possible ways, to dissipate any doubts concerning Dreyfus that might arise in the public mind. On the fourteenth of September the *Eclair* published an article which gave in detail the private examination which had been conducted by du Paty, and the (incorrect) text of the *bordereau.* It also revealed the existence, and the admission as evidence, of a secret document in which the name of Dreyfus was infamously substituted for the initial "D. . ."

Owing to the culpable weakness of the Minister of War, the general staff was able to induce him to dismiss Colonel Picquart, who had discovered Esterhazy's crime. At the same time, a counterfeit letter from the Italian military attaché to the German military attaché was sent to the Ministry. In it, Colonel Panizzardi recommended Colonel von Schwarzkoppen never to speak of their relations to the Jew Dreyfus. This letter was the production of a counterfeiter in the pay of Colonel Henry. The minister believed it to be genuine.

Colonel Picquart had no sooner left Paris, than the secret service of the War Department seized his mail. In one of the letters someone called "the demi-god" is mentioned. This meant Commandant Lallemand, who was known by this nickname in the society of the Countess de Comminges. Henry thought it referred to a chief of the "syndicate," some influential personage who co-operated with Colonel Picquart in bringing about a revision of the Dreyfus case. He immediately had another letter fabricated, which he signed with the name of "Speranza," and which ran thus: "Your sudden departure has thrown us all into confusion, the work is compromised; speak and the demi-god will act." (December 15, 1896). This letter, which was seized in the post office, was shown to the Minister as a proof of Colonel Picquart's intrigues; it was not sent to the person to whom it was addressed, who would have immediately discovered the fraud.

But du Paty and Henry were not to be relieved long from the fear of revision. In the month of October, 1897, they discovered that Scheurer-Kestner, a Republican Senator, had independently acquired proof of Captain Dreyfus' innocence, and that he was going to speak and act in behalf of the unhappy prisoner. Immediately the uneasy du Paty and Henry resumed operations. Their first care was to warn Commandant Walsin-Esterhazy, the real traitor. The latter, beside himself, rushed into the office of the German military attaché, and implored that officer to save him. "It will be enough," he said, "if you go to Mme. Dreyfus and state that her husband is guilty." The Prussian colonel answered: "Are you mad, Commandant?"

The infamous assistance which the traitor could not obtain from Colonel von Schwarzkoppen, was given him with increasing audacity by du Paty and Henry. When Esterhazy wanted to flee, du Paty and Henry detained him. Flight would mean confes-

sion, and, consequently, a revision of the Dreyfus case, a breaking down of the principal work of the general staff, a discovery of their lies and forgeries. In order to allay Esterhazy's fears, du Paty, with Henry's assistance, took out one of the secret exhibits of the Dreyfus case from the iron safe of the War Department, and handed it to the traitor, that he might use it to exonerate himself. Du Paty related to him all he knew of Colonel Picquart's investigation. Esterhazy worked it up into a tale full of odious falsehoods and slanders of all sorts, which the *Croix* newspaper refused to publish, and which he caused to appear in his friend Drumont's paper with the signature of "Dixi." In it he related that he had been warned, not, to be sure, by du Paty and Henry, but by a veiled woman.

In the next place du Paty and Henry tried both to intimidate and to compromise Colonel Picquart. On the tenth of November, when as yet Esterhazy's name had not been publicly mentioned, du Paty instructed Esterhazy and a woman, named Pays, the traitor's mistress, to send Colonel Picquart a dispatch worded as follows: "Arrest demi-god, everything is discovered, affair serious." He believed or pretended to believe that "demi-god" (Commandant Lallemand) was Scheurer-Kestner. This telegram was also signed "Speranza."

As Esterhazy and the Pays woman had incorrectly addressed the despatch, sending it to Tunis, when Colonel Picquart was elsewhere, du Paty committed another forgery the same day. He telegraphed to the Colonel: "They have proof that the *petit bleu* was fabricated by Georges." The *petit bleu* is the document which had revealed Esterhazy's treason to Colonel Georges Picquart. The forger was already trying to spread the belief that this document was forged. He had signed the despatch with the name of Blanche, which is that of the Countess de Comminges. Mademoiselle de Comminges was a friend of Colonel Picquart.

These forgeries had for their object to make the Minister of War believe that Colonel Picquart was the leader of an infernal plot. The forgers caused the *Libre Parole*, one of the newspapers devoted to them, to relate that Colonel Picquart had received in Tunis some very compromising despatches from Scheurer-Kestner. These were the ones which they themselves had sent.

Colonel Picquart thwarted this villainy by immediately denouncing these despatches to the Minister of War. The Minister

set on foot an investigation which proved fruitless, doubtless because he did not care to know the truth.

On November 15, 1897, Matthieu Dreyfus denounced Esterhazy as the author of the *bordereau* in a letter to General Villet. During the whole time of the Esterhazy trial, which followed Matthieu Dreyfus' accusation, Henry and du Paty de Clam did not cease advising and guiding the traitor in his defence. General de Pellieux, in conducting the trial, directed all his efforts against Colonel Picquart, who was guilty of having discovered the real traitor and of having denounced him to his chiefs.

At the same time the whole reactionary, clerical and Anti-Semitic, as well as an important part of the Socialist press, particularly Rochefort's *Intransigeant*, carried on a violent campaign against the courageous men who had undertaken the movement in favor of revision, and especially the scholars and men of letters, Duclaux, Grimaux, Paul Meyer, Anatole France and the "intellectuals." The *Figaro* published abominable letters which Esterhazy had addressed to Mlle. de Boulancy, in which he expresses his ardent desire to see Paris burnt and a hundred thousand Frenchmen massacred.

Minister Meline, dominated by the clerical party, likewise fought against revision in the Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate, as well as in the papers that were at his disposal.

By the advice of General de Pellieux, Esterhazy demanded a tral before a council of war. He was certain of being acquitted.

And the council of war, presided over by General de Luxer, did in fact acquit this knave.

III.

When matters had reached this point, Zola addressed to the President of the Republic an eloquent letter, in which he accused the general staff of complicity with Esterhazy. The Government prosecuted him before the Court of Assizes of the Seine.

This trial enabled the friends of truth and justice to shed some light on the mysterious sides of this horrible affair. Colonel Picquart related how he had discovered Esterhazy's crime. The monstrous illegality of condemning Dreyfus on the evidence of secret papers was likewise shown by the silence of Mercier, the former Minister of War, who did not dare to contradict the formal statement of Counsel Demange.

Notwithstanding Labori's eloquent pleading, Zola was sentenced to one year's imprisonment. But the Court of Cassation annulled this judgment on technical grounds. Some time after, Zola was again brought before the Court of Assizes of Versailles on account of his letter to Felix Faure. But, being certain that the witnesses would not be able to speak freely on the subject of the Dreyfus case, he allowed himself to be condemned by default, and exiled himself temporarily by going to England.

Persecutions were next organized by the Government, against all the defenders of justice. Colonel Picquart was driven from the army; the great scholar, Grimaux, a professor in the *Ecole Polytechnique*, was dismissed; and I was deprived of my grade as captain in the territorial army for an article in the *Siècle*.

The revisionist journals, however, did not allow themselves to be intimidated, but continued the campaign with energy.

The general election had taken place in May. The new Chamber was as violently opposed to revision as the old one. The radical Ministry, presided over by M. Brisson, continued M. Meline's policy. Cavaignac, the Minister of War, then resolved to close the Dreyfus incident by a great speech, which he made in the Chamber of Deputies on July 7, 1898. He there not only declared Dreyfus to be guilty, as General Billot and M. Meline had done, but undertook to prove it. He based his argument, on the one hand, on the pretended confession by Dreyfus to Captain Lebrun-Renault, and, on the other hand, on a large number of documents, from which he selected three for the inspection of the Chamber. Of these three papers, two do not apply to Dreyfus. They relate to the civilian spy "D. . ." The third had been forged by Colonel Henry. By an almost unanimous vote the Chamber ordered this speech to be placarded.

In the meantime M. Bertulus, after a minute and complete investigation, had become convinced that the forgeries signed "Blanche" and "Speranza" had been committed for the purpose of injuring Colonel Picquart by Commandant Esterhazy, Madame Pays and M. du Paty de Clam, their accomplice. He consequently caused the arrest of Esterhazy and Madame Pays. M. Cavaignac immediately replied by arresting Colonel Picquart, whom he could not forgive for having answered his speech by sending a very respectful letter to the President of the Council and offering to prove before any competent tribunal that the paper read by M.

Cavaignac from the platform was a forgery. Colonel Picquart was prosecuted for having communicated to his friend, M. Leblois, secret documents concerning the Dreyfus affair—which was untrue; and—which was true—for having asked his advice on comparatively unimportant matters concerning his service.

Colonel Picquart was, therefore, taken to the Prison de la Santé, as were also Esterhazy and Madame Pays. But he was destined to stay there longer than they. The power of the Government made itself felt, as Esterhazy said, for he and his mistress were set at liberty. The Court of Appeals did not ratify the order issued by M. Bertulus for bringing Esterhazy, Madame Pays and M. du Paty de Clam before the Court of Assizes. Colonel Picquart complained against this decree before the Court of Cassation. The judges of this supreme tribunal very sharply criticised the decree of the Court of Appeals, but they had no power to set it aside. After a long private examination held by Judge Fabre, Colonel Picquart was remanded to the Correctional Court.

IV.

The revisionists seemed now to be in a rather bad plight, when a clap of thunder came out of a clear sky, and with it a flash of light fell upon the mysteries of the Dreyfus case. On August 30th, Colonel Henry confessed that he had forged the paper which Colonel Picquart had declared to be a fabrication. On the thirty-first, he committed suicide.

And so the witness who most gravely incriminated Dreyfus in the trial of 1894, the bitterest adversary of Colonel Picquart in the Zola trial, had committed a forgery in 1896 to prove Dreyfus guilty! But is that all he had done? And if he had been driven to it by necessity, must it not have been because sufficient evidence against Dreyfus did not exist, and because Colonel Picquart had been right? Public excitement increased still more, when it became known that General de Boisdeffre had offered his resignation and that it had been accepted. From that moment revision was inevitable.

Notwithstanding Henry's confession, however, M. Cavaignac remained convinced that Dreyfus was guilty. He preferred to resign from the Ministry rather than undertake the revision with his colleagues. General Zurlinden, the Governor of Paris, and a personal friend of President Felix Faure, offered his services then

to the President of the Council, that reparation might be made for the judicial error committed in 1894. At the first meeting of the Cabinet that he attended, he proposed to his colleagues measures looking toward a return of Dreyfus to France. But he soon changed his tone. He opposed revision with all his might. Rather than consent to revision, he gave up his portfolio as Minister of War, and declared in a letter to M. Brisson that he resigned because he was convinced of Dreyfus' guilt.

The revision of the trial was nevertheless imminent. Mme. Dreyfus had demanded it, and brought two new facts to the knowledge of the Keeper of the Seals: First, the disagreement between the experts of 1894 who had recognized Dreyfus' handwriting in the *bordereau*, and those of 1898 who had found it to be the (traced) handwriting of Esterhazy; and, secondly, Henry's confession, which cast suspicion on his testimony in the Dreyfus trial. After consulting with an advisory board attached to the Chancellor's office, which was equally divided, the Keeper of the Seals brought Mme. Dreyfus' demand officially before the Court of Cassation on the twenty-seventh of September. The revision was definitively pledged by M. Brisson, who acted then as a true and steadfast Republican.

To counteract this decisive step, and to weaken the effect of Henry's confession, the friends of Esterhazy made another attempt to disgrace Colonel Picquart. When the latter appeared before the Correctional Court, the substitute of the public prosecutor saw that it was necessary to wait for the Court of Cassation to clear up the Dreyfus case, before Colonel Picquart's conduct could be properly appreciated. He proposed, therefore, that Colonel Picquart's trial be adjourned *sine die*. But General Zurlinden decided immediately that Colonlel Picquart must be brought before a military tribunal.

He caused Picquart's transfer from the Prison de la Santé to the Prison du Cherche-Midi The prisoner was accused not only of offences under the law against spies, but of forgery; *i. e.*, that he had forged the *petit bleu* to ruin Esterhazy.

V.

The very day when the session of the Chambers was reopened, the Brisson Cabinet fell a victim to the vengeance of the Nationalists, who were incensed against M. Brisson for having begun

the revision. But, if it was easy to overturn a Ministry, it was far less so to stop the work of the Court of Cassation. The most violent opponents, even, had to give up the attempt. In the three public hearings of the 27th, 28th and 29th of October, the Criminal Section, presided over by M. Loew, heard the report of Counsellor Bard, the address of Public Prosecutor Manau and that of M. Moruard, Mme. Dreyfus' counsel. The court then declared that the appeal could be received, and it was decided that the court itself would proceed with the case.

However, the new Ministry, presided over by Dupuy, was also very hostile to the work of justice. Felix Faure, the President of the Republic, supported their efforts by his own. When it became certain that the Criminal Section of the Court of Cassation was going to pronounce in favor of revision, Dupuy submitted a shameful bill to withdraw the case from this section, and bring it before the three sections of the Court of Cassation. This bill passed despite the brave resistance of the Senate.

Meanwhile, Felix Faure died suddenly. Revision lost its most cruel enemy. Loubet, the new President, is in favor of it.

On the day of Felix Faure's funeral the Nationalists tried to raise a riot. They were promptly arrested.

The *Figaro* then rendered an immense service to the cause of justice. By means which will be known later, it succeeded in obtaining the proceedings of the Criminal Section of the Court of Cassation and published them. They shed floods of light on this mysterious affair. The *Figaro* thus revealed the conspiracy of the general staff in the attempt to save Esterhazy. The famous secret file was laid bare: it contained no proof of any sort against Dreyfus. Esterhazy confessed his relations with Schwarzkoppen, pretending that he was engaged in counter-espionage.

The immense majority of the Republican party had now been converted to the cause of justice, by the unremitting campaign of the friends of truth.

When these lines appear in print, revision of the Dreyfus case will have been ordered by the Court of Cassation.

JOSEPH REINACH.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE: ITS POSSIBLE PRACTICAL RESULTS.

BY A DIPLOMATIST AT THE HAGUE.

EIGHT months have elapsed since the appearance of the circular of Count Muravieff, inviting governments to the discussion of measures for the securing of peace. The impression produced was so strong, every one was so struck by it, that for a long time no definite opinion was heard. Now the position has changed.

At first general attention was attracted by the humanitarian side of the circular. The unsatisfactory state of existing international relations had been recognized for centuries. Great thinkers and philosophers had tried to alleviate the evil; rulers and even conquerors had sympathized with them theoretically, but now for the first time the voice of a powerful monarch summoned them to the realization of the first step in the great enterprise. The friends of peace thrilled with joy. "Then the idea is not a dream," they said, "it can be realized."

As usual, the enthusiasm went too far. No Utopian plan of immediate abolition of war was entertained by the Russian proposals. To diminish the present armaments, or even only to arrest their further increase; to remove as far as possible the useless cruelty of war; to facilitate the peaceful solution of any rising disputes—these were the ends desired.

Circumstances promptly showed how prudent was this moderation. There is no need to discuss here whether universal peace and the abolition of war are possible or not, but even if they were, humanity at present is not ready for them.

The humanitarian side of the circular soon lost the importance that was at first attached to it; and more than that, it became in many cases a weapon in the hands of the opponents of the under-

taking. Its secret enemies delighted in talking loudly about it, in the hope that the realization of the proposed measures would thus be lost in words. Its open enemies put forward the axiom that fighting is an element of human nature, that war could not be abolished, and to try to accomplish its abolition would be beyond the sphere of practical politics or the functions of statesmen; it would be Utopia, the domain of dreams. So spake men of authority, whose opinion was of great weight. But *"tout le monde a plus d'esprit que M. Voltaire,"* and the public and the press did not blindly follow them. They recognized the difficulties of the enterprise and the impossibility of accomplishing much at one stroke, but persisted in appreciating the humanitarian side of the Russian proposals, which is so captivating to all unprejudiced minds. In addition to this, they saw the practical side and understood that at least a part of the proposed measures not only could be fulfilled, but are absolutely necessary in the face of existing international relations. This sentiment brought about the opinion, expressed at first tentatively, but during the last months with full certainty, that the result of the conference can and ought to be the development of the principle of arbitration in cases of international disputes.

The arbitrating tribunals have also their enemies. Many see in them an attempt against the sacred right of man to fight. Arbitration, they say, cannot be taken seriously. To its province belongs no question of national honor, or integrity of territory. Any dispute which might lead to war can never be submitted to a tribunal, and the questions which can be submitted to it are those in which a recourse to arms would never be necessary. To try to abolish war by means of arbitration is a Utopian idea to which no serious meaning can be attached.

In order to discuss the practical problems of the conference, there is no need to refute such opinions. Without injuring its case one can even admit that they are perfectly sound. In consequence of the vastness of the armies of the great Powers and the perfection of modern weapons, war has become so serious a thing that recourse to it is only made on quite exceptional occasions. But international relations are not regulated only by such cases. Questions constantly arise of very great importance, though not involving the national honor or integrity of territory. They have arisen at all times, but they have never presented the gravity they

now do. There are two reasons for this. Formerly the questions were few, and were settled by a limited number of trained diplomatists and statesmen. Now the course of the life of nations has completely changed; international intercourse becomes more and more frequent and complicated; disputes arise more often, and, in their settlement, the whole nation, so to say—as represented by Parliament, meetings, press and even enterprising private men—takes part. The quietude of Cabinet negotiations is replaced by the clamor of public discussions. Is that for good or evil? It is difficult to say. The defenders of the new order of things affirm that the people are the best protectors of their own interests. It may be so, but such discussion by the masses contributes without any doubt to the arousing of passions, impedes the peaceful settlement of disputes, and causes a disturbance of friendly relations through what may have been at first only a paltry misunderstanding. Generally, it does not lead to war; but it usually unsettles for a long time the regular current of economical, commercial and political intercourse. Under unfavorable circumstances, the excitement can even turn a question of mere material interests into one of national honor, which will end in a recourse to arms.

This side of public discussion is unavoidable, and the wisdom of statesmen must consist not in deploring the past, or in sterile attempts to return to it, but in grasping the new situation and satisfying its exigencies. The new state of international relations requires a new instrument to regulate it. Such an instrument must be a regularly constituted international tribunal.

But, it might be replied, arbitrating tribunals already exist. From 1815, there have been more than 130 cases submitted to them. Let them work as before; the Conference has nothing to do here.

The answer is easy, because all students of the question know the deficiencies of the present arbitrating tribunals.

They are always freshly appointed for each individual case. When a misunderstanding arises, recourse to arbitration always presents the greatest difficulties, even after the efforts of diplomacy to arrive at a settlement have been in vain. To many this method of arranging international disputes seems extraordinary and even humiliating. When at last arbitration is decided upon, the appointment of the tribunal and the working out in each case of the mode of procedure occupy a long period of time, sometimes

years, during which period the relations between the disputants become so strained, that even when a satisfactory agreement is arrived at, a return to the normal state of affairs comes slowly. In short, the present tribunals are a heavy, bulky mechanism very difficult to set to work.

The arbitrators appointed for one single case are diverted from their usual occupations, and unavoidably consider the case submitted to them as something temporary and casual, and devote to it only a part of their time. This leads to tardiness of procedure and protractions which prejudice even the principle of arbitration.

The sense of justice is inherent in man, but impartiality is given to few; the development of it requires training and education of character. A private person deciding a case between a fellow countryman and a foreigner, is in most cases unable to discard national sympathies and inclines to the side of his compatriot. A professional judge in any civilized country is above such inclinations, and without hesitation decides against his countryman if he be in the wrong. In the present arbitrating tribunals, impartiality is expected only of the presiding umpire; the members of the court, appointed by each side, are usually advocates for their country. It would be difficult for them to be otherwise than partial. When an international dispute commences to agitate a country, the future possible arbitrators do not usually suspect what task awaits them; they take part in the agitation, and when appointed are already imbued with preconceived opinions, to rid themselves of which is always very difficult. One can say even more than that: not only is impartiality not expected of the arbitrators, but there is little doubt that the public opinion of a nation would severely condemn its representative, whose decision would be contrary to the interests of his country.

Very naturally, the above mentioned deficiencies, as well as some others of minor importance, lessen the authority of arbitration and limit its application.

The task of the Conference is to remove these deficiencies, and even if it accomplish nothing else, it will have done a great work. For that purpose it has to do away with the present casual character of the international tribunals. It is indispensable that the Powers should arrive at an agreement as to the institution of a *permanent* international court, to which, with the mutual consent of the two sides, the rising dispute could be referred.

This tribunal should be invested with the authority which ought to belong to an institution called upon to decide the disputes of nations. The members should be given a position identical with that of the greatest state dignitaries, and be chosen from among men of the highest morals, character and learning, well known to their own country and to other nations.

When once a permanent tribunal of such high authority exists, recourse to it will rapidly become a part of international morals; it will be quite natural to submit disputes to it which diplomacy is unable to settle. The false shame felt in referring to a tribunal will make way for a truer conception of things, and many cases in which prejudices are mistaken for national honor will be decided by the court. Only particularly important cases will form the exception.

There will be no more protractions resulting from a new appointment of a tribunal in each new case; rules of procedure will be established once for all, precedents and traditions will guide the court, no delays will take place in the hearing of the cases.

As to impartiality, the court will be under more favorable conditions than is now the case. In any dispute the greater part of the members will not be influenced by national interests; all of them being conscious of the sanctity of their task, and, trained by constant exercise of judicial functions, they will not allow themselves to submit to the influence of political passions.

It has been already mentioned that the permanent international tribunal would be referred to only by the mutual consent of the disputants. It is probably impossible at present for the Powers to arrive at a general agreement, binding them to have recourse to arbitration if only in certain classes of disputes. Such agreements between two countries have been made, but the opponents of obligatory arbitrating tribunals see in them the limitation of the sovereign rights of States. This argument can hardly be considered sound: the limitation in this case is not greater than in that of any international treaty, voluntarily concluded. But once such an opinion is found to exist, it must be taken into consideration.

But there is a second objection, which has a more secure foundation. To minor States obligatory arbitration will render possible, small judicial expenses only being risked, the raising of a number of claims which will conduce only to irritation, and will

aggravate the relations between States. The knowledge that arbitration can be refused and that then the claims would have to be supported by arms, would certainly prevent unfounded pretensions being put forward.

It is obvious that the permanent tribunal will not interfere with, but will facilitate, the conclusion of separate agreements between States, defining the class of dispute in which reference to the projected permanent tribunal will be obligatory.

The number of the members who shall constitute the tribunal is a very important matter. Will it consist of a limited number of judges, for instance, three or five, or will all the great Powers, and in some way the minor States, be represented? If governments could agree to nominate in rotation a limited number of members, that would be preferable. To insist upon the court always consisting of nominees of all the Powers would be a proof of mutual distrust. In such a court the interest of every participant would be represented, and, in consequence, there would be an involuntary tendency for the judges to be converted into advocates for their own countries. The unavoidable result would be the formation of political groups and combinations, which would have the worst possible influence on the authority of the tribunal.

The constitution of the permanent tribunal will raise many other questions of minor importance. To solve them will be the task of the Conference. The requisite materials will not be wanting. Numerous peace societies and their congresses, professors and men of science have dealt with everything concerning the functions and sphere of international courts.

Once the tribunal is resorted to, the broadest jurisdiction can be given to it. Governments can refer their cases to it, upon the understanding beforehand that its decision must be submitted to. That will be ordinary arbitration. Reference can also be made to it with no such obligation: then the court will become a kind of adviser or mediator, whose decision may in some cases be disregarded by the disputants. But such cases would be quite exceptional, and probably very rare, especially when the court consolidates its authority. The moral power of international institutions and agreements is very great. A proof of it we saw even last year during the war between the United States and Spain, when both countries, although not parties to the convention concerning privateering, decided to be guided by its stipulations.

The court, especially in the beginning, will take cognizance principally of cases of secondary importance, but with the increase of its authority its sphere of action will broaden, and on exceptionally grave occasions the number of its members, by the mutual consent of the parties concerned, could be increased by the addition of competent persons; and even a Sovereign or President of a Republic could be invited to assume the position of honorary umpire. Thus the permanent court, in accordance with circumstances, could, from a consulting body, rise to the importance of these solemn assemblies to which the decision of great international questions is confided.

The permanent court could, in the course of time, also undertake and guide the codification of international law. This problem is too vast and complicated to form part of the work of the Conference; it can only be dealt with by a permanent institution.

All that has been said about the jurisdiction of the proposed court shows that it does not interfere or come into collision with the present working of diplomatic relations; reference to the tribunal will take place only when diplomacy is unable to settle a dispute. To the province of diplomacy will also belong, as formerly, the mediation of a neutral State, or States, to which in some cases, before or after war, disputants have recourse. This mediation occupies quite a separate sphere, and in consequence of the importance of the interests involved, and the prudence required, is not subjected to any regulations.

To arrive at an agreement binding the Powers to have recourse to mediation before the commencement of hostilities would probably be impossible, the principal objection being, that the time necessary for mediation would be utilized by the unprepared side for completing its armaments.

All that has been said above shows that the institution of a permanent tribunal is not a Utopia. In the past it did not exist because there was no need for it. But formerly there were also no international bureaus at Berne, dealing with the telegraph, postal arrangements, railways and literary property, because from the international point of view these spheres of life did not exist at all or were in an embryo state. They appeared when the circumstances required them. The question of an international court is now in the same position. It is necessary, not for the definite abolition of war, but for the removing of irritating disputes,

which are so dangerous in view of the increasing frequency of international intercourse, and which, under unfavorable circumstances, could even lead to useless wars. When the tribunal attains its full growth, decision by arms will remain only for questions of real national honor, integrity of territory, or problems of such importance as the fate of decaying States or the change of the political status of whole continents. As an example of the latter could be quoted the last wars of Prussia with Austria and France, when the edifice of the Holy Roman Empire was replaced by the new German Empire. Such questions can scarcely be settled by a tribunal so long as the present conditions of life in the world are not radically changed.

The importance that was attached to the idea of international tribunals in the Russian proposals shows that its realization ought to form the principal task of the Hague Conference, and that this problem should be its first consideration.

At the Conference the Russian proposals will meet with many secret and open enemies. All of them will affirm that the ideas of the Czar are sublime, but that they are an Utopia of which humanity does not merit the realization. These tactics will become impossible if the work of the Conference is begun by discussing the creation of an international arbitrating tribunal, and by placing this problem, not on the humanitarian ground of abolishing war, but on the practical one of aiming to satisfy the actual, urgent necessity of improving international relations. In this case the opponents will be expected to bring forward other arguments, and there are none.

The solution of this principal question will facilitate the humanizing of war. The results of the Geneva and Brussels conferences are known, as well as the objections to extending the application of their stipulations; but the time has come to take a further step in the direction of their aims.

When satisfactory results on the two parts of the Russian proposals are reached, the atmosphere at the Hague will be cleared, and the ideas regarding what is Utopian, and what a practical measure, will undergo a complete change. Then the discussion concerning the reduction of armaments, or at least, the arresting of their progress, if only for a certain period of years, will not look so impossible of success as it seems now.

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FLORENCE, COLORADO.

IS IT TO BE THE FUTURE GREAT CITY OF MOUNTAIN AND PLAIN?

One of the great difficulties of the New World has been, and still is, the finding of the rig place to build cities. Long time and enormous expense have been involved in this seeming easy problem. Two prominent conditions predominate—the difficulty of finding the right plac and, when found, the impossibility of changing it.

For two hundred and fifty years, up and down, down and up the Atlantic coast surged th conflicting interests that were vainly seeking a place for the commercial center of Americ Cities great and small contended for supremacy; States joined in the fray, and even sections the whole country were involved in the conflict. This "Savage war of Peace" was a gran fight and continued with unabated fury until the full force of "Nature's Place" finally turne the scale. The magnitude of the result is equal to the extent of the struggle, and stagge even the imagination. There is no other Greater New York.

Next, along the shores of the Great Lakes the struggle was renewed; not so long, but ju as fierce and equally instructive. For more than one hundred years prosperous cities and towr were springing up, many of them with apparent certainty of being the one Great Inlan Metropolis of the Country that all realized must eventually come, wholly unconscious of th workings of a natural law that would finally change the whole situation—that, while strivin growing, expanding and exulting in their strength, a "White man's cabin" had not yet bee built on the spot where the final victory would be won. Not until a little town on the wind side of one of the Great Lakes, surrounded with only prairie and water, began growing, kept o growing and began asserting its importance, was any attention given to this new aspirant fo the great prize, and then its pretensions were only met by doubt and ridicule. But there cam a day when this city sprang as if by magic in tenfold greatness and grandeur from its burnin ruins. Then was realized that the right place was found, "Nature's Way" again asserted itse and dazzled the world with its ONE Great Chicago.

Along the great river is another line where this never-ending search and struggle goe on. The range, however, is so vast that there is less tendency to centralization at any on particular point. But where mountains and plains meet—along the eastern base of the "Might Rockies"—the conditions change. The possible chances are not numerous and few location meet all the requirements of a great city. So here is activity. The battle of the mistakes is bein fought over again. While many of the growing cities claim they are in the right place, a have their doubts, all are conscious of lacking something—a fear that Chicago's history ma be repeated somewhere along the Rocky Mountains haunts them and a strange coincidence i that for a thousand miles up or down the Range, every aspiring town or city has heard o Florence, Colorado, and shudders a little when its name is mentioned. This fact—whispere only in secret and stoutly denied in the open, is nevertheless, the one Ghost that will not dow

That Florence, with its temperate climate, its abundant and never-failing water supply; it inexhaustible coal, oil and natural gas; its building material so abundant that it is hardl noticed, backed on the west by the nation's great treasure house with its hardly touched riche and before it the garden of the world, holds and combines in unlimited abundance all the ele ments of future greatness, cannot be denied. If past experience counts for anything, and righ conclusions have been drawn from its teachings, it is clear that Florence is another natura place for a city.

Little wonder then, that when panics swept the country here values did not shrink, tha when great railroad systems were crashing Florence was building a railroad into the grea gold field of Cripple Creek; that here shone the first returning gleam of prosperity, that fo years every important enterprise in the State has in some way been connected with Florence that now more new railroads, street railways and public improvements are under considera tion here than elsewhere in the State.

Now, to a consideration of the soundness of this reasoning, to a study of the condition and an examination of the facts, we invite an intelligent public.

THE FLORENCE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

P. S. ROSEBERRY, President.
JAS. P. H. CALLAHAN, Secretary.

ABOUT THE CLIMATE OF CANON CITY, COLORADO.

Authorities generally agree that most cases of Phthisis do best in high altitudes. A large umber of the sanatoria for the treatment of Phthisis are located far above sea level. The rge number of patients sent yearly to Colorado is evidence that this view is accepted by a ajority of the profession in the Eastern states.

Dr. Solly, of Colorado Springs, in his excellent work on "Medical Climatology," has shown om the results in a large number of cases that in all stages of the disease 18 per cent. more ases are cured in highland climates than in lowland; while in the second and third stages 63 per nt. are cured in high to 28 per cent. in lowland climates. The effects of high altitudes, as has een proven by a number of experiments, the increase in the number of red blood corpuscles, æmoglobin and the power of absorbing oxygen, the increased lung expansion and the physio- gical enlargement of the heart, are all indicated in the treatment of all wasting diseases of hich Consumption is essentially one.

Owing to the topography of the state there is a great difference in the climate of different laces which may not be widely separated. The altitude, its location with regard to mountains hich may protect it, may make the climate of one town radically different from that of another hich may be but a few miles away from it.

The purpose of this article is to call the attention of the reader to the climate of Cañon ity, Colorado, as meeting all the requirements in the treatment of wasting diseases and par- cularly of tuberculosis to a greater degree than that of any other place now known, and as a lace of residence during the whole year for sick and well.

Cañon City: Popoulation 6,000, altitude 5,363 feet, is situated in a broad fertile valley—a atural amphitheatre from five to ten miles in diameter, with walls of mountains on three sides nd open to the east, and presents an almost ideal location for a sanatorium.

The town is the third oldest in the state and has water works, sewers and electric light and ower plants. Its people, largely recruited from the eastern states, are of a high order both ntellectually and morally. The town is famed among western towns for its beautiful, shaded treets. There are churches of nine denominations and schools second to none in the state. A ree library of over 3,000 volumes is maintained by a Ladies' Library Association.

The valley is divided into small farms or "ranches" of from two to ten acres on which are aised by irrigation fruits and berries whose flavor and general excellence are equalled by those f no other locality.

There are hot and cold effervescent Mineral Springs containing sodium chloride and the car- onates of soda, lime and magnesium, with traces of iron and lithia.

The cost of living is moderate and the hotels, boarding houses, and ranches where an occa- ional tourist is taken in, are good. Fruits and vegetables of prime excellence are grown at ome and are cheap.

Picnics to the many cañons and mountains are pleasant and popular every month in the year nd one might picnic every week in the year and not go to the same place twice. The entrance o the Grand Cañon of the Arkansas and the Royal Gorge are but one mile from town, and the ther cañons, streams and mountains are a source of continual delight to the amateur photog- apher, while the botanist and geologist can never exhaust the wonders of flowers and rocks.

The sanitation of the city is excellent, the resident death rate for 1897 being but a fraction ver six per thousand. Sunstrokes are unknown and the plasmodium malaria has never found s out. Tuberculosis is practically unknown.

From the annual report of the Weather Bureau for 1897 we find the annual mean tempera- ure is 53° F., which is about the same as that of Asheville, N. C.; is about 1° higher than that f Las Vegas, N. M., and is 6.2° higher than that of Colorado Springs.

The mean monthly temperature of Cañon City for 1897 is here given:

anuary	30.1	July	73.6
ebruary	35.4	August	71.8
arch	40.1	September	68.5
pril	50.6	October	53.6
ay	62.7	November	44.8
une	70.1	December	34.1

The monthly mean for December was the highest in the state in that month.

Although no photographic record of the actual hours of sunshine is kept, an idea of the

amount may be gained by a comparison of figures taken from the report. Denver reports cloudy days, Colorado Springs 81, Cañon City 20, or less than one-fourth of the other two.

The prevailing wind is from the west, and as the town is protected on that side by a h wall of mountains the wind movement is not great and high winds are comparatively rare.

The normal precipitation is 12 inches; that of 1897 was 11.13 inches. Of this 7.91 inches during the six warm months between March and October, leaving 3.22 inches which fell dur the six winter months. The precipitation at Asheville, N. C., is about 35 inches, and during six winter months more than five times as much rain falls there as does in Cañon City dur the same time.

The total snow fall last year was 14 inches. At Colorado Springs it was 32.8 inches; at D ver 59.2 inches. Snow rarely lies on the ground longer than forty-eight hours.

The average winter day is one of clear, bright sunshine, the air crisp, dry and bracing so warm that an open-air life is comportable and pleasant. The number of cloudy days in O ber, '97, was four, in November one, in December two, in January, '98, two, in February two March two. Contrast these figures with the reports from eastern cities. As an example, t January, 1898, Boston, 13 cloudy days, 56 per cent. of possible sunshine during the mo Chicago, 10 cloudy days, 48 per cent. of sunshine. St. Louis, 13 cloudy days, 54 per cent. of s shine. New York, 10 cloudy days, 45 per cent. of sunshine.

How much greater chance a pulmonary invalid has in the high dry air with at least one w more of sunshine every month than at home!

In sending patients to Colorado a comparison is invited of the climate of Cañon City w that of other towns in the state, and it is believed that in the elements which go to make health this climate will be found to be especially favorable.

Any information as to resources, special climatic features, or on any subject, will be ch fully furnished by the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce.

Few cities in Colorado equal Cañon City in natural advantages, and none has so favora a location. The city is situated on the main line of the Denver and Rio Grande Railway and on the north side of the Arkansas River, which forms the boundary line between Ca City and the Town of South Cañon; and is also the terminus of the Cañon City branch of Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad from Pueblo, forty miles east; and the constantly creasing necessity for a direct rail connection with the famous Cripple Creek Mining District, than thirty miles distant, practically assures the building of a railroad to those wonderful g producing camps in the near future; in fact, it is probable that its construction will be co menced before this reaches our readers, and upon the completion of said line Cañon City will come the residence city for the Cripple Creek Mining District. This favored spot is destined continue as one of the greatest all-fruit-growing sections of Colorado. Horticulture has many years been a permanent industry and a source of large revenue, and its possibilities even beyond the realization of the most of the present residents, as the facts are surprising them and almost incredible to others. What the city needs specially at present is manufact ing enterprises, as they produce the famous Cañon City coal and have an abundance of wa and unlimited electric power.

CRIPPLE CREEK, COLORADO.

Going westward across the "Great American Desert," the traveler sees at last, rising tween him and the sunset the cloud-capped summit of Pike's Peak. Could he climb direc to this mountain's top, keeping his face still towards the West, he would see, spread almost his feet, evidences of human activity such as must startle the shade of Zebulon if it ever wa about his lofty hill. If his first glimpse be by daylight, the smoke of steam-engines would m where trains are rushing to the busy mining districts and the points at which the rich ores dragged from their long-time hiding places to the light of day and made to yield themselves the uses of man. If by night, the sparkling brightness of thousands of electric lights wo mark where the work is still going on and where the fifty thousand people of the Cripple Cr Mining District have their homes.

The "district," the southern portion of newly created Teller County, covers a gross area about 150 square miles. About 60 miles of this may be counted as its prospecting and min area, and the productive area so far as developed at the present time is about fifteen squ miles in extent, three miles east and west by five miles from north to south, with its g graphical center about nine miles Southwest from the summit of Pike's Peak, the mecca of gold hunters of 1859. Rich bodies of ore have lately been opened up outside these narrow lim and the productive area is rapidly extending its boundaries in all directions.

From the base of "the Peak" the district extends in broad, sweeping villages, round-topped, ssy hills, and picturesque cañons and gorges Southerly and Westerly, an ideal field for ing operations. Easterly, beyond "the Peak," are Colorado Springs and Manitou, and herly toward the misty mountains of the Sangre de Cristo lie Florence and Cañon City, all ut 30 miles in air line distance away from the camp.

The elevation of the district varies from 8,500 feet to about 11,000 feet above sea level, and all the years from 1859 to 1891 no man saw its beauties save an occasional hunter of game old and the cowboy herding cattle about Cow Mountain, Calf Mountain, Bull Hill and Little . But in 1891 a change came; in that year some 10,000 ounces of gold were dug from the ınd; in 1892, 30,000 ounces; in 1893, 100,000 ounces; in 1894, 162,500 ounces; in 1895, 348,500 ounces; 896, 455,000 ounces; in 1897, about 600,000 ounces; in 1898, 800,000 ounces, and, startling as these res are, there is reason to believe the present year, 1899, will show a yield of 1,000,000 ounces ure gold worth in the markets of the world $20,000,000. The fabled Pactolus was but a and muddy creek as compared with this stream of solid gold that flows from Colorado's ntains out across the great plains to the cities of the East and even to the homes across sea.

Fifty thousand people now live here, and here they find their opportunities for activity and lth. Scattered all over the hills and through the valleys are the miners' homes, and here e grown up in eight short years cities which are a marvel even to the experienced eyes of wandering argonauts who from Georgia to Vancouver, in California, Australia and Alaska, e sought the golden fleece and have seen the marvellous energy of the American pioneers d all through the west the cities that have risen almost in a night.

Cripple Creek, with 20,000 people, and Victor, with 10,000, are the principal business centers; Anaconda, Elkton, Goldfield, Independence and Gillett are all thriving towns, and, perched he top of Bull Hill, nearly 11,000 feet above the sea, Altmen, right in the heart of "the ıp," claims the distinction of being the highest incorporated town in the world.

From Cripple Creek to Victor a thoroughly equipped electric railroad passes up "Poverty ch," over "Gold Hill," along the western slope of "Bull Hill," and past the gentle declivities Battle Mountain," a triumph of engineering skill and a striking and imposing monument he wisdom that foresaw its need and the energy that constructed it.

Cripple Creek is essentially "a mining camp." But comfortable and happy homes are here; rches are everywhere in evidence; strong banking institutions carry on business with the hest distant financial centers; all about are commodious and well appointed school-ses, where, under the guidance of 75 educated teachers, over 4,000 children find the training makes for best American citizenship.

The enthusiastic residents of the district are accustomed to speak of its as "the Greatest l Camp on Earth," and this appellation sometimes excites a smile on the face of the listener, cially if he be a stranger. Let the stranger, however, visit the mines of the district; let study the figures of gold production from this limited area; let him reflect that the mining ory of the camp covers a period of less than eight years; let him know that no area of ıl extent has ever produced in a singe year so much as was here produced in 1898; and the gold production of the great State of California for 1898 was $15,000,000, against $16,-00 here. Let him see how the productive area is widening, that new "strikes" are every week g made in parts of the district heretofore considered "outside the belt," and his smile of ration will become a smile of sympathy and appreciation.

In eight years, with no fictitious "boom" at any time, developed entirely by use of local capi-a cattle range has been transformed into a field of business activity in all directions, rail-is have been built, fine hotels and substantial business blocks have been erected. Wide-ke men and cultivated and attractive women are all about; good order and quiet every-re prevail; and if these people are proud of their achievements and of the existing condi-s, their pride is to some extent justifiable. An ideal summer climate; a winter without in-e cold or heavy snow-fall; all conditions indeed tend to make life less hard than in ordinary ing centers. No more magnificent scenery exists anywhere than about this district, and not least of its attractions is the fact that a single night in a sleeping-car or seven hours of ghtful daylight travel suffices to take one from Denver right into the heart of "the Greatest l Camp on Earth."

PRESS COMMENTS.

It has been a very common remark among people who have to pay attention to such th since the appearance of the May number of The North American Review what a capital n ber it is. It may almost be said that there is not an article in it which is not "striki It may quite safely and certainly be said that such an aggregation of articles that are "s ing," whether by their intrinsical importance, by the standing of the writers with referenc their subjects, or by their timeliness, has very seldom been brought together in an Amer magazine.

Attention is called to the quality of the number by the fact that it bears the name of a editor and by the fact that it contains a brief history of The Review, which is by much oldest and has upon the whole been much the most important of American literary per cals. Every reading American has or ought to have some desire that a magazine of so i trious a tradition should be true to it. And then there is a practical business question. The view continues to charge half a dollar for itself. When it was founded, and for two gen tions afterward, half a dollar went further than it does now in a great many things, but it not go nearly so far in the purchase of printed matter, particularly of periodical printed m ter. It will be interesting to see whether The North American can continue to sustain i against the competition of cheaper and cheapest monthlies, laden with illustrations as wel with advertisements. Evidently it cannot unless there is a considerable constituency w finds it "good value" at the higher price.

That is the business of the editor. We observe that the new editor, Mr. Harvey, bes giving the remarkable "line" of articles of which we have spoken, and among which the little or no "padding," has also, by giving more and better paper, made The Review evide and palpably a more expensive article than its cheaper competitors. He has shown his f that there is a scholarly and serious public large enough to sustain The Review at a price hi than that of the ordinary monthlies. And he makes at least an impressive promise of pro his faith by his works.—New York Times.

The advent of George B. M. Harvey to the editorial management of The North Amer Review gives assurance of his purpose to conduct the Review on broad lines. Not only is list of contributors to the May number a notable one, but the topics discussed are important timely. Here is a pulpit worth entering for the important men of our time.—Springfield Rep can.

With the May number George B. M. Harvey assumes editorial charge of The North Am can Review. The issue gives evidence that this veteran monthly does not propose to rest u past achievements, but has plans for the future which will more than ever make it a repre tative American publication. The number of pages has been increased and there are cer other evidences of energy and push in the management.—Brooklyn Eagle.

A special interest attaches to The North American Review for May, as being the first i of that magazine under the management of its new editor, and the diversity and interest o contents promise well for the future.—New York Commercial Advertiser.

Seldom, if ever, has a more varied and attractive table of contents been offered the rea of The North American Review than that contained in the number for May. The cont illustrates the purpose of the new editor to conduct The Review on the lines of its highest best traditions.—Jersey City News.

The May North American Review shows the "new blood" in vigorous quality and abo ing quantity. The corps of writers is one of remarkable strength, and places the North A ican Review at the very first in the front rank of the monthlies which devote their atte to the serious and significant things of life.—Brooklyn Standard Union.

The North American Review for May comes out under the direction of a new editor, in this first number demonstrates his knowledge of what constitutes work worthy of a m zine with the Review's reputation.—Troy Record.

One glance at the list of contributors to The North American Review for May is suffi to convince the reader that this is an extraordinary number of a high-class periodical.— cago Times-Herald.

The North American Review under its new control has changed not so much as to its cloth- as in its body. It seems better fed, more robust, and to share in a renaissance of prosper- Its leaves are broader and there are more of them. Its contributors write not more thily but with more of authority. They are men (and one woman) who know whereof they k. Nobody is better qualified to write a history of our war with Spain, for example, than commanding general of the army. None can better explain the difference between the "open " and the "sphere of influence" policies which have to do with the inevitable partition of a than Rear-Admiral Lord Beresford, who has just returned from a visit there to inform self on the possibilities of the Orient. The subject of the division in the Church of England the attitude of the non-conformists in relation thereto, could not be treated by any Eng- clergyman for whose opinions Americans have more respect than Ian Maclaren. None can t who knows Speaker Reed and his tap-rooted intimacy with National affairs that he can k with profound knowledge of the difficulties in the way of building the Nicaragua Canal, of the exact state of information which has been laid before Congress respecting it. Who tter qualified to tell what Cuba and the Cubans need than Major-General Wood, who has administering to those needs for a half year or more? Whose dictum respecting the poetry ie present is superior to W. D. Howells? And so on through the list. The subjects are e which are uppermost in men's minds, and the writers are those who from official or other rtunities have clearer visions than those who stand in the lobby taking peeps now and then others' shoulders at the stage of action. The only unsigned article in the number is on "Work of the Joint High Commission," by "A Canadian Liberal," and we shrewdly suspect the writer was very close to being a commissioner himself. Surprising frankness animates oni's account of how he has telegraphed without wires, and quite as surprising is the con- on of a former Spanish Minister of War that he considers the reverses of his country de- d and a blessing.—Newark Daily Advertiser.

Under its new management The North American Review has been enlarged and vitalized already it seems destined soon to regain the commanding position in the review field erly held by it. The May number is especially strong.—Scranton Tribune.

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n enlarged page and broader margins are the first physical signs of change, while the at- ive and well varied contents show alert instinct and are in accord with the best traditions is famous review. Every article is an authoritative expression by a recognized master of subject.—Philadelphia Press.

The number contains an interesting collection of reviews on subjects of contemporary pub- nterest, contributed by authors who are best fitted to do them justice.—Lakewood Times and nal.

The North American Review is recognized as one of the leading high class magazines, and May number shows evidence of even more than usual strength under its new management. bury Park Press.

The North American Review, now in its eighty-fifth year, is evidently destined to attain a higher degree of success under the direction of George B. M. Harvey. The May number contains a historical sketch of the North American Review, with a list of its editors and ributors, the latter including practically all the great writers of the nineteenth century. e have been eighteen editors before Mr. Harvey, among them being numbered Richard Dana, Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, John G. Palfrey, A. P. Peabody, James Russell Lowell, les Eliot Norton, Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, Allen Thorndike Rice and Lloyd e, a list of strong names unequalled in the history of any other publication in America or ope.—Buffalo Courier.

With the May issue of this magazine The North American Review has passed from the ership of Gen. Lloyd Bryce and David A. Munro into possession of George B. M. Har- the new editor and publisher. A feature of the number is a resumé of the accomplish- s of the magazine from its first number, issued on May 1, 1815, under the editorship of liam Tudor. An appended list of editors and contributors since that time includes some of foremost men of letters in the history of the United States. The table of contents for the ent number indicates that the new management does not mean to lose any of the prestige has come to the magazine.—Chicago Record.

The North American Review for May has a remarkably notable list of writers on current s of interest, making this a red-letter issue.—Albany Argus.

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ts contents indicate that the new editor will maintain the high plane upon which it has rto been conducted.—Pittsburg Times.

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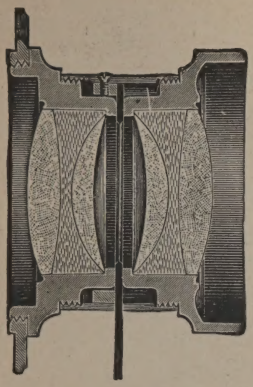

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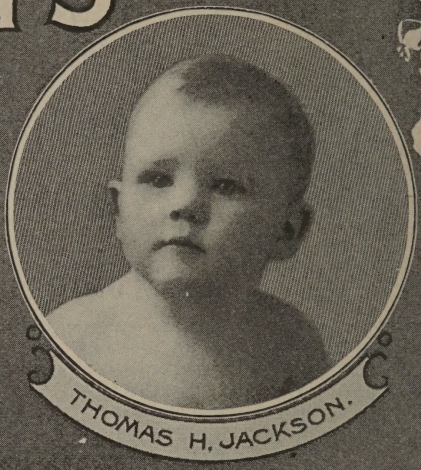

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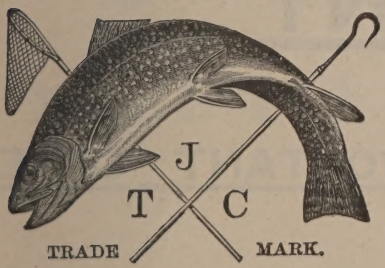

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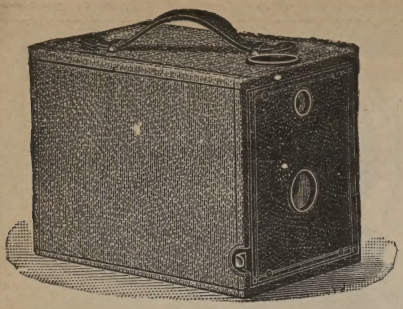

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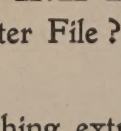

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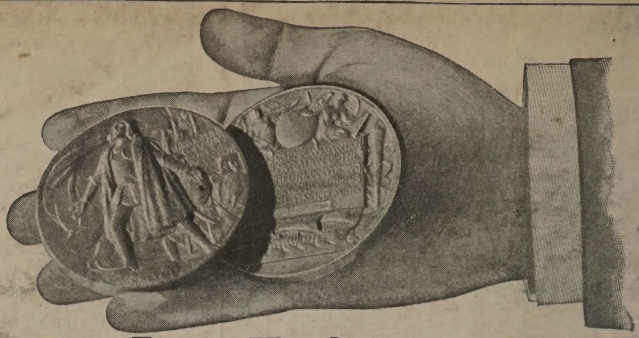

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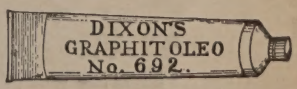

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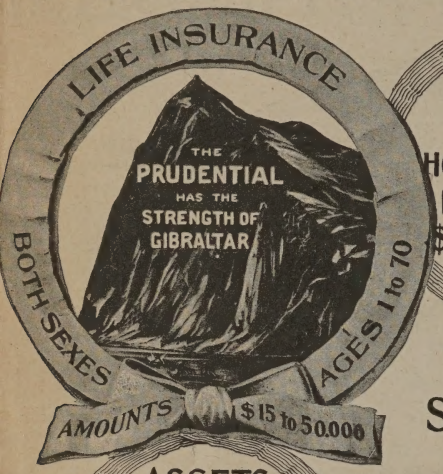

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Total Assets (Accident Premiums in the hands of Agents not included)	$24,103,986.67
Total Liabilities,	19,859,291.43
Excess Security to Policy-holders,	$4,244,695.24

Paid to Policy-holders since 1864,	$35,660,940.19
Paid to Policy-holders Jan'y-July, '98	1,300,493,68
Loaned to Policy holders on Policies (Life),	1,161,705.00
Life Insurance in Force,	94,646,669.00

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In Surplus (to Policy-holders),	522,060.12
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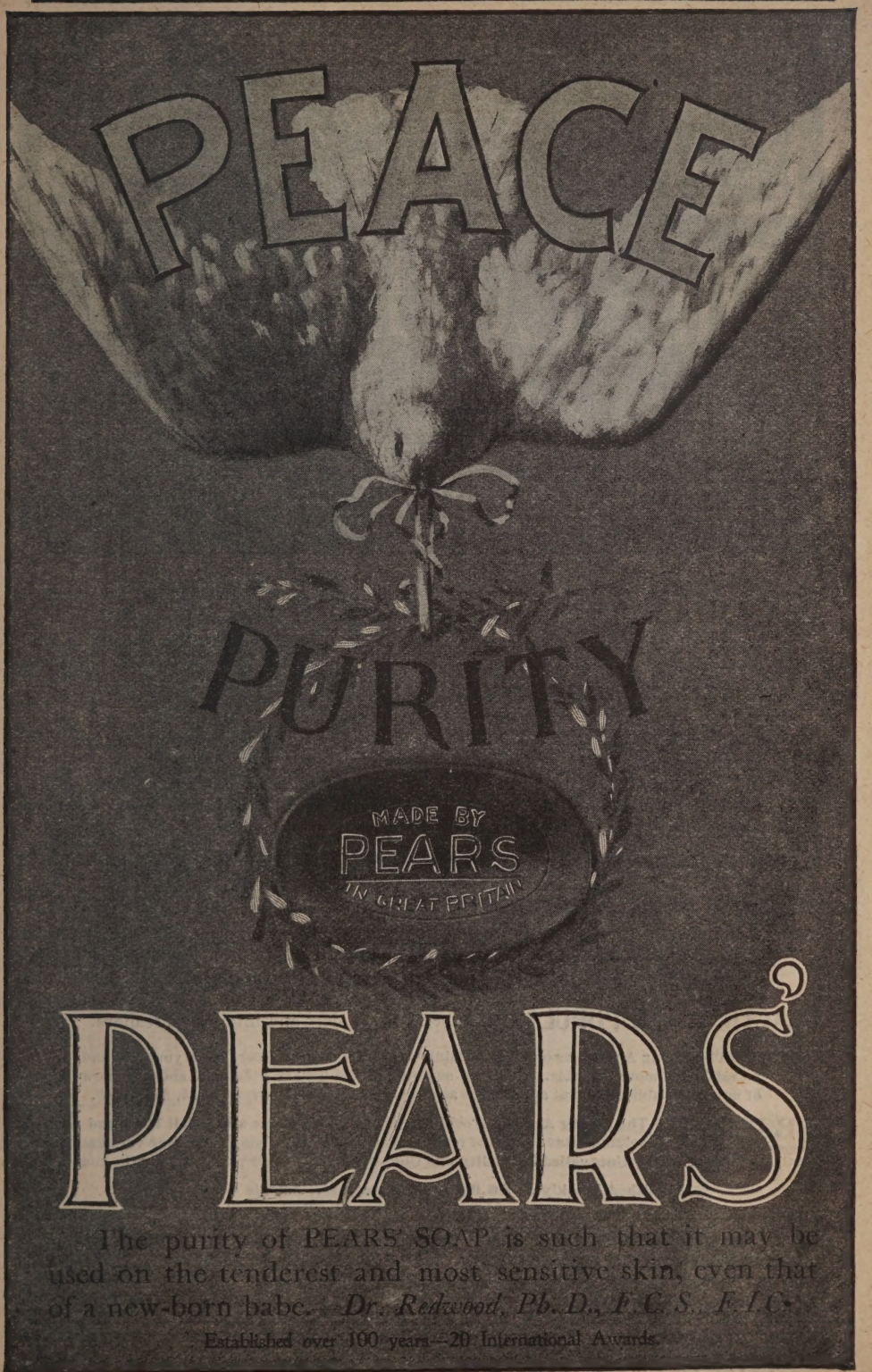

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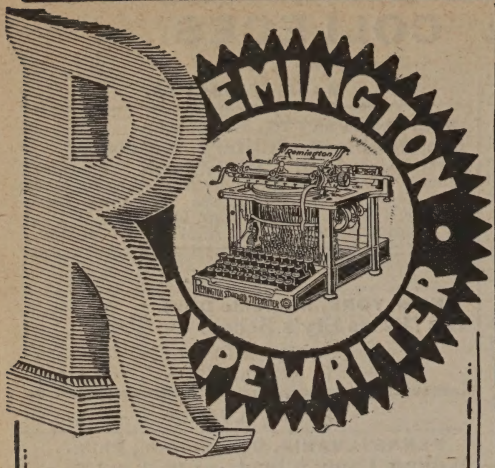

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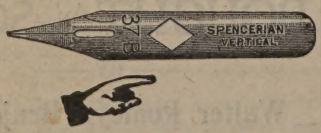

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